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# LITERARY REMAINS

OF

# KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

# LITERARY REMAINS

OF

# KING EDWARD THE SIXTH

EDITED

FROM HIS AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS

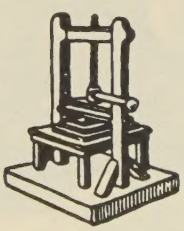
WITH HISTORICAL NOTES, AND A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

BY

JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

BURT FRANKLIN RESEARCH & SOURCE WORKS SERIES # 51



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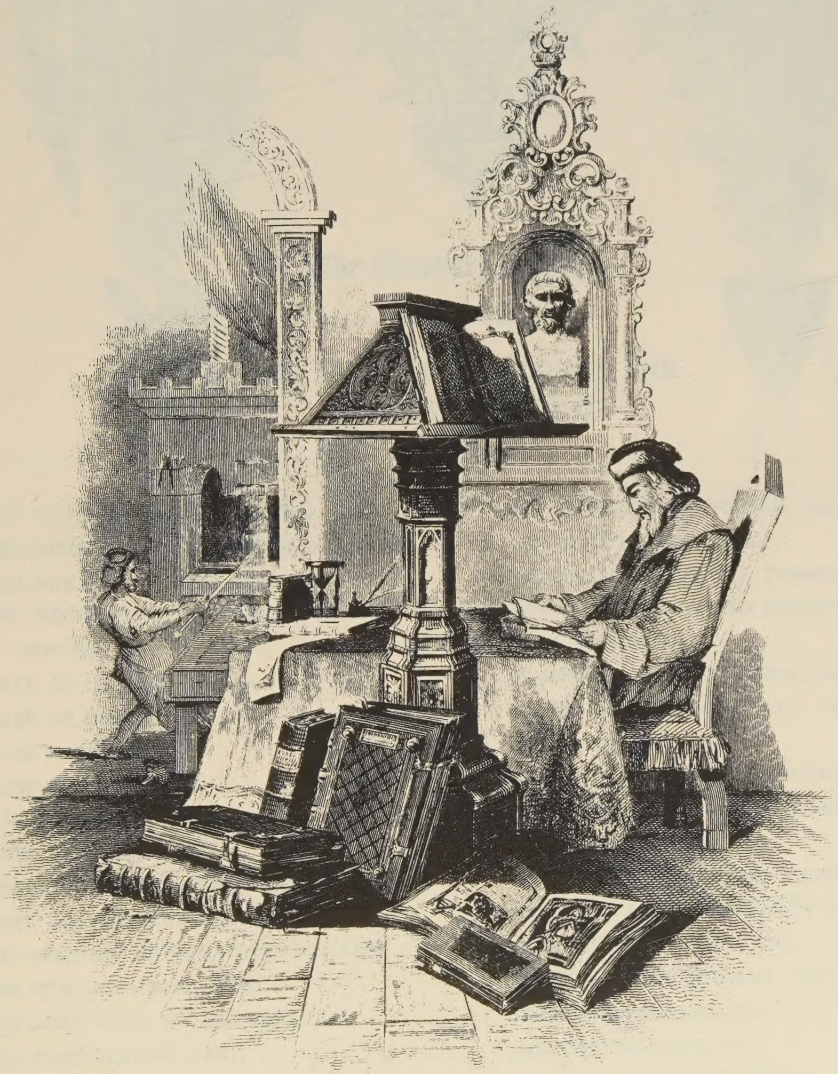

ROXBURGHE CLUB.

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# The Roxburghe Club.

MDCCCLVII.

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# Roxburghe Club.

## RULES AND REGULATIONS.

I. The Club shall consist of forty Members, including the President, Vice President, and Treasurer.

II. Every Member shall contribute a Book to the Club.

III. Every Member shall pay annually a subscription of Five Guineas to the Treasurer upon his election, and subsequently on the Seventeenth of June in each year.

IV. The sum thus raised, or a competent portion of it, shall be expended under the direction of the Printing Committee in printing some inedited Manuscript, or in reprinting some Book of acknowledged rarity and value.

V. The total number of Copies printed of each Work shall not exceed one hundred.

VI. Every Member shall be entitled to two Copies of each Work printed at the expence of the Club.

VII. These Copies shall be distinguished by the engraved title, and shall have the name of the Member printed in red ink.

VIII. The Name of the Member in the second Copy shall have an asterisk prefixed to it. The remaining copies of each Work shall be delivered by the Printer to such Members, whose subscriptions are not in arrear, as may apply for them, upon payment of the sum fixed for each Work by the Printing Committee.

IX. The sum so received shall be carried to the account of the Club, and applied to its general expenditure.

X. All Works printed by the Club shall be ready for distribution at the Anniversary Meeting, but no Members shall be entitled to their Copies whose subscriptions are in arrear.

XI. Due notice of the publication of each Work shall be given to every Member by the Printer.

XII. Every Member shall write in his second Copy the name of the Person or Public Society to whom he may present it.

XIII. The Printing Committee shall be appointed annually, and shall consist of the President, and not less than seven Members of the Club.

XIV. Four Members of the Committee shall constitute a quorum.

XV. The Printing Committee shall prepare annually a chronological List of the Members of the Club, from its foundation, with the dates of their election, and a similar Catalogue of the Books printed by or presented to the Club, and of those contributed by its Members.

XVI. This List of Members and Catalogue of Books shall be inserted in each Member's first Copy of all Books printed by the Club, and shall be printed with the Rules and Regulations of the Club for the use of its Members.

XVII. The Printing Committee shall present an Annual Report at the Anniversary respecting a Publication by the Club for the ensuing year.

XVIII. The Treasurer of the Club shall keep an account with Messrs. Herries, Farquhar and Co., Bankers, St. James's Street, entitled the Roxburghe Club Account.

XIX. A Statement of the Funds of the Club shall be prepared annually by the Treasurer, and laid before the Club at the Anniversary Meeting.

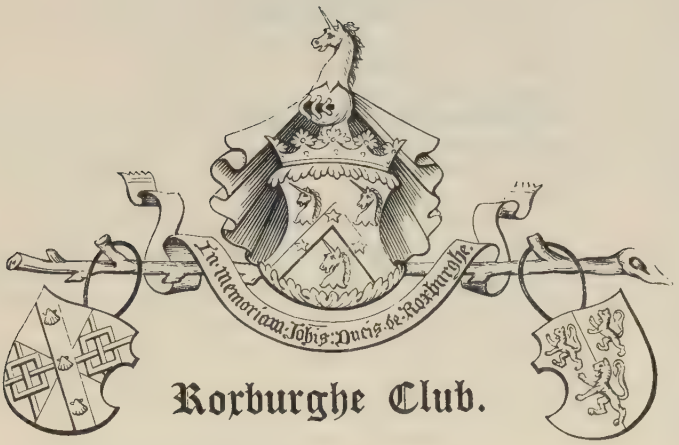
XX. One General Meeting of the Club shall be held between the Meeting of Parliament and Easter.

XXI. The President shall be empowered to call at his discretion other general Meetings, at such times as he may deem expedient, for the election of Members, and for the transaction of the general business of the Club.

XXII. The Anniversary Meeting of the Club shall be held on the seventeenth of June, provided that it fall upon a Saturday; otherwise, on the first Saturday after the seventeenth of June.

XXIII. No alteration of any Rule of the Club shall be made, except at a General Meeting.

XXIV. Any Member proposing an alteration in any Rule shall give notice to the President of such alteration at least fourteen days before a General Meeting, and such proposed alteration shall be previously printed and circulated among the Members of the Club.

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Correspondence of Sir Henry Unton, Knt., Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to Henry IV. King of France, in the years MDXCI. and MDXCII. From the originals and authentic copies in the State Paper Office, the British Museum, and the Bodleian Library. Edited by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A. Printed for the Club. 1847.

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Letters and Dispatches from Sir Henry Wotton to James the First and his Ministers, in the years MDCXVII—XX. Printed from the Originals in the Library of Eton College.

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Printed for the Club. 1857.

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The Itineraries of William Wey, Fellow of Eton College, to Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462; and to Saint James of Compostella, A.D. 1456. From the original MS. in the Bodleian Library. Printed for the Club. 1857.

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## LETTERS.

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| | | 1545? | Addressed to | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. | Ampthill | June 18 | Archbishop Cranmer . | *Impertio te plurima* . | 1 |
| II. | Hunsdon | Nov. 8 | Earl of Hertford . | *Natura movet me* . | 2 |
| III. | ——— | Jan. 11 | The Lady Mary . | *It is so long since* . | ib. |
| IV. | ——— | —— 13 | Archbishop Cranmer . | *Etsi puer sum* . . | 3 |
| V. | Hertford | Mar. 11 | Doctor Coxe . . | *Scribo ad te paucis* . | 5 |
| VI. | ——— | —— 24 | ——— . . | *Quia vellem* . . | ib. |
| | | 1546. | | | |
| VII. | ——— | April 2 | ——— . . | *Ago tibi gratias* . . | 6 |
| VIII. | ——— | —— 9 | ——— . . | *Quemadmodum officium* | 7 |
| IX. | Hunsdon | May 8 | The Lady Mary . | *Etsi non scribo* . . | 8 |
| X. | ——— | —— 12 | Queen Katharine . | *Pardon my rude style* . | 9 |
| XI. | ——— | —— 20 | The Lady Mary . | *Non doleo tantum* . | ib. |
| XII. | ——— | —— 23 | Doctor Coxe . . | *Quia parum habeo* . | 11 |
| XIII. | ——— | —— 24 | Queen Katharine . | *Fortasse miraberis* . | 12 |
| XIV. | (*Undated*) | . . | ——— ——— . | *Most honourable* . | 13 |
| XV. | ——— | May 4 / June 2 | The King . | *Non misi ad te* | 14 |
| XVI. | ——— | —— 3 | Doctor Coxe . . | *Ex quo Foulerus* . | 15 |

| | | 1545. | Addressed to | | PAGE |
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| XVII. | Hunsdon | June 10 | Queen Katharine | *Etsi omnes literæ* | 16 |
| XVIII. | ——— | ——— | The King | *Opto tibi pacem* | 17 |
| XIX. | ——— | —— 13 | Doctor Coxe | *Quia mihi persuasum est* | 18 |
| XX. | ——— | —— 28 | ——— | *Scribo ad te, Præceptor* | 19 |
| XXI. | ——— | July 4 | The King | *Ago tibi ingentes* | 20 |
| XXII. | The Moor | Aug. 4 | ——— | *Ingentes tibi gratias* | 21 |
| XXIII. | ——— | —— 12 | Queen Katharine | *Ingentem tibi gratiam* | 22 |
| XXIV. | Hatfield | —— 20 | Doctor Coxe | *Maximus mihi dolor* | 23 |
| XXV. | ——— | Sept. 4 | The King | *Ex omnibus* | 24 |
| XXVI. | ——— | —— 7 | Doctor Coxe | *Plurimo affectus fui* | 25 |
| XXVII. | ——— | —— 13 | ——— | *Audivi te recuperasse* | ib. |
| XXVIII. | (*No place*) | —— 20 | Queen Katharine | *Cum essem in aula* | 26 |
| XXIX. | (*No place*) | —— 26 | The Lady Mary | *Amor meus erga te* | 27 |
| XXX. | Hatfield | —— 27 | The King | *Literæ meæ semper* | ib. |
| XXXI. | ——— | —— 7 | ——— | *Quia nullo alio* | 28 |
| XXXII. | ——— | Nov. 7 | The Lady Mary | *Natura mihi* | 29 |
| XXXIII. | ——— | ——— | Queen Katharine | *Debeo tibi ingentes* | 30 |
| XXXIV. | (*No place*) | Dec. 5 | The Lady Elizabeth | *Loci quidem mutatio* | 31 |
| XXXV. | Tittenhanger | —— 18 | ——— | *Puisque vous a pleu* | 32 |
| XXXVI. | Hertford | Jan. 10 | The Lady Mary | *Una hæc epistola* | ib. |
| XXXVII. | ——— | ——— | Queen Katharine | *Quod non ad te* | 33 |
| XXXVIII. | ——— | ——— | The King | *Cum tot et tanta* | 35 |
| XXXIX. | ——— | —— 24 | Archbishop Cranmer | *Duæ res mihi* | 36 |
| XL. | ——— | —— 25 | Bishop Day | *Tria mihi* | 37 |
| XLI. | Tower of London | Feb. 7 | Queen Katharine | *Plurimas tibi gratias* | 38 |
| XLII. | ——— | —— 8 | The Lady Mary | *Natura, non sapientia* | 39 |
| XLIII. | ——— | ——— | The Lady Elizabeth | *Minimè opus est* | 40 |
| | | 1547. | | | |
| XLIV. | (*No place*) | May 30 | Queen Katharine | *Cum non procul abs te* | 41 |
| XLV. | St. James's | June 9 | Earl of Hertford | *Literæ tuæ, cognate* | 43 |
| XLVI. | ——— | —— 25 | Queen Katharine | *Wee thank you hartely* | 44 |
| XLVII. | Hampton Ct. | Aug. 24 | Duke of Somerset | *Agnosco me multis* | 47 |
| | ——— | Sept. 9 | Answer to the Polish Ambassador | *Agamus ingentes* | 48 |
| XLVIII. | ——— | (*Undated*) | Queen Katharine | *Je vous mercie* | 49 |
| XLIX. | ——— | —— 12 | Duke of Somerset | *Cùm postremis* | 50 |
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| LII. | (*Undated*) | . . | Earl of Hertford . | *Intelligo ex tuis literis* . | 52 |
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| LIV. | Hampton Ct. | July 19 | ——————— | *My lord, i thank you* . | 60 |
| LV. | (*No place*) | May 8 | Barnaby FitzPatrick . | *Tibi ingentes gratias* . | 63 |
| | | 1551. | | | |
| LVI. | Westminster | Dec. 20 | Barnaby FitzPatrick . | *We have received* . | 66 |
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| | Paris | —— 29 | Sir W. Pyckering to sir William Cecill | . . | ib. |
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| | Paris | Feb. 12 | Barnaby FitzPatrick to sir William Cecill | . | 76 |
| | —— | ——— | Sir W. Pickering ——————— | . | ib. |
| LVIII. | Westminster | Feb. 25 | Barnaby FitzPatrick . | *We have received* . | ib. |
| | | 1552. | | | |
| | Nanci | April 15 | Barnaby FitzPatrick to the King | . . . | 78 |
| LIX. | Greenwich | May 3 | Barnaby FitzPatrick . | *We have received* . | 79 |
| LX. | Christchurch | Aug. 22 | ——————— . | *The causis whi* . . | 80 |
| | Liestorfft | May 26 | Barnaby FitzPatrick to the King | . . . | 82 |
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# PREFACE

THE Literary Remains of King Edward the Sixth have always been regarded with curiosity and interest, both as memorials of one in whom great hopes were placed, and whose personal qualities have been greatly and often excessively estimated, and also as authentic documents for an important period of our history. In the latter respect the King's Journal has occupied a prominent part. The earliest historian of the reign, Sir John Hayward, made it the groundwork of his book, which, with certain embellishments and amplifications, is for the most part (as Burnet says) "transcribed" from it; and later writers, even with the accession of state papers of more formal character, have continued to interweave into their narratives many of the threads originally derived from this remarkable source.

Until late in the reign of James the First, the manuscripts of King Edward remained in their appropriate repository, the Royal Library; for in the Preface, written by James Mountague, Bishop of Winchester, to the collected Works of King James I. published in folio, 1616, occurs the following passage:—

Edward the sixt, though his dayes were so short, as he could not give full proofe of those singular parts that were in him, yet hee wrote (1) divers *Epistles* and *Orations* both in Greeke and Latine. He wrote (2) a Treatise *De Fide* to the Duke of Somerset. He wrote (3) a *History of his owne time.* Which are all yet extant under his owne hand, in the King's Library; as Mr. Patrick Young, his Majesties learned and industrious Bibliothecarius, hath shewed me; and, which is not to be forgotten, so diligent a hearer of sermons was that sweet Prince, that (4) the notes of the most of the sermons he heard are yet to bee seene under his

owne hand, with the preacher's name, the time, and the place, and all other circumstances.

We learn from this that Bishop Mountague saw, in the Royal Library, (1) the volume now the Harleian MS. 5087; (2) the volume now the Additional MS. 9000; (3) the volume now the Cottonian MS. Nero C. x; and (4) the King's note-book of the sermons he heard. All four were subsequently abstracted from the library, and the last appears to be entirely lost.

With regard to King Edward's manuscripts which are still preserved, I shall now proceed to describe them in the order in which they are arranged in the present collection.

They consist, in a general view, of four classes—his School Exercises (which include his Latin Letters, his Orationes or Declamations in Latin and Greek, and his compilations in French), his English Letters, his Journal, and State Papers. There remain altogether ten volumes, which consist entirely of King Edward's manuscripts, besides such detached pieces as are found elsewhere. These are—

1. The Arundel MS. 510, in the British Museum.

2. A similar volume in the Bodleian Library, No. 3071 of Bernard's Catalogue.

3. A folio volume in the Bodleian Library, No. 899.

These three contain Greek and Latin exercises.[a]

4. A folio volume in the British Museum, MS. Addit. 4724, containing Greek and Latin Declamations.[b]

5. The Harleian MS. 5087, containing fair copies of the King's Latin Letters, and of six of his Declamations.

6. The Cottonian MS. Nero C. x, containing the Journal, and the schemes for the Order of the Garter, and some other papers

[a] They have furnished no materials for the text of this work, but a description of their contents will be found in Appendix XII.

[b] Of this the contents are given in pp. 93—98.

bound up with it. Though shown to bishop Mountague in the Royal Library shortly before 1616, they must very soon after have passed into the hands of sir Robert Cotton, whose autograph, *R. Cotton Bruceus*, is on the first fly-leaf.

7. The French compilation against Idolatry, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

8. That upon Faith, in the British Museum.

9 and 10. That upon the Papacy, of which the rough copy is in the British Museum, and the fair copy in the Public Library at Cambridge.

(Of these, Nos. 5, 7, 8, and 10 are fair copies, probably transcribed by other hands; but the rest are King Edward's autograph manuscripts.)

I. The LETTERS, which occupy the first place in the present work, amount altogether to the number of sixty-three. Of these more than two-thirds are contained in the King's own copy-book (MS. Harl. 5087), and they were written as exercises in Latin composition. Five of their originals, as transmitted to the persons addressed (II. XIII. XXX. XXXVII. and XLV.), are also preserved, in the Cottonian and Lansdowne collections; and of two others (XV. and XLIV.) the draft copies exist at Cambridge. Letters

In French we have two letters written by the King—one (XXXV.) addressed to his sister Elizabeth, among the Petyt MSS. in the library of the Inner Temple; and the other (XLVIII.) addressed to Queen Katharine Parr, in the MS. Harl. 6986.

The English letters are not very numerous. There are two (I. and IV.) written at a very early period to archbishop Cranmer; one (XIV.) to queen Katharine; and one (L.) to the duke of Somerset,[a] the last conveying the King's thanks, not only to the duke as

[a] Letter XLIX. (in Latin) was written to the duke of Somerset on the 12th of September, 1547; and the following minute respecting its transmission plainly shows that the days of penny-postage were still far distant: "xiij Septembris, at Oteland. Sir Michael Stanhop one of the chief jentylmen of the privey chambre had warrant to

commander-in-chief, but to all the noblemen, gentlemen, and others who had contributed to the martial successes in Scotland.

Almost all the King's letters that have been preserved belong to his very early years. There are few written after he came to the throne; and in his latter years only those to his friend Barnaby FitzPatrick. (Letters LV.—LXIII.) Most of these were first printed by the Hon. Horace Walpole, from his private press at Strawberry Hill. I had made some inquiries after their originals with but distant prospect of success, when I heard, somewhat accidentally, that they were for a time within the walls of the British Museum, in order to be mounted and bound, with the care they deserved, by the book-binder of that establishment. By the favour of Mr. J. Winter Jones, to whose charge they had been entrusted by the Right Hon. J. W. FitzPatrick, I had consequently the advantage of examining the originals; but this was not until all of them, except the last, had already been printed for the present work, from the transcripts made by the Rev. William Cole. In consequence of my collation, I have reprinted one leaf (65-66) and now give notes of such other corrections as at all affect the sense.[a]

Two of the King's letters to Barnaby (LIX. and LXII.) are not

deliver xxv li. to sir Thomas Wroothe sent Northwards with letters to the lord Protectour's grace." (Register of the Privy Council.)

[a] In page 69, line 7 of the letter, the King wrote, "flatly to declare to some man of estimation,"—not *men*. The word *flatly* was afterwards erased, probably at the time when the addition, which is printed within brackets, was written in the margin.

In p. 71, line 3, read "Enditements was redd;" in line 5, "sir Thomas Paulmir;" in line 13, "gendarmery."

This letter is thus directed: To our welbeloved servaunte
Barneby Fizpatrike [one of]
the gentlemen of our chambre.

In p. 77, line 2, read "warres;" in line 4, read "al your costes."

In p. 80, line 6 of letter, read "from thens toward;" line 10, read "peinful."

In p. 86, last line, read "other such good wordes."

In p. 87, line 12, read "rather nay."

preserved in Mr. FitzPatrick's book. They were communicated to Dr. Thomas Fuller, and published by him; but were overlooked by Walpole.

Barnaby's own letters to the King were dispersed. None of them are now to be found in the State-paper office; but some are in two separate volumes of the Cottonian MSS.; whilst others are wholly lost. The remaining portions of the series (so far as they have escaped partial destruction in the fire of the Cottonian library,) are now printed for the first time; as also are some letters relating to FitzPatrick's mission which occur in the French correspondence at the State-paper office.

There is one English letter of the King to queen Katharine (Letter XLVI.) of which the original has not been traced; but it is printed from a transcript made by Thoresby; whilst my repeated inquiries have failed to find the originals, said to be in Latin, of two letters (III. and X.) of which English translations only were published by Mr. Halliwell in 1848.

Mr. Halliwell also published,[a] as a letter of King Edward to Bucer, the translation of an imperfect Latin epistle which exists in the MS. Lansdowne 1236, art. 14. This I have rejected altogether, for a very sufficient reason.[b]

[a] Letters of the Kings of England, vol. ii. 42. It is perhaps requisite also to repeat in this place that the first letter (translated) in Mr. Halliwell's second volume is not a letter of Prince Edward to his father, but one of the duke of Suffolk to King Edward, and will be found in the present work at p. lviii. Five other letters given by Mr. Halliwell are also omitted, as having been only written in the King's name, and not by himself: 1. to sir Edward Browne, Letters of the Kings of England, ii. 26; 2. letter under the signet to the lords of the council, 1549, p. 35; 3. to bishop Gardyner, 8 July, 1550, p. 45; 4. to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, 26 Nov. 1551, p. 46; 5. concerning the duke of Somerset's hatchment at Windsor, p. 54.

[b] The following passage shews it to have been written by a lady:—"cum sim ad hunc in Christo copulum et communionem evangelii tuaque opera et ministerio *vocata*." The person to whom it was addressed is as uncertain as the writer. In the Lansdowne Catalogue it is described as "an unsigned letter in the handwriting of King Edward the Sixth, perhaps to Bucer, Fagius, or Peter Martyr, from whom he had received godly instruction."

It is not improbable that other letters of King Edward may still be in existence, and have escaped my inquiries.

Those he wrote to his godfather Cranmer were carefully preserved by Ralph Morice the archbishop's secretary; but, with the exception of the two (I. and IV.) that were printed by Foxe, they are now all lost, having been abstracted or destroyed when Morice's house was rifled at the beginning of Mary's reign :—

—"for by reason that I became fugityve frome myn awne house, and brake prison frome the Justices, my house within ij yeres was thrise serched, so that by that meanes I loste a great sort of things worthie perpetual memorie, and speciallie certayne Epistells of Kyng Edward's to my lorde of Canterbury, and the Answers of my lorde unto hym." Letter of Ralph Morice to John Day in Letters of Eminent Literary Men, (edited by Sir Henry Ellis for the Camden Society,) p. 25.

It is uncertain whether Sir Simonds D'Ewes had or had not any other of Edward's letters than are included in the present collection. Strype, after presenting the letters numbered XV. XIV. and XXXV. remarks, "There be other Epistles of this Prince, that may be found printed in Fox, and in Fuller's Church History, and others remaining in Sir Simonds Dew's library, *manu sua scriptæ*, and divers others in private hands."

Orationes. II. In the introduction to the ORATIONES, or Declamations, (at p. 93,) it is remarked that these were evidently substituted for *Epistolæ* as exercises in Latin. This was a course that had been recommended as desirable by Erasmus in his essay *De ratione Studii;* in which, after treating of Epistles, he gives particular directions how a teacher should instruct his pupils in the subjects, materials, and formularies of these Declamations; which were frequently upon questions that admitted of much argument on both sides, and therefore were suitable to competing disputants, an arrangement which we find adopted in the exercises of King Edward and his companions.

Aliquando ceu declamatorium thema dabit, in diversis generibus, puta si jubeat eos vituperare Julium Cæsarem, aut laudare Socratem, in genere demon-

strativo. Item, statim optima discenda. In opibus non esse felicitatem. Matrem proprio lacte nutrire debere quod peperit. Literis Græcis non esse dandam operam, aut esse dandam. Uxorem esse ducendam, aut non esse ducendam. Peregrinandum esse, aut non esse peregrinandum, in genere suasorio. Item, M. Horatium indignum esse supplicio, in genere juridiciali. Verùm hanc palæstram primum ingredientibus non gravabitur is, qui docendi provinciam suscepit, primum indicare, quot propositionibus id argumentum tractari possit. Præterea propositionum ordinem demonstrabit, et quo pacto alia ex alia pendeat. Deinde quot rationibus unaquæque propositio fulciri debet, quot confirmationibus unaquæque ratio. Tum circumstantias ad locos, unde ista peti possint. Deinde quibus similibus, dissimilibus, exemplis, collationibus, sententiis, proverbiis, fabulis, apologis, unaquæque pars locupletari queat. Ostendat et schemata, si qua insigniter videbuntur incidere posse, quæ vel acriorem, vel ampliorem, vel magis dilucidam, vel jucundiorem reddant orationem. Si quid erit amplificandum, rationem demonstret, sive per locos communes, sive per eas rationes, quas in quatuor formas distribuit Quintilianus. Quod si qui inciderint affectus, hi quoque quo pacto tractandi sint, admonebit. Quin et connectendi rationes præscribat, quis sit optimus futurus transitus, ab exordio ad narrationem, à narratione ad divisionem, à divisione ad argumentationem, à propositione ad propositionem, à ratione ad rationem, ab argumentatione ad epilogum, aut perorationem. Ostendat et formulas aliquot, quibus ibi commodè possint exordiri, aut etiam perorare. Postremo, si potest, locos aliquot in autoribus incidet, unde valeant aliquid imitandum sumere, propter rerum affinitatem. Id ubi septies aut octies erit factum, jam incipient (quod ait Horatius) sine cortice nare, et satis erit nudum thema ministrasse: nec necesse fuerit semper velut infantibus cibum præmansum in os inserere.

In some of King Edward's declamations (VI. VII. and XII.) it will be found that he has partially followed a regular scheme, similar to that prescribed by Erasmus, of an Exordium, Narratio, Divisio, Confirmatio, Distributio, Peroratio, &c.

In a few instances we can trace the temporary occasions which suggested the subjects of the King's Declamations: as is the case with the two in Greek and Latin on crusading against the Turks, a question suggested by the conduct of the Emperor and French King respectively. The declamation on Astronomy (Oratio XI B.)

is connected with some other matters belonging to that science, which occupied the King's attention in 1551. The proposition (Oratio IX.) that Adultery should be punished with death, was advocated by bishop Latimer in 1550 (see p. cxxxvi.) and by Bucer in 1551 (p. 477).

Compilations in French.

III. The three religious COMPILATIONS IN THE FRENCH LANGUAGE, which are placed next to the Orationes, were evidently prepared under the eye of the King's French master, and they were all written in small volumes which were handsomely bound for presentation to the Duke of Somerset.

I. Against Idolatry.

The first, consisting of passages of holy scripture against Idolatry, is in the library of Trinity college, Cambridge.

II. Upon Faith.

The second, upon Faith, is in the British Museum.[a]

III. On the Supremacy of the Pope.

The third, on the Supremacy of the Pope, was in Strype's time among the MSS. of Sir William Hickes (not Hatton, as suggested in p. 173), and is now in the Public Library at Cambridge. Of the English translation of this essay, made "by a person of very great quality," and published in 1682, I have given an account in my introductory remarks; but I have not succeeded in discovering who that "person of very great quality" was, nor who was the author of the Preface and Remarks which I have reprinted.

Poetry.

IV. The only piece of POETRY attributed to King Edward is the ballad upon the Eucharist, printed at p. 206. Its authorship, however, is doubtful; for, whilst most of the historians of English literature have assigned it to Edward, an early writer attributes it to Sir Anthony St.Leger.[b]

[a] It was sold in 1812 at the sale of the Duke of Roxburghe's library for 25*l.* 10*s.* and was afterwards in the library of John North, esq. of East Acton, Middlesex. Clarke's Repertorium Bibliographicum, 1819, pp. 327, 522.

[b] In the last edition of Foxe's Actes and Monuments, (by Townsend and Cattley,) vol. vii. p. 719, the piece is followed by this line: "By W. M. as it is supposed,"—thus apparently setting up a third claimant for the authorship. But this is a typographical error; that note really belongs to the previous poetical piece, entitled "Verses laid on Queen Mary's Desk," as will be found on referring to former editions of Foxe.

The statements of Foxe, by whom it was published, are very ambiguous. He entitles it "The Instruction of King Edward the Sixt, given to Sir Anthony Seyntleger, Knight of his privie chamber, being of a corrupt judgment of the Eucharist:" but in a postscript tells a story about Maister Sentleger being "charged with this *his* Pamphlet."

With regard to sir Anthony St. Leger's claim to be the author,[a] we have to consider the following passage of Edward Campion's Historie of Ireland, in which a greater importance is given to this trifling composition than could have been imagined:—

Queene Mary, established in her crown, committed her government [of Ireland] once more to Saintleger, whom sundry noblemen pelted and lifted at, till they sholdered him quite out of all credite. He, to be counted forward and plyable to the taste of King Edward the sixt his raigne, rymed against the Reall Presence for his pastime, and let the papers fall where courtiers might light thereon, who greatly magnified the pith and conveyance of that noble sonnet. But the originall of his own hand-writing had the same firmely[b] (though contrary to his own judgment), wandering in so many hands, that his adversary caught it, and tripped it in his way: the spot whereof he could never wipe out. Thus was he removed, a discreete gentleman, very studious of the state of Ireland, enriched, stout enough, without gall. (Campion's Historie of Ireland, fol. 1633, p. 124.)

[a] It is remarked of sir Anthony St. Leger, in the Athenæ Cantabrigienses, that he administered the government of Ireland with great success, but met with repeated embarrassments on the point of religious observance, in which he evidently had no fixed principles. It was during his government that the title of Henry VIII. as King of Ireland was first established in 1541, and that the English liturgy was first introduced in 1551. Yet he was in some trouble in 1552 for having sided rather with the Popish archbishop Dowdal than the Protestant archbishop Browne.

Being in England at the close of the reign of Edward VI. he was one of those who signed the settlement of the crown on queen Jane on the 21st June 1553: yet on the 7th of August following he was sworn of the council to queen Mary, and, having become the suitor of bishop Gardyner (as mentioned in Narratives of the Reformation, p. 179), he was first employed on an embassy to France, and in the following November re-appointed to his government in Ireland. This last viceroyalty lasted for three years, and it is to its termination that the passage of Campion (quoted in the text) belongs.

[b] So in the original: *qu.* infirmity.

Most of our literary historians, however, led by bishop Tanner, (in his Bibliotheca, 1748, p. 255,) have understood Foxe as attributing these verses to King Edward. The piece is unnoticed by Walpole in his Catalogue of Royal Authors; but Warton, in his History of English Poetry, 4to, 1781, iii. 195, writes as follows:—

I must not forget that King Edward the Sixth is to be ranked among the religious poets of his own reign. Foxe has published his metrical instructions concerning the Eucharist, addressed to sir Anthony St. Leger.

Mr. Park, in his edition (1806) of Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. i. p. 63, presents the poem as Edward's composition.

Journal. V. We have next to notice King Edward's JOURNAL: which, as already remarked, formed the foundation for the first History of his reign,—that by Sir John Hayward,[a] and consequently mixes largely in the statements of all its subsequent historians. Of this document Sir John Hayward's own account is as follows:—

"In one point hee was like the like-borne Julius Cæsar. For as Cæsar, in the middest of his greatest actions, wrote an exact and curious commentary of all his notable enterprises by armes, so this Edward during all the time of his raigne, but most especially towards the end, kept a most judicious Journall of all the most principall passages of the affaires of his estate. These memorialls, written with King Edward's hand, (which now shall be the ground of this historie,) were im-

[a] Besides the King's Journal, Hayward's other authorities consisted, principally, of Patten's account of the expedition into Scotland, Foxe's Actes and Monuments, the Chronicles of Holinshed and Stowe, and the slanderous book of the Romanist writer Nicolas Sanders, *de Schismate Anglicano*. See a chapter in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. chapter xxviii. consisting of "Animadversions upon Sir John Hayward's Life and Reign of Edward VI.," and see also Strype's introduction to Hayward's History as reprinted in Kennett's Complete History of England, in which some of the most important of Hayward's mistakes are pointed out. Strype remarks, very justly, that "Hayward's style and language is good, and so is his fancy too. Only he makes too much use of it for an historian, which puts him sometimes to make speeches for others which they never spake nor perhaps thought on. There is one made for the King, upon his reflection on the loss of his uncle the duke of Somerset [see in p. clviii., note], too wise and too deep for a child-King to think or utter." (Eccles. Mem. ii. 470.)

parted unto me by the great treasurer of English antiquities, Sir Robert Cotton, knight baronet, who as he hath beene a most industrious both collector and conserver of choice peeces in that kinde, so is he most ingenuously free to communicate the use of them to others.

Dr. Thomas Fuller, when compiling his "Church History of Britain" (1655, folio,) was glad to resort to the same source of information:—

By the favour of Sir *Thomas Cotton*, (he states,) having obtained to make use of his Library (our English *Vatican*, for *Manuscripts*,) I shall transcribe King *Edward's Diurnall*, written with His own hand, of the *transactions* in His *Reigne*. True it is His Observations, for his two first years, are short, and not exactly expressing the notation of time, but His *Notes as the Noter* got perfection with His age. They most belong to *Secular affairs*, out of which we have selected such as respect *Ecclesiasticall matters*. May the Reader be pleased to take notice, that though my *Observations*, as printed, goe a-breast in parallel *Columes* with those of His Highnesse, it is my intention they should observe their *distance*, in their humble *attendance* thereupon. (Church History, book vii. sect. 1, par. 22.)

Dr. Fuller's extracts are accompanied by some of those witty and sententious comments that are peculiar to him: and such of the latter as are of any importance are appended to the text in the present edition. Again, in another place, Fuller relates of King Edward:—

"He kept an exact account, written with his own hand (and that a very legible one,) of all memorable accidents, with the accurate date thereof. No high honour was conferred, bishopric bestowed, state-office disposed of, no old fort repaired, no new one erected, no bullion brought in, no great summes sent forth of the land, no ambassadours despatched hence, none entertained here, but by him, with his own hand, it was recorded: whose *Notes* herein, though very particular, are nothing triviall; though short, not obscure." (Church History, book vii. sect. 2, par. 14.)

But this praise is far too high, in respect to the presumed completeness of the record; and would hardly be appropriate even to the register of the privy council, which yet contains, it is probable, more than twenty-fold the information upon such ordinary trans-

actions that the King's Journal affords. It will be readily understood that the value of the latter does not lie in its completeness, nor in its minute accuracy, but rather in its incidental disclosures of state policy, and in its continual reflection of the character and pursuits of the young monarch himself.

The remarks of David Lloyd are likewise to be taken *cum grano*, though I am unwilling to pass wholly unnoticed any of these early notices of King Edward's writings. Lloyd is speaking of Sir John Cheke when he says,—

> He was the first that brought in the use of a Diary, and his pupil the next that practised it: his aphorism it was, that a dark and imperfect reflection upon affairs, floating in the memory, was like words dispersed and insignificant; whereas a compleat view of them in a book was like the same words pointed in a period, and made significant. (State Worthies, 1655.)

But we shall be less disposed to quarrel with the estimate of bishop Burnet:

> Among all the remains of the last age that are with great industry and order laid up in that treasury (the Cottonian library), none pleased me better, nor were of more use to me, than the Journal of King Edward's reign, written all with his own hand, with some other papers of his, which I have put by themselves at the beginning of the Collection. I find most of our writers have taken parcels out of them, and sir John Heywood has transcribed from them the greatest part of his book; therefore I thought this a thing of such consequence, that upon good advice I have published them all, faithfully copied from the originals. (Preface to History of the Reformation.)
>
> This year (1550) the King began to write his Journal himself. The first three years are set down in a short way of recapitulating matters: but this year he set down what was done every day, that was of any moment, together with the foreign news that were sent over. And oftentimes he called to mind passages some days after they were done; and sometimes, after the middle of a month, he tells what was done in the beginning of it: which shows clearly it was his own work; for if it had been drawn for him by any that were about him, and given him only to copy out for his memory, it would have been more exact: so that there remains no doubt with me but that it was his own originally.

Horace Walpole remarks:

Cardan talks much of his parts and learning: his own Diary gave the still better hopes of his proving a good King, as in so green an age he seemed resolved to be acquainted with his subjects and his kingdom. (Catalogue of Royal Authors, 1758.)

Edward commenced his Journal in March 1549-50, when in his thirteenth year. In order to make it a complete "Chronicle" of his reign (which was the name he himself gave it), he prefixed a brief summary of the events of the three preceding years. He ceased to make further additions at the close of November 1552, somewhat more than seven months before his death.

The question has been entertained, how far the Journal was the unaided production of the King's own observations. Mr. Hallam, in his Constitutional History of England, thus expressed his opinion upon this point: Hallam.

I can hardly avoid doubting whether Edward VI.'s Journal be altogether his own; because it is strange for a boy of ten years old[a] to write with the precise brevity of a man of business. Yet it is hard to say how far an intercourse with able men on serious subjects may force a royal plant of such natural vigour, and his letters to his young friend Barnaby FitzPatrick are quite unlike the style of a boy.[b] One could wish this Journal not to be genuine; for the manner in which he speaks of both his uncles' executions does not show a good heart. Unfortunately, however, there is a letter extant, of the King to FitzPatrick, which must be genuine, and is in the same strain. He treated his sister Mary harshly about her religion, and had, I suspect, too much Tudor blood in his veins. (Constitutional History, second edit. 1829, vol. i. p. 116.)

Mr. Tytler, referring to this passage, remarks: Tytler.

I may here mention, by the way, that a conjecture of Mr. Hallam's, as to the non-originality of Edward's Journal, derives support from some notes I have found in the State-paper Office, which show that the young monarch was in the habit of

[a] As above stated, he was really between twelve and thirteen when the Journal was commenced.

[b] He had then advanced to fifteen.

transcribing papers written for him by his masters. In the present instance[a] he specially notices, that, after the "fair supper," given them by the duke of Somerset, the ambassadors went on the Thames, where they saw the "bear hunted in the river, wildfire cast out of the boats, and many pretty conceits." (England under the Reigns of Edward the Sixth and Mary, 1839, vol. i. p. 290.)

It will be observed that this evidence of dictation in a description of some obvious matters of fact is very slight indeed: and, for my own part, in the course of my examination of the several contemporary papers mentioned in my notes to the Journal, I have discovered no proof of Edward having written from dictation – that is to say, subsequently to the introductory summary before mentioned, in which he no doubt had some assistance. I therefore coincide entirely in Bishop Burnet's remarks upon this point, already extracted.

Bishop Burnet.

Burnet, when he printed the Journal entire, gave it in a form modernized to the orthography of his own day, but therewith encumbered with many errors and misapprehensions, which have not hitherto been corrected.[b] In the present edition the object has

[a] The entertainment of the French ambassadors in May 1550 : see the Journal, p. 273.

[b] Burnet, however judicious and penetrating as an historian, was, like other men of genius, hasty and careless. The following are some of the worst errors in his version of the Journal, as printed in the last edition (Oxford, 1829): Vol. II. Part ii.

Page

13. Sir Tho. Arundel, and *six*, *then*—read Sir John.
15. *Rochfort*—read Rochepot.
16. Sir John *Davies*—read Denis.
32. the vicedam Han*a*ndie, instead of—the vicedam, Han*a*udie (two persons)
23. *all* players—read il (ill) players.
27. 100 keepers for 150.
35. Mr. *Crosted*—read Croftes, or Croft.
37. *defraying*—read deferring.
45. treaty of *Northampton*—read Norham.
46. came to a hunting—came to *me* a hunting.
42. *whole* fleet—read wool fleet.
54. *Also* he found a bare company—read, if he found.

been to print a perfect transcript of the document as it proceeded from the royal pen, with its errors, if they remain in the original, and sometimes with both errors and corrections, where they show a train of thought.

The notes are intended to supply whatever information is extant upon the subjects mentioned by King Edward; either by means of references to the best historians and collections of historical documents, or by the production of original materials from manuscript authorities. Whilst I fear that some readers may deem that the text is occasionally overwhelmed by the amount of illustration, I beg in justification to say, that such illustration consists in great measure of contemporary documents previously inedited, and that, as they arose during researches made whilst the Journal was passing through the press, it was difficult to form any systematic plan for the distribution of materials between the notes and the appendices.

VI. The last division of the King's writings consists of STATE PAPERS AND POLITICAL ESSAYS, which are partly preserved in the

State Papers and Political Essays.

55. Apprentices and R; "R" not in the MS.
63. *guider*—read guidon.
64. Among the challengers, the earl of Warwick omitted.
64. Lord Williams—read Lord William (Howard).
Lord Roberts—read Lord Robert (Dudley).
These in all—read These 18 in all.
65. first *of* a play—first a play.
66. This *day* was the end of Christmas.—This was the end, &c.
66. Lord Roberts again.
68. the fourth king of arms—read the *first* fourth king of arms.
*Tylor* of Hadlee—read Taylor.
76. *Story*—read Scory.
79. Certain things, &c. a page inserted here which belongs to the imperfect document, at p. 125, to which the remark *cætera desunt* is added.
84. Count of Mansfield governor of the *town*. *And the duke* of Luxemburg and his 300 light horse—read, and of the duchy.
87. *Londre*—read Cowdray.
90. *Wotesfount*—read Motisfount.

same volume with his Journal, and partly in other places in the State-paper office and British Museum.

Discourse on the Reformation of Abuses.

The first in order, being a discourse on the Reformation of Abuses, is on the whole the most important as a literary composition of any that remain in the King's handwriting. It appears to have been suggested in a great measure by the written advice communicated to the King by Bucer.[a] Bishop Burnet's remarks upon it will be found at p. 475.

Schemes for the Order of the Garter.

The remarkable papers upon the Order of the Garter I have edited with especial care and attention, having found that none of my predecessors had heretofore appreciated their curiosity or even discovered how considerable are the differences in the several copies[b].

[a] In Dr. Leonard Howard's Collection of Letters, 1753, 4to, Appendix, p. 393, is printed a part of this essay, without naming King Edward, but thus introduced,—"A Manuscript, intituled, An Antient Fragment of the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Government of a well-constituted Realm; with the proper Oeconomy and Duty of each Individual; the former Part is in an old Hand, and the latter seems to be an Addition, and wrote some years after." It follows the King's essay, word for word, as far as "must pay such rente" (p. 480, line 22); after which follows the modern adaptation, probably written early in the last century, and which forms about three-fifths of the whole paper.

[b] Since they were printed I have copied from the State-paper office the following passages of a letter from the duke of Northumberland to the lord chamberlain (Darcy), dated from Chelsea on the 6th Jan. 1552-3:

"I do by this bearer retorne unto your lordship the Kinges ma$^{tes}$ bookes of the order, as welle the newest as th'others, and the laste I think to be the moost nereste to the Kinges ma$^{tes}$ mynde and plesser; but for so moche as yt ys alle in lattyn I can butt give a gesse at yt, yet nevertheles I am so bolde to expres my understandinge in some parte of yt. And because yt ys a matter not mete to conferr with any others apon yt excepte of the order, I shalle requier your lordship and the chancellour of th'order to bere with my folly, tho I take upon me to declare some poyntes, which I do rather for my owne understanding then otherwise. In the end of the fyrste chapiter or proheme yt ys sayde there shalbe xxvj knightes of the same fellowshipe or ordder, of the most worthye, and so forthe, of the whiche oone to be as it were soveraine prinse or superiour and hed over th'others. This ys my meanynge, that those wordes in that place be superfluous, and gyveth not the fulle reverense to the Kinges ma$^{tie}$, as yt dothe fourthe with in the

Respecting the other State Papers I have no further remarks to make than are given in the introductions prefixed to each.

Lost Manuscripts.

But an account of the literary works of King Edward the Sixth would not be complete without some notice of his missing manuscripts. When Bale included our youthful monarch's name among his *Scriptores*, he assigned[a] as his grounds for so doing the production of two books:

De Meretrice Babylonica. Lib. 1. (commencing with the words) *Quid deplorandum magis est mortal*[*ibus ?*]

Ex Auditis Concionibus. Lib. 1.

"The Whore of Babylon."

Both these books have disappeared. To what class of literary

begynnynge of the next chapter; and in the latter end of the same second chapiter, the letter semithe to my understandinge to gyve the auctorite but onse in his liffe to chaunge the stalles of the knightes, only reserving Emperors, Kinges, Prynces, and Dukes, and I take yt that his Ma^tie by th'olde statutes may at alle tymes chaunge the stalles of alle persons yf the same attend to theyr advauncement without prejudice of others. And in the begynnynge of the third chapiter, where yt ys saied that as often as any place shalbe voyde, all the knightes, or sixe of theym, with the soveraine or his vicar shall come to gyther, and shall fall to the election, by wrytinge of the names of the princes, th'estates, &c. I meane that at no assemblye, as I take yt, by the olde statutes there can be any election where the soveraine ys not present; the fest may be kept, and all other seremonies, in any place by his ma^tes vicar, lieutenaunt, or deputie, but not to procede to any election, without his highnes owne presence. In thies thinges and in oone or to other poyntes in the book, yf yt might please the Kinges ma^te, I wolde be gladd (for my owne eruditition and knowledge) to commune with the chauncellour of th'ordder, being two or three of the order togyther, yf it so shall plese his ma^tie."

Among the Flanders Correspondence in the State-paper office are three letters of sir Thomas Chamberlayne, the English ambassador at Brussells, to Cecill, in answer to inquiries respecting the order of the Golden Fleece, which had been evidently made in order to obtain hints for the new laws of the Garter. In the first, dated Brussells 23 Oct. 1550, Chamberlayne prays God to give Cecill good luck in his new office of Chancellor of the Garter, and gives a brief account of the order of the Toison. On the 21st he states that after great difficulty he had obtained the manner of the order of the Toison, and has three clerks writing it out. On the 13th Nov. he states that he had sent to mr. Gresham at Antwerp a book of the ceremonies of the order of the Toison, to be forwarded to Cecill.

[a] See p. cciii.

composition the former belonged we are not informed by Bale's description; but the writer of the memoir of King Edward in Holland's Heroologia (published in 1620) supposed it to be a comedy—

Comœdiam elegantissimam de Meretrice Babylonica. Lib. 1.

and subsequent writers have regarded it as a Latin play.

Whether this idea originated, as Mr. Park[a] suggested, from the title of a play by Decker,[b] published in 1607, running in the writer's head, must remain as a conjecture; but it seems not unlikely to have been an error having as little foundation: yet it has borne sufficient authority to mislead the whole series of our literary historians. Tanner, quoting Bale somewhat inaccurately, says, "Scripsit, secundum Baleum, *Comœdiam de Meretrice Babylonica*, lib. i." But Horace Walpole is provoked by the subject of the supposed comedy into further reflections, to which he gives expression after the following characteristic fashion:—

Horace Walpole.

> Holland affirms that he not only wrote notes from the lectures or sermons he heard, but composed a most elegant comedy, the title of which was "The Whore of Babylon." Precious as such a relique would be in the eyes of zealots or antiquarians, I cannot much lament that it is perished, or never existed.—What an education for a great prince, to be taught to scribble controversial ribaldry! As elegant as it is said to have been, I question whether it surpassed the other buffooneries which engrossed the theatres of Europe in that and the preceding century: all the subjects were religious; all the conduct, farcical. Bishop Bale, whom I have mentioned, composed above twenty of these ridiculous interludes. (Catalogue of Royal Authors.)

Warton.

The remarks made upon this subject by Warton, in his History of English Poetry (1781), were evidently suggested by those of Walpole: without naming him, Warton reviews his arguments, and, after setting them in their proper light, is induced to make some general observations on Edward's character and acquirements, which

[a] Note to Warton's History of English Poetry.

[b] The Whore of Babylon, as it was acted by the Prince's Servants. By Thomas Decker. London, 1607.

are impressed with the usual good sense and sound judgment of their author:

Bale also mentions his comedy called *The Whore of Babylon*, which Holland the heroologist, who perhaps had never seen it, and knew not whether it was a play or a ballad, in verse or prose, pronounces to be a most elegant performance. Its elegance, with some, will not perhaps apologise or atone for its subject: and it may seem strange that controversial ribaldry should have been suffered to enter into the education of a great monarch. But the genius, habits, and situation of the age should be considered. The Reformation was the great political topic of Edward's court. Intricate discussions in divinity were no longer confined to the schools or the clergy. The new religion, from its novelty as well as its importance, interested every mind, and was almost the sole object of the general attention. Men emancipated from the severities of a spiritual tyranny, reflected with horror on the slavery they had so long suffered, and with exultation on the triumph they had obtained. These feelings were often expressed in a strain of enthusiasm. The spirit of innovation, which had seized the times, often transgressed the bounds of truth. Every change of religion is attended with those ebullitions, which, growing more moderate by degrees, afterwards appear eccentric and ridiculous.

We who live at a distance from this great and national struggle between popery and protestantism, when our church has been long and peaceably established, and in an age of good sense, of politeness and philosophy, are apt to view these effusions of royal piety as weak and unworthy the character of a King. But an ostentation of zeal and example in the young Edward, as it was natural, so it was necessary, while the Reformation was yet immature. It was the duty of his preceptors to impress on his tender years an abhorrence of the principles of Rome, and a predilection to that happy system which now seemed likely to prevail. His early diligence, his inclination to letters, and his seriousness of disposition, seconded their active endeavours to cultivate and to bias his mind in favour of the new theology, which was now become the fashionable knowledge. These and other amiable virtues his cotemporaries have given young Edward in an eminent degree. But it may be presumed, that the partiality which youth always commands, the specious prospects excited by expectation, and the flattering promises of religious liberty secured to a distant posterity, have had some small share in dictating his panegyric.

The presumed Comedy of "The Whore of Babylon" has obtained

for King Edward the Sixth, on the authorities already cited, a niche in the "Biographica Dramatica" of Baker and Reed; and it is admitted by Mr. Payne Collier[a] into his "History of Dramatic Literature and the Stage;" but, after all, if we go back to the original statement of Bale, the probability appears to be that this production of King Edward's pen was not a comedy or play, nor a composition in verse, but a sober essay (if we may judge from the words of its exordium), and probably in Latin, as, if otherwise, Bale would have added the word *Anglicè*.

Notes of Sermons.

The book of *Notes of Sermons* was certainly extant in the Royal Library in the reign of James the First, when it was shown to Bishop Mountague,[b] who states that the King had recorded in it "the preacher's name, the time, and all other circumstances." This interesting manuscript was evidently also the origin of that passage in Edward's character by Foxe, which will be found in p. ccvii; and the fact there asserted of the King's attention to sermons[c] is confirmed by the contemporary statements made by Bishop Gardyner (p. cvi), and by Bishop Hooper (p. cxli). The King's manuscript, in all probability, having been purloined from the Royal Library, was negligently destroyed, its writer's name being first forgotten.

In the ensuing Biographical Memoir I have been enabled, from

[a] "Edward VI. is said to have written 'an elegant comedy,' with not a very elegant title, called *The Whore of Babylon*, obviously of a religious and controversial character. *Jube the Sane*, so called in the MS. annals of that reign, was in all probability founded on the book of Job." (Collier, iii. 23.) The latter was not a dramatic performance at all, but the chivalric sport of *Juego de Cannas*, introduced by the Spaniards in the reign of Mary, not in that of Edward VI.: see Machyn's Diary, pp. 76, 82, 401.

[b] See before, p. i.

[c] There is another anecdote, commemorating Edward's attention at Common Prayer, which I have failed to trace to its original source in the works of Bale, to whose authority it is assigned. Remarking how much Edward had the welfare of his people at heart, Bale says, "he had often observed him at public prayers, when the words *O Lord, save thy people!* were repeated, joining most fervently with clasped hands and eyes lifted up to heaven." Memoir of King Edward, published by Religious Tract Society, 1831, p. 20.

various sources, to collect many particulars of the sermons preached before the King, though few of them are now preserved.

List of Magistrates, &c.

Bishop Burnet describes another manuscript of King Edward's, which, if it had really existed, would perhaps have been still more curious than his notes of sermons. According to that historian,

"He kept a book in which he writ the characters that were given him of all the chief men of the nation, all the judges, lord lieutenants, and justices of the peace, over England; in it he had marked down their way of living, and their zeal for religion."

But the passage upon which this statement was founded, will be seen in p. ccvii. in which Foxe states that Edward "knew," not that he wrote, the names of his justices, magistrates, &c. It is very possible, however, that Foxe's statement was suggested by some paper once preserved in the Royal library.

Library of Books.

Many of the books which belonged to King Edward the Sixth may still be recognised in the British Museum,[a] although the Royal Library was certainly invaded for the benefit of Sir Thomas Bodley's library at Oxford, and probably on other occasions,[b] and the remainder has now been intermixed with the other national collections.

Latin Grammar.

His own copy of the Latin Grammar issued under his authority in 1540,[c] for universal use in England, is now in the library at

[a] By the kindness of the present librarians of the British Museum I have been allowed facilities to form the Catalogue, which is hereafter given in Appendix XIV.

[b] The religious books of the royal library were despoiled in the reign of Edward the Sixth, in pursuance of the following order of the privy council issued in Feb. 1550-1: "A letter undirected in the presence of M^r^ Viz-chamberlaine and S^r^ Anthonie Aucher to take all manner of garnisshementes, and apparaile of silver and gold, and to delyver it to the said S^r^ Anthonie, and to deface and carrie away out of the liberarie at Westminster all bokes of superstition." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. fol. 50.)

[c] "Institutio compendiaria totius Grammaticae, quam et eruditissimus atq' idem illustrissimus Rex noster hoc nomine evulgari jussit, ut non aliam q^a^ hæc una per totam Angliam pueris prælegeretur. Londini, Anno M.D.XL. *Colophon*, Londini, ex officina Thomae Bertheleti typis impres. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. Anno Verbi Incarnati M D.XL." 4to 80 leaves, and 4 preliminary. In the British Museum is a copy, also on vellum, dated 1542 (see p. cccxlii).

Lambeth palace: it was printed purposely for the King, upon vellum, and is bound in red silk. The woodcut border of the title is coloured; and an illumination is inserted of the Prince's feathers with the initials E.P. and motto HIC DEN placed on a field per pale azure and gules, incircled with rays of gold.

The King's Desk.

The King's desk, upon which he wrote his Journal, and in which he kept the sheets of it as he proceeded, together with such state papers[a] as he wished to be able to refer to, is particularly described in an inventory made shortly after his decease.

Percelle of the late Kynge Edwarde the vj$^{th}$ his stuffe, in the chardge of the foure knightes attendaunte on his personne.

Item, a deske covered with blacke velvet, garnished with plates of copper and gilte, conteyninge theise percelles folowinge:—

Item, a brouche of golde with a face of white agathe.

Geiven to Mr. Rice.

Item, xv triangle buttons of golde enameled, some blacke and some white.

Item, one teston of silver with K. and E. crowned.

Item, v small aglettes of golde triangle, enameled blacke.

Geiven to Mres. Baynham.

Item, xvj small buttons of golde, enameled blacke.

Item, a till of Cypres in the side of the said deske, havinge in it an yncke boxe of silver and gilte without a cover, and a duste boxe of silver and gilte with a cover, and xxxvij counters of silver and gilte.

Item, a litle stampe of iron.

Item, a purse of golde, redde silke and silver.

Item, ij litle boxes of silver gilte for duste and yncke.

(MS. Harl. 7376, f. 30.)

Quadrant.

The Quadrant made for King Edward[b] in the year 1551 has

---

[a] "The reasonings be in my deske." Journal, p. 457.

[b] In 1547 there remained at Westminster, in the study at the hether ende of the Long Galerie, "Item, vj instrumentes of Astronomye hanging uppon the walle:" and in the Kynges secrete studie called the Chaier house, which was filled with little "cabons," there was "an instrument of Astronomye with dialles of white bone;" and "ij cases with instrumentes, th'one covered with black vellat." Against these is placed this memorandum, "The instrumente of Astronomye taken by the Kinges majestie the xij$^{th}$ of Novembre 1549, and likewise two other instrumentes, whereof his grace gave one to the lord Straunge." (MS. Harl. 1419, ff. 113 and 115 b.) On the same day "a box with burnynge

recently come to light. It is of brass, ten inches and a half wide. On one side are various tables,—a square of the shadows, an arrangement for finding the hour, a circle containing the signs of the zodiac, the *Revolutiones Cycli Lunæ* extending from Anno Domini 1539 to 1824, the *Revolutiones Cycli Solis* from 1532 to 1868, and a table to find Easter. On the upper edge are engraved these verses :

Fluxus aquæ celer est, celer est et Fulminis ictus,
Ast magis hijs tacitum tempus utrisq' celer.

Illud metiri quadrans tamen iste docebit,
Et quota sit fias certior hora facit.

Omni negotio tempus est et oportunitas. Salom.

In another part is engraved, Anno Domini 1551. Polus 51, 34.

The name of *Edwardus Rex* is accompanied with many flourishes, resembling his signature. At one point are the initials J. C. united by a knot, evidently those of the designer, Sir John Cheke, and in another corner W.B. perhaps the initials of the engraver.

The other side of the quadrant is only a table of sines and cosines for taking altitudes, without inscriptions; under the scale are the letters T.G. probably intended to imply *Tabula Graduum*.

This interesting relic was brought from St. Omer, where it is supposed to have been preserved in the English college. It was purchased (for the British Museum) by A. W. Franks, esq. F.S.A.[a]

perfumes in it," was "taken out to burne for the Kinges majestie" (fol. 116), and "vj dogge collours of crymson vellat with vj lyhams of white leather" were delivered to him (fol. 117 b). These notes give some indication of his boyish fancies.

[a] Mr. Franks exhibited it on the 11th Feb. 1858, to the Society of Antiquaries; together with an astrolabe (now belonging to Colonel Meyrick of Goodrich Court) made for King Henry VIII. by Bastien la Seney, who was the royal clockmaker, and continued to hold that office in the reign of Edward VI. Another astrolabe is in the British Museum, *Made by Humphrey Cole*, 1574, and engraved with the name of Henry Prince of Wales. *Henr. Princ. Magn. Brittan.* (See the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. iv. p. 159.)

Engraved Autographs.

Of portions of King Edward's autograph manuscripts the following fac-similes have been published:

1. His letter to Queen Katharine Parr (Letter XIV) in Netherclift's "One Hundred Letters," &c. 1849, 4to. Plate IX.

2. The draft of his letter to Queen Katharine (Letter XLIV) in Cheke's translation of St. Matthew's Gospel, edited by the Rev. James Goodwin, B.D., 1843, 8vo.

3. A passage from the Journal: in Nichols's Autographs of Illustrious Personages, 1829, Plate 19.

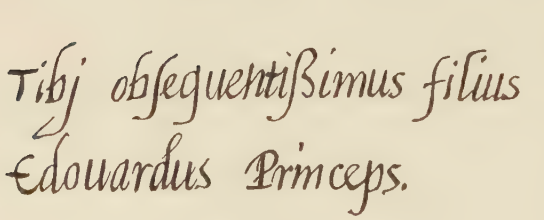
4. Matters for the Council, Jan. 18, 1551-2. (Art. III. p. 489.) In Netherclift's fac-similes (above-mentioned) 1849, Plate XII.

5. Reasonings whether aid should be given to the Emperor (Art. XI. p. 539.) In Nares's Life of Burghley, 1828, 4to. vol. i. p. 400.

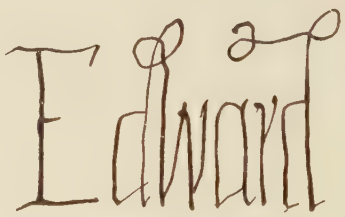
6. Inscription in the Earl of Devonshire's copy of Paleario (see Appendix XIV. p. cccxxxviii).

7. The date, signature, and direction of the letter to Queen Katharine (Letter XLVI), in British Autography, by John Thane, from the original, then in the publisher's possession.

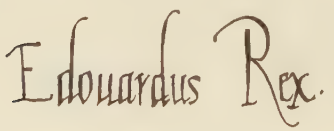
Edward's autograph signatures, which are engraved from his Letters in the present work, it may be well to bring together under one view:



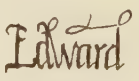
(May 24, 1546.)



(January 10, 1546-7.)

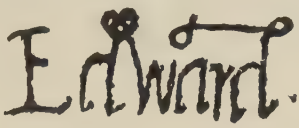


(June 7, 1547.)



(Undated, in 1547.)

There was also a fac-simile stamp[a] of the King's signature, used for authenticating certain documents; and it is here engraved from a paper dated the 14th of July in the first year of his reign, preserved in the MS. Harl. 6986, art. 18. Stamp.



The other records of the reign of which I have largely availed myself, are as follows:— Other Historical Materials.

[a] A stamp had been used for the signature of Henry the Eighth. In July 1544, when the King went to France, we find among other orders, "The stamp to remayne, and thinges to be passed by that warraunt." (State Papers, 1830, i. 765: and see at p. 628 of that volume a long and curious note respecting the administration of the stamp during King Henry's reign; also at p. 892 a list of eighty-six instruments, signed by the stamp in the month of January, 1546-7.)

All the examples of the reign of Edward VI. are summonses for military purposes: as, 1. to the archbishop of Canterbury for men and horse against the Scots, dated July 14, 1547, in MS. Harl. 6986, art. 18: 2. the like to sir Ralph Vane, four days later, in the State-paper office: 3. to sir Henry Seymour, Oct. 5, 1549, also in State-paper office: 4. to Edward Lord North, for aid against Ket, "who calleth himself master and king of Norfolk and Suffolk," Aug. 6, 1551, in MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. III. f. 37.

Stamps of *Mary the quene*, attached to documents both dated in Jan. 1553-4, occur in MSS. Cotton. Vesp. F. VII. p. 12, (see Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 186,) and Titus, B. II. f. 103.

The council, when at Winchester, preparing for the reception of king Philip, on the 27th of July, 1554, "ordered that a stampe be made in both theire names (*i.e.* Philip and Mary), for the stampinge of such matters as should be requisite." (Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 135.)

On the 10th March, 1569-70, a warrant was addressed by Queen Elizabeth to secretary Cecill, authorising him to affix her signature by stamp to letters addressed to the knights, esquires, and others in divers shires, to levy and furnish lances and light horsemen for service in the North. (Lemon's Calendar of State Papers.)

During the last illness of George the Fourth the same expedient was adopted, and an Act of Parliament passed for the purpose (see the Gentleman's Magazine for June 1830, pp. 548, 549).

1. The Register of the Privy Council. I have made use of a transcript (I believe complete) made by Gregory King, the herald, in the reign of Charles II. It formerly belonged to Mr. George Chalmers, and now forms three large volumes among the Additional MSS. in the British Museum (14,024–14,026). There is an imperfect transcript of part of the register of this reign among Starkey's MSS. in the Harleian collection (352), from which Sir Henry Ellis edited a series of extracts in vol. XVIII. of the Archæologia. Other copies are in the MS. Lansdowne 238, and in the Lambeth MSS. 582.

2. The warrant-book of the Privy Council from the 19th October, 1550, to the close of the reign. It is a folio volume among the Royal MSS. (18 C. XXIV.) Strype, in his Ecclesiastical Memorials, not only made use of this record for many statements throughout that work, but he arranged its miscellaneous particulars in his five closing chapters: in Chapter XXIX. the Commissions and Proclamations issued during the years 1550, 1551, 1552, and 1553; in Chapter XXX. Acts of Grace and Favour shown to Courtiers and others; in Chapter XXXI Letters, Warrants, and Licences from the King, both to foreigners and his subjects; in Chapter XXXII. Collations, Presentations, Grants, Indulgences, and Permissions to churchmen and men of the universities; and in Chapter XXXIII. a a catalogue of the Grammar Schools founded by King Edward; and matters concerning his Household.

3. The ledger-book kept by John Wye, secretary to lord chancellor Goodrich, from the time of the appointment of his master on the 21st December, 5 Edw. VI. (1551,) until the close of the reign. (MS. Cotton. Julius B. IX.) It has the following memorandum on the first fly-leaf:—

Hic liber pertinet ad Thomam Wye juniorem qui datus sibi per avunculum suum Johannem Wye jam defunctum, et quondam principalem secritarium Ep'o Elioniensi et Cancellario totius Anglie, et qui totaliter scriptus erat propria manu ipsius Johannis in regno excellentissimi principis Edwardi sexti quondam Regis Anglie.

This book was also employed by Strype, who terms it "Lord Chancellor Goodrick's leger-book." (Eccles. Memorials, vol. ii. book II. chap. XXIX.)

4. "The Kynges boke of Receptis and Paymentes receyved and payed by Sir William Cavendishe, knight, Threasourer of the Kinges Chamber,[a] begyning the last day of Marche, Anno regni regis Edwardi sexti primo, untille the ffyrste day of October anno regni regis dicti Edwardi sexti secundo, beyng one yere and a halfe." It is a folio volume of paper in its original vellum binding, which was fastened by a leather strap and buckle: and is now in the possession of Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart. The receipts, arising from various sources, are first stated, monthly; and then the payments. The sum of all the payments in the book amounts to 25,655*l.* 2*s.* 7¼*d.* exceeding the receipts by more than 1,400*l.*

5. Another book resembling the last,[b] and belonging to the following year, from the 1st Oct. 1548 to the 30 Sept. 1549. Also in the possession of Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart. The payments in this year amounted to 18,036*l.* 2*s.* 3¼*d.* These books are written in a clear hand, and the following item is at the close of the second volume:

Item paid to James Saunders for the writinge of this booke of Receiptes and Paymentes for an hole yere fullye ronne at the feaste of Sainte Michaell Tharchaungell' within this moneth of September the sõme of . lxvj s. viij d.

6. "The Firste Part of the Inventory of the Juelles, Plate, Stuff,

[a] For this office he received an annual allowance of one hundred pounds, and other allowances, paid quarterly, as follows:—

Item to syr William Cavendishe, knight, for his fee of the Treasourershippe of the Kinges chamber . . . . . xxv li.
Item for his clerke under him . . . . . c s.
Item for his bote hire . . . . . l s.
Item for necessaries to the office . . . . . l s.

[b] I have extracted from these books the IXth article of the Appendix, besides several other matters elsewhere. A series of extracts from them has also been made in the first volume of Trevelyan Papers, edited by J. Payne Collier, esq. for the Camden Society.

Ordenaunce, Munition, and other goodes belonging to our late soveraigne lorde King Henry th'eight, perused and examyned by certeyne commissioners apointed by the Kinges maiestie that nowe is, by his highnes lettres patentes." (1 Edw. VI.) A ponderous folio volume [a] among the MSS. of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 129. But little use has hitherto been made of its very curious contents: except that some of its returns of military stores are printed in Meyrick's Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour, 1824, 4to. vol. iii. pp. 8—18.

7. Two similar volumes in the British Museum, MS. Harl. 1419,[b] being the Second Part of the same Inventory, and describing the contents of the royal wardrobes at the Tower, Greenwich, Westminster, Hampton Court, and all the other palaces, and those of the Prince's Guardrobe, the Removing Guardrobe, the Kinges Guardrobe of the Robes, the Greate Guarderobe, and those of the ladies Mary and Elizabeth. The two volumes together contain 562 leaves. From this record some account of the pictures that belonged to King Henry VIII. is given in Dallaway's edition of Walpole's History of Painting, 1826, vol. i. Supplement No. II. pp. 337—344. Some extracts are also quoted in Mr. Payne Collier's History of Dramatic Poetry and the Stage, vol. i. p. 137.

8. "The Certificate of Thomas lord Darcy of Chiche, lord chamberlain to the Kinges majestie, Thomas bishop of Norwich, sir

[a] This volume was purchased of Mr. Maskall of Dacre street in 1775 by Gustavus Brander, esq. and by the latter presented to the Society of Antiquaries.

[b] In the first volume is inserted the following letter:

S^r^, when I had last the hon^r^ to wayte on you at y^r^ house, I told you I had a small present of a Manuscript (being a survey of the Wardrobes of Henry the 8th made by Cõmission under the great Seal, as you'l see mentioned in the book) which I desire you would be pleasd to accept of, and give it some meane place among y^r^ noble Collection; which I shall take as a great favor, and always remain,

S^r^, y^r^ most obedient and faithfull Serv^t^,

Whitehall, Jun: 9^th^ 1710. FRAN: ASTON.

*To Rob^t^ Harley, Esq.*

Richard Cotton, knt. comptroller of the Kinges most honourable household, sir John Gate, knt. vice-chamberlain to his majestie and captain of his highness' guard, sir Robert Bowes knt. master of the rolles, and sir Walter Mildmay, knt. one of the Kinges two generall surveyors, commissioners appointed by the Kinges commission under the great seal, &c. for the survey and examination of the state of his Majesties Courts of Revenue, 23 March, 6 Edw. VI." The Certificate or report is dated on the 10th December following. A modern transcript is in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, MSS. No. 209.

I have only further to acknowledge the important historical materials scattered throughout the manuscript stores of the British Museum, chiefly among those which were selected by Sir Robert Cotton from the State-paper Office; and, lastly, the documents still remaining in the latter depository, which are now, to the great advantage of historical literature, opened as freely as those at the Museum; and where, in particular, the Domestic period in which the reign of Edward the Sixth is included, has been recently brought into ready reference by the excellent Calendar formed by the Deputy Keeper Mr. Lemon.

# BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR.

# BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR.

King Henry the Eighth, on releasing himself, by his own murderous fiat, from his matrimonial bonds with the unfortunate Anne Boleyne, was immediately married to Jane Seymour, his third wife. The new queen was a daughter of sir John Seymour, of Wolf hall by Savernake forest in Wiltshire; and her mother was Margaret daughter of sir Henry Wentworth, K. B. of Nettlested in Suffolk. Through the family of Wentworth, the lady Jane was descended from Henry Percy (Hotspur) and his wife the Lady Elizabeth Mortimer, granddaughter of Lionel duke of Clarence, third son of King Edward the Third; and on this account King Henry required from archbishop Cranmer a dispensation for nearness of kin.[a] This was dated on the 19th May, 1536. Maternal Descent.

The hope of issue with which the King entered upon this marriage was not gratified quite so soon as it might have been. It was therefore with correspondent joy and felicitation that a Prince was born. This important event took place on the 12th of October, 1537, at the royal manor of Hampton Court;[b] from whence the following circular letter,[c] under the queen's signet, was sent to all the estates and cities of the realm:— Birth.

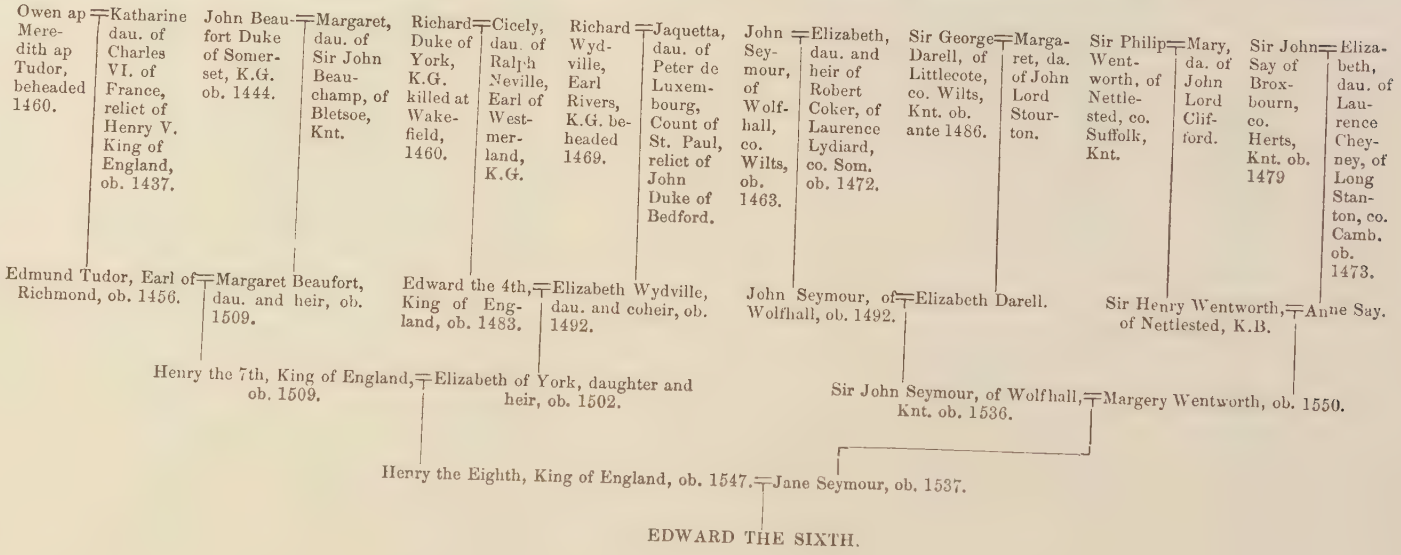
[a] In the Gentleman's Magazine for May, 1829, will be found a table, communicated by Sir Harris Nicolas, shewing the consanguinity to Henry the Eighth of each of his six wives.

[b] The bed in which queen Jane was confined was long preserved, and was shown to Paul Hentzner when he visited Hampton Court in 1598.

[c] Here printed from an original, which was that sent to the lord privy-seal (Crumwell), now in the MS. Cotton. Nero, C. x. fol. 1. It bears the queen's signet impressed on paper, being a shield of France and England quarterly, impaling the six quarterings of queen Jane. Fuller also printed this letter in his Church History. In the Appendix to Kimber's Baronetage, and in Lodge's Portraits, it is printed from another copy, directed "To our trustie and welbeloved George Boothe, esquier." A similar letter issued by queen Anne Boleyne on the birth of the lady Elizabeth is printed in State Papers, vol. i. p. 407, from the original in the Harleian manuscripts; and this, in the Catalogue of that collection, is erroneously stated to relate to the birth of prince Edward.

These circular letters were sent forth by messengers, who (in the words of the Ceremonial of Prince Edward's Christening) "were rewarded with great and large gifts for the most

The following Table of the Thirty immediate Ancestors of King Edward the Sixth (shewing his *Seize Quartiers*) was compiled by Charles Edward Long, esq. and communicated to the Gentleman's Magazine for August, 1849:—


Owen ap Meredith ap Tudor, beheaded 1460.
Katharine dau. of Charles VI. of France, relict of Henry V. King of England, ob. 1437.
John Beaufort Duke of Somerset, K.G. ob. 1444.
Margaret, dau. of Sir John Beauchamp, of Bletsoe, Knt.
Richard Duke of York, K.G. killed at Wakefield, 1460.
Cicely, dau. of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmerland, K.G.
Richard Wydville, Earl Rivers, K.G. beheaded 1469.
Jaquetta, dau. of Peter de Luxembourg, Count of St. Paul, relict of John Duke of Bedford.
John Seymour, of Wolfhall, co. Wilts, ob. 1463.
Elizabeth, dau. and heir of Robert Coker, of Laurence Lydiard, co. Som. ob. 1472.
Sir George Darell, of Littlecote, co. Wilts, Knt. ob. ante 1486.
Margaret, da. of John Lord Stourton.
Sir Philip Wentworth, of Nettlested, co. Suffolk, Knt.
Mary, da. of John Lord Clifford.
Sir John Say of Broxbourn, co. Herts, Knt. ob. 1479
Elizabeth, dau. of Laurence Cheyney, of Long Stanton, co. Camb. ob. 1473.
Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, ob. 1456.
Margaret Beaufort, dau. and heir, ob. 1509.
Edward the 4th, King of England, ob. 1483.
Elizabeth Wydville, dau. and coheir, ob. 1492.
John Seymour, of Wolfhall, ob. 1492.
Elizabeth Darell.
Sir Henry Wentworth, of Nettlested, K.B.
Anne Say.
Henry the 7th, King of England, ob. 1509.
Elizabeth of York, daughter and heir, ob. 1502.
Sir John Seymour, of Wolfhall, Knt. ob. 1536.
Margery Wentworth, ob. 1550.
Henry the Eighth, King of England, ob. 1547.
Jane Seymour, ob. 1537.
EDWARD THE SIXTH.

[MS. Cotton. Nero C. x. f. 1.]

By the Queene.

Circular Letter of Queen Jane.

Righte trustie and righte welbiloved, we grete you welle. And forasmuche as by th'inestimable goodnes and grace of Almighty God we be delivred and brought in child bed of a Prince conceived in moost Laufull Matrimony betwene my lord the Kinges Maiestie and us, doubting not but that for the love and affection which ye beare unto us and to the commyn wealth of this Realme the Knowledge thereof shold be joyous and glad tydinges unto youe, we have thought good to certifie youe of the same. To th'intent ye might not only rendre unto God condigne thankes and praise for soo gret a benifite, but alsoo continually pray for the long continuaunce and preservacion of the same here in this lief, to th'onour of God, joye and pleasure of my lord the King and us, and th'universall weale, quiet and tranquillity of this hole Realme. Yevyn under our Signet at my lordes Manour of Hamptoncourte the xij. day of Octobre.

*Directed*, To our Righte trustie and [right] welbiloved Counsaillo[ur] the Lord Privey Seale o[ur] highe Stewarde of all [our] Landes.

*Sealed in the margin with the Queen's signet*, France and England quarterly impaling six quarterings of Seymour, under a crown.

Letter of Bishop Latimer.

The zealous Latimer, then in his diocese of Worcester, received the tidings with great joy, in the earnest hope that the new Prince might be educated in such manner as might promote the stability and prosperity of the Reformed Church. He addressed to the lord privy seal, Crumwell, the following very remarkable and characteristic letter:—

[State Papers, i. 571, from Crumwell's Correspondence, under letter W.]

Ryght honorable, *Salutem in Christo Jesu.* And, Syr, here ys no lesse joynge and rejossynge in thes partees for the byrth of our Prynce, hoom we hungurde for so longe, then ther was (I trow) *inter vicinos* att the byrth of St. John Baptyste; as thys berer, master Evance, can tell you. Gode gyff us all grace to yelde dew thankes to our lord God, God of Inglonde; for verely he hath shoyd hym selff God of Inglonde, or rather an Inglyssh God, yf we consyder and pondyr well all hys procedynges with us, from tyme to tyme. He hath overcome all our yllnesse with hys excedynge goodnesse; so that we ar now moor than compellyd to serve hym, sekē hys glorye, promott hys wurde, yf the

joyful and comfortable tidings:" of which result the records of the town of Shrewsbury afford an example: "In regardo Humfrido Hulston nuncio dominæ Reginæ portanti literas suas ballivis ad nativitatem domini Principis, vj s. viij d." In the accounts of the chamberlain of the town of Leicester also items occur for the man who brought the letter containing the news of prince Edward's birth, and for nuts and apples eaten at the rejoicings therefor. (Thompson's History of Leicester, p. 460.)

devyll of all devylles be natt in us. We have now the stooppe of vayne trustes, and the stay of vayne expectations; lett us all pray for hys preservation. And I, for my partt, wyll wyssh that hys grace allways have, and evyn now from the begynnynge, governares, instructores, and offyceres of ryght jugmentes, *ne optimum ingenium non optima educatione depravetur*. But what a grett fowll am I! So, what devotione shoyth many tymys butt lytell dyscretione! And thus the God of Inglond be ever with you, in all your procedynges. The 19. of October, now at Hartlebury. Yours, H. L., B. of Worcester.

CHRISTENING. The Prince's christening was solemnised, three days after his birth, in the chapel at Hampton Court.[a] In the procession he was carried by the lady marchioness of Exeter,[b] assisted by the duke of Suffolk, and by the lord marques her husband. The train of the Prince's robe was borne by the earl of Arundel, and sustained by the lord William Howard. A canopy was carried over him by sir Edward Neville, sir John Wallop, mr. Richard Long, mr. Thomas Seymour, mr. Henry Knyvet, and mr. Radcliffe, gentlemen of the King's privy chamber; and torches of virgin wax were borne about the canopy by sir Humphrey Foster, Robert Tyrwhitt, George Harper, and Richard Southwell. The lady Mary walked as the godmother, her train borne by the lady Kingston. The lady Elizabeth was also present, carried in the arms of the viscount Beauchamp,[c] afterwards the lord protector Somerset. Archbishop Cranmer and the duke of Norfolk were godfathers at the font, and the duke of Suffolk at the confirmation.

DEATH OF THE QUEEN. On the evening of the 24th of October, twelve days after the birth of her son,[d]

[a] The whole ceremonial of the Christening, from the official record I. 14 in the College of Arms, will be found in Leland's Collectanea, edit. 1774, vol. ii. pp. 670—677. It is also detailed by Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. pp. 1—5. An early manuscript copy is in MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 6113, fol. 80: another in the MS. Egerton (Brit. Mus.) 985.

[b] This function would have been filled by Margaret dowager marchioness of Dorset, but she was deprived of the honour by a fear of infection, in consequence of the plague having appeared in her vicinity at Croydon; see her letter in State Papers, i. 570, and in Wood's Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies, vol. ii. p. 342.

[c] Three days after, the viscount Beauchamp was advanced to the dignity of earl of Hartford, sir William Fitzwilliam the lord admiral being created earl of Southampton; and on the same occasion the queen's younger brother sir Thomas Seymour was made a knight, together with sir Thomas Heneage, sir Richard Long, sir William Coffyn, sir Michael Lister, and sir Henry Knevett. The ceremonial is related in MS. Addit. 6113, fol. 86.

[d] All our old historians placed the death of queen Jane Seymour at least ten days sooner: an error partly arising from a clerical mistake of 14 for 24, and partly from the malevolent insinuations of the Romanist historian Sanders, who suggested that King Henry, to insure the birth of his heir, sacrificed the mother's life by the Cæsarean operation. Sir John Hayward adopted this latter suggestion in his History of Edward VI. and was followed by

the queen breathed her last; but the King and his courtiers took comfort in the flourishing estate of her surviving infant.[a] "Our Prince, our Lord be thanked, is in good health, and sucketh like a child of his puissance; which you, my lord William, can declare. Our mistress, through the fault of them that were about her, whiche suffered her to take great cold and to eat things which her fantasye in syckness called for, is departed to God." These were the terms in which secretary Wriothesley[b] communicated the news to the bishop of Winchester and lord William Howard, then ambassadors in France, desiring them further, at the King's request, to report to him which of the French princesses would in their opinion be most suitable for his Majesty's next wife!

Heylyn and many other writers in placing the queen's death on the 14th October. Strype, in his Ecclesiastical Memorials, published in 1721, was the first to exemplify the true date, but careless compilers of later times have continued to perpetuate the former accounts. A letter printed by Fuller in his Church History, but more accurately (as to its signatures) in the State Papers, i. 572, was evidently written on the fatal Wednesday. It notifies to the Council in London the queen's imminent danger. It is signed by the earl of Rutland, the bishop of Carlisle, sir Edward Baynton, John Chambre priest, William Butt, and George Owen—the three last the royal physicians.

[a] The following record of the birth of the King and the death of his mother was written at the time by dean Aldrich, then registrar of the order of the Garter: "Ejusdem anni mensis Octobris, circiter horam quartam diei tertii decimi, qui et Edoardo Divo sacer erat, soluta est gratiosissima Regina Joanna partu illo difficillimo, quem duos totos, plus minus, ante dies ægerrimè pertulerat. Quo felicissimè, Deo præstante, prodiit in hanc lucem inclytissimus Princeps Edoardus, cujus nativitas passim Anglorum regno gaudium atque exultationem invexit, quàm dici aut exprimi potest longè majorem. Et nisi vel hoc unum refricuisset, quod eo puerperio non ita multos post dies mater obiisset, ea lætitia præter alias quæ sunt uspiam in pari vel non longè dissimili causa prius exortæ, non dubium quin uberrima (quod et cœperat) utique permansisset, atque inconcussa: sed hæc una infœlicitas occepti gaudii plenitudinem ita exinanivit, aut elevavit potius, ut quisque dubitaret, an ortu prolis abundè (quod revera oportuit) gaudere deberet, an matris obitu flere. Utrumvis sane haud mediocriter affecit, seu lætitiæ causam sive mœroris attendas: Mater in cælo gaudeat, et fruatur optatis; proles in terra triumphet, atque annos impleat ætatis." Register of the Garter, edit. Anstis, vol. i. p. 410.

Sir Richard Morysine exercised his pen on this occasion in a political homily, which was published under this title: "Comfortable Consolation, wherein the People may se howe far greatter causes they have to be glad for the joyful byrth of Prince Edward then sory for the dethe of queen Jane." (Bibliotheca Harleiana, vol. i. number 7783.)

John Leland, the antiquary, composed an elaborate Latin poem, entitled Genethliacon illustrissimi Eaduerdi Principis Cambriæ, Ducis Coriniæ et Comitis Palatini. Leland was slow in the production of his works (nearly all of which have been edited by others), and this poem was not published until 1543. It is reprinted at the end of vol. ix. of his Itinerary, Oxford, 1768.

[b] Letter in State-paper office, French Correspondence, No. 84.

Infancy. A lively memorial of Edward's infantine years is presented in his first portrait by Holbein, in which he wears a close linen cap;[a] and another in the portrait of his nurse "Mother Jak," by the same illustrious artist.[b] It has not been ascertained whether this was a real or an abbreviated name;[c] but, if we may trust the poet Leland,[d] the wet-nurse was *clara domo*, a gentlewoman by birth. It is by no means improbable that "Mother Jak" was a name originating with the first utterances of the royal child himself; and in that case Holbein's portrait may belong to Sybilla Penne, the dry-nurse, of whom presently.

Wetnurse.

Household Before the Prince was eighteen months old[e] the King had made arrangements for the establishment of his household in considerable state and number. No list of its members has been found, though it is by no means improbable that one may still exist among our unsorted records. We have, however, incidental notices of many of its principal officers; and the following is a very curious paper of instructions for their general governance, in which the persons more immediately about the Prince are enumerated as a Chamberlain, Steward, Vice-chamberlain, Comptroller, the Lady Mistress, the Nurice, and the Rockers.

[a] Engraved by Bartolozzi, in Chamberlain's Holbein Heads, from the original now in Her Majesty's library at Windsor Castle.

[b] Also in the same collection: and of which Dr. Waagen has remarked that it is "of the most singular truth: very spirited and broad, and executed with black chalk mixed with a little red chalk." Treasures of Art in Great Britain, 1854, ii. 449.

[c] Miss Strickland (Lives of the Queens, edit. 1851, iii. 20,) assumes that this woman's name was Jackson: but I am not aware that this is more than a conjecture.

[d] Egregiè præstat puero sua munera nutrix,
Nutrix clara domo, sine felle, venusta, benigna.
Genethliacon Principis Eaduerdi.

[e] The following passages of Crumwell's letters to the King appear to relate to the establishment of the Prince's household:—

March 12, 1538-9. "Mr. Sydney hath ben with me this mornyng; to whom I have declared your most graciouse favour and p[rotection,] and byden him to reasorte unto your Majeste to knowe your further [commands.] It shalbe good your Highnes' pleasure be declared unto hym, whither he shall wayte upon the sam in Kent, this voyage and journey, or noo." (State Papers, i. 596.)

March 14. "With like thankes mr. Benton, and my lady his wiff, have wyllyngly accepted the charge by your Grace appoincted unto them, very ernest to endevoire them selfes to the uttermost to fulfyll your graciouse commande in all poinctes. There is ordre taken for my lorde Prince's assayes, aswell of all kynde (of) meates and drink, as of waters, to be taken tyll your Grace shall otherwise provide." (Ibid. p. 597.)

Same day. "I have sent for sir John Cornewalys, who shalbe here on Sondaye." (Ibid. p. 599.)

[Papers of the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer (now in the custody of the Master of the Rolls). First Series, No. 750.[a]]

HOUSEHOLD. Instructions.

INSTRUCTIONS given by the Kinges hieghnes unto his trusty and welbiloved servauntes sir William Sydney, knight, Chamberlain[b] of the howshold of the moost noble and righte excellent Prince Edwarde, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewalle, Erle Palatin of Chestre, &c.; and to sir John Cornewalles, Steward to his grace.

The Kinges hieghnes willeth that his saide trusty and welbiloved servantes shalle conceyve in their myndes that, like as ther is nothing in the worlde so noble, just, and perfite, but that ther is something contrary that evermore envyeth it, and procureth the distruction of the same; insomuche, as God himselfe hath the devylle repungnant unto him, Christ hath his antichristes and persecutours, and from the hyest to the lowest after suche proportion, so the Prince's grace for alle nobilitie and innocency (albeit he never offended any man), yet by alle likelyhodd he lacketh no envie nor adversaryes against his grace, who eyther for ambition of their own promotion, or otherwise for to fullfylle their maletious perverse mynde, wold perchaunce, if they sawe oportunytie, which God forbyd, procure to his grace displeasour; and allthoughe his excellent, wise, and prudent Ma^tie doubteth not, but like as God for his consolation and comfort of all the hole realme hath geven the said Prince, so of his dyvyne providence he wolle in the poinct of alle daungier preserve and defend him; yet, nevertheles, alle diligent and honest heed, caution, and forsighte oughte to be taken to advoyde (as much as man's wytt maye), all practises and evyll intreprices, whiche might be devised against his grace, or the dangier of his personne; for, although almighty God is he that taketh cure and thought for us, and that he furnissheth us of all necessaries, and defendeth us from alle evylles, yet his dyvyne providence wolle have us to employe our diligences to the provision and defence of ourselfes, and of such as be committed to our chardge, as though it shuld not come of him, and that it notwithstanding we shuld knowe that withowt his helping hande our labour is inutile, such is his botomles dyvyne providence.

Item, that the Kinges hieghnes, for the specyall trust his grace hath conceyved of his trustye servauntt sir William Sydney, knyght, hathe constytutyd hym to be Chamberlayne to the sayd Prynce's grace, and hath committed and appointed to hym as welle to have the keping, oversighte, care, and cure of his Ma^ties and the holle realmes moost precyouse joyelle the Prince's grace, and forsee that all daungiers and adversaries of malytious persons and casuell harmes (if any be) shalbe vigilantly forseene and advoyded, as allso such good ordre observed in his grace's household as maye be to his Ma^ties honour, and

[a] There is a transcript of this document in the MS. Cotton. Vitellius C. I. fol. 65.

[b] In the first instance the name of sir John Cornwallis, the steward, was placed first, but the precedence is changed by subsequent corrections.

HOUSEHOLD. Instructions.

assured suertie of the Prince's grace person, our moost noble and moost precyous joyelle, for the whiche good order in the sayd howshold the sayd sir John Cornwales being Stewarde (shall allways join with hym in that behalf, *altered to*), together with (the) Fyzchamberlain and Comptroller, shall allways joyn together.

Item, that for their best information, and for the first parte of their instruction, they and every of them shalle forsee that no maner straungier nor other person or persons, of what state, degre, dignitie, or condytion soever they be, except the said Chamberlayn, Stewarde, the Vice-chamberlain, Comptroller, the lady Maistres, the Nurice, the Rocker, and such as be appointed contynually to be in the Prince's grace privie chambre, and aboute his propre person, and officers in their offices, shall in any maner wise have accesse ordynary to touche his grace's person, cradelle, or any other thing belonging to his personne, or have any entre or accesse into his grace's privie chambre, onles they shall have a specyalle token or commaundement expresse from the Kinges Ma^tie^, in the which cace they shall regard the qualitie of the person, and yet nevertheles to suffre no such person to attouche his grace, but only kysse his hande, and yet that no personage under the degre of a knight to be admitted thereunto; and in this cace the said Stuard, Chamberlain, Vice-chamberlain, and Comptroller, or oon of them at the lest, to be ever present, and to see a reverent assaye taken in due ordre err any such person shalbe admitted to kysse his grace's hand.

Item, that they shalle at alle tymes cause good, sufficyent, and lardge assayes of alle kyndes of bred, meate, and drynkes, milk, egges, and buttre, prepared for his grace, and likewise of water, and of alle other thinges that may touche his person or (be) mynystred to him in any wise duely to be taken; to see his grace's lynnyn, rayment, apparelle whatsoever belonging to his person, to be purely washed, clean dryed, kept, brusshed, and reserved clenely by the officers and persones appointed therunto, without any intremedeling of other persones having no office ther, in such wise as no daungier maye followe therof; and bifore his grace shall were any of the same, assayes to be taken therof as shalle apperteyn, and that the Chamberlayn and Viz-chamberlayn, or one of them, shalbe daylye at the makyng redye of the Prynce, as well at nyght as in the mornyng, to see the assayes takyn as is aforsayd.

Item, that whatsoever newe stuff, apparelle, or rayment shalbe brought of newe to and for his grace's bodye, be it wollen, lynen, sylke, gold, or other kinde whatsoever, or be newe wasshed, bifore his grace shall were any of the same, shalbe purely brusshed, made clene, ayred at the fyer, and perfumed throughly, so that the same waye his grace maye have no harme nor displeasour, with assayes taken from tyme to tyme as the cace shall require, and that in the presens of the Chambrelayn, Vice-Chambrelayn, or on of them.

Item, that no maner other persones or officers in the house shall have accesse to the said privie chambre, but oonly such as be appoincted to the same; and that other which be appoincted to bring in wood, make the fyers, and other offices ther, as the Pages of the

chambre, incontinent as they shalle have doon their offices, shall departe and advoyde owt of the same, tyll the tyme they shalbe called for the doing of their offices again; provided allwaies that those pages shalle not resort to any infect or corrupt places, and that allso they shalbe clene and hole persones withowt diseases. HOUSEHOLD. Instructions.

Item, for to advoyde alle infection and daungier of pestilence and contagious diseases that might chaunce or happen in the Prince's howshold, by often resorting of the officers or servauntes of the same to London, or to some infect and contagiouse places, his Ma^ties said servauntes shalle provide and put suche ordre as non of his grace's privie chambre, none of the officers that have any office aboute his grace's person [or in his howshold, *interlined*] shalle resort to London, or to any other place, during the summer or contagious tyme; and if they shall for some necessary thinges have licence soo to doo, yet nevertheles after their retourne they shall absteigne to resort to the Prince's grace presence, or to come nere him for so many dayes, as by the said Chamberlain and Stuarde shalbe thought convenyent; and yf by chance happen to any person to fall suddenlye syke, that then withowt tracte or delaye of tyme to be removyd owt of the howse.

Item, that forasmuche as the officers and other servauntes of his grace in the howsehold, as well of kechyn, buttre, pantre, ewery, woodyard, celler, lardre, pultre, skaldinghouse, sawcery, yemen, and gromes of the halle, have under them, as it is enfourmed, sundry boyes, pages, and servauntes, which withowt any respect goo to and fro, and be not warre of the daungiers of infection, and do often tymes resort into suspect places; therfor the Kinges gracious pleasour is that, for the consequent which maye folowe of them, they shalbe restrayned from having any servaunt boye or page, and none to be admyttyd within the howse.

Item, that such provision shalbe taken as no infection maye ryse from the povre people, sore, and nedy and sycke resorting to his Grace's gate for almes; and for that purpose ther shalbe a place aferr of appoincted a good waye from the gates, wher the said pover people shall steye and tary for the almes to be distributed ther by the almeners, and after that distribution to depart accordingly; and yf anye begger shall presume to draw ner the gattes, then thay be appoyntyd to be grevoslye ponysshyed, to the example of other.

Item, that the said Stuard and Chamberlain shall see good ordre to be kept in that houshold withowt any superfluous chardges or wast, which is utterly to be advoyded, so that the Kinges hieghnes maye in all poinctes be putt at the lest chardges that canne be for that household; so that nevertheles the same maye allwayes be honorably kept as apperteyneth; and that no maner of persons, of what degre soever he or they be, shall have any moo servauntes allowyd within the Prince's howse then to him shalbe lymitted and appoincted by a cheker rolle by the Kinges Ma^ties hand to be signed.

Item, that everye offycer within the Prince's housholde shalbe sworn that thaye shall not serve the Prynce's grace with anye maner mete, drynk, frewt, spyce, or other thing whatsoever it be for his own person, but suche as thay shall serve everye man in his own

Household. offyce, in his own person, sufferyng none other to medyll therwith, and beffore he or thaye shall so serve the Prynce, shall, as well themselffes as all other commyng and havyng charge of the same, take and cause to be taken large assayes from tyme to tyme, as the case shall requer, and that the Chamberlayn for the chambre, and the Stwerde for the howsholld shall cause newly to be sworn all the Prince's servaunttes at theyr first entre, of what condycyon, degree, or estat soever thay be of, for the dew observacyon of thayr offycys and dewtyes as appartaynyth.

*Chamberlain.* Sir William Sydney.

The Prince's first Chamberlain was sir William Sydney,[a] the father of sir Henry Sydney, K.G. and ancestor of the earls of Leicester.

Sir Richard Page

On sir William's exchanging to the office of Steward, in July 1544, sir Richard Page[b]

[a] Sir William Sydney was cousin-german to the King's brother-in-law, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, being the son and heir of Nicholas Sydney, by Anne, sister of sir William Brandon. In 5 Edw. VI. being then more than 70 years of age, he was returned by inquisition post mortem one of the coheirs to Charles and Henry dukes of Suffolk. His wife died Oct. 22, 1544, and in her epitaph in St. Peter's Westminster he is styled "Steward of the right honorable houshold of the most high and most renowned Prince Edward." His own epitaph at Penshurst, in Kent, is as follows: "Here lyethe syr Wylliam Sydney, knyght and bannerett, sometyme Chamberlen and after Steward to the moste myghte and famous prynce Kynge Edward the VIth, in the tyme of his being Prynce, and the firste of that name being lord of the mannor of Penshurste. Who dyed the xth day of February, in the vijth yere of the reigne of Kinge Edward the VIth, and in the yere of our Lord God a M$^{l}$. fyve hundred, fiftie and three. On whose soule Jesu have mercy."

There is also another inscription at Penshurst which must not be omitted here. On the tower at the entrance of the house: "The most religius and renouned Prince, Edward the sixt, Kinge of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, gave this house of Pencester with the mannors, landes, and appurtenances there unto belonginge unto his trustye and welbeloved servaunt syr William Sydney, knight banneret, serving him from the tyme of his berth unto his coronation in the offices of Chamberlayn and Steuard of his Household; in commemoration of which most worthie and famous Kynge sir Henry Sydney, knight of the most noble order of the Garter, lord President of the counsell established in the marches of Wales, sonne and heyr to the aforenamed syr William, caused this Tower to be buylded, and most excellent Prince's armes to be erected, Anno Domini 1585."

[b] Sir Richard Page (before his knighthood) was in 1525 vice-chamberlain to the King's natural son the duke of Richmond, with xx li. wages. He also was afterwards lieutenant of the gentlemen pensioners. He was seated at Moulsey, in Surrey, and served as sheriff of that county in 1536. He also had a grant of the nunnery of St. Giles in the Wood, in the parish of Flamsted, in Hertfordshire. "This place (says Sir Henry Chauncy) was then called Woodchurch, after St. Gyles in the Wood, and of late Beachwood, from the abundance of beach growing there, the soil being very natural for that plant, where it grows and thrives exceedingly. . . . . There is a tradition that in the infancy of Edward VI. he was removed thither by the advice of his physitians for some time, and did reside in the said religious house, granted

became the Prince's Chamberlain. He had married the dowager lady Stanhope,[a] the mother of the countess of Hertford.

*Comptroller. Cofferer.* John Ryther.

The Prince's first Steward was sir John Cornwalleys,[b] who died at Ashridge, whilst the Prince was resident there, on the 23d of April, 1554. On his death sir William Sydney took the office of Steward, and sir Richard Page (as already mentioned) became Chamberlain in his room.

*Steward.* Sir John Cornwalleys. Sir William Sydney.

By whom the office of Vice-Chamberlain was held I have not ascertained; but I suspect it may have been filled by sir Edward Baynton.[c]

*Vice-Chamberlain.* Sir Edward Baynton?

The name of the Prince's Comptroller has not been found. His Cofferer, so

to sir Richard Page as aforesaid. There are no remains of the old house, cloysters, chapel, &c.: but the mannor-house is a faire brick house of the figure of a Roman H, wherein is yet part of a curious wrought bedstead inlaid, and curtains of green velvit richly embroidered, said to be the repository of the said Edward VI. and in some windows of the house are the arms of France and England quartered, with a label of three, said to be taken out of the glass of the old religious house." (History of Hertfordshire, folio, 1700, p. 569.) In the Biographia Britannica, 1750, vol. iii. p. 1925, the same story is detailed in other words, with the unfounded addition that the Prince was sent to this retirement at the persuasion of George Ferrars, a circumstance assumed because George Ferrars had a grant of the manor of Flamsted.

[a] Elizabeth Bourchier, daughter of Fulke lord Fitzwarine, and sister to John first earl of Bath, was the second wife of sir Edward Stanhope, who died June 6, 1511. Their only child was Anne, the second wife of the Protector. Lady Stanhope was remarried to sir Richard Page, and had further issue Elizabeth, who upon her mother's death in 1557 was found to be her heir, aged 30 and more, and married to sir William Skipwith, of Ormsby, co. Linc. (MS. Harl. 757, f. 89.) Lady Page died 8 Aug. 1557, and was then buried at Clerkenwell (Machyn's Diary, p. 147). Sir Richard died before her, on the 3d Feb. 1548-9. When the duchess of Somerset was a prisoner in the Tower, her mother the lady Page received permission to visit her, about June 1552. (Privy Council Book, MS. Addit. 14,026, f. 139 b.)

[b] Sir John Cornwalleys, a lineal ancestor of the earls and marquesses Cornwallis, was knighted by the earl of Surrey in the expedition to Morlaix, in Britany, in 1521. His will, dated thirteen days before his death, is printed in Collins's Peerage. His effigy and that of his wife are on his tomb at Brome, in Suffolk. He is in armour, and his staff of office in his hand. (See lithograph print by the Hon. Anne Townshend.) The inscription is as follows: "Johannes Cornwalleis miles, Willielmi Cornwalleis armigeri filius, in Domo Principis Edouardi Oeconomus, et uxor ejusdem Maria Edouardi Suliarde de Essex armigeri filia. Qui quidem Johannes xxiii. Aprilis Anno Dom. M.D.xliiij. obiit Astrugie in comitatu Buckingham, cum ibidem Princeps Edouardus versaretur."

[c] See the passage of Crumwell's letter quoted in p. xxvi. In 1541, however, sir Edward Baynton was vice-chamberlain to queen Anne Boleyne at the time of her disgrace, and it is possible that the passage in Crumwell's letter refers to that appointment. The family genealogy states that sir Edward was vice-chamberlain to three of Henry VIII.'s queens.

Household. early as 1543,[a] if not before, was John Rythe, esq., who retained the same office when Edward was King.

*Almoner. Dean of the Chapel.* Dr. Coxe. It appears that the Prince, from the first establishment of his household, had also an Almoner and a Dean, for in July 1544 doctor Coxe was promoted from the latter to the former office.[b]

*The Lady Maistres.* Lady Bryan. The office of Lady Maistres to all the King's three children, in succession, was held by the lady Bryan,[c] as appears by a remarkable letter which she addressed

[a] "April 1543. Item geven to the cristnyng of mr. Ryder the Prince Cofferer his child, to the nurce vij s. vj d. Item to the mydwife v s." (Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, p. 113.) The name of John Ryther esquire occurs as "Cofferer of his Highnes' house" in the Privy-council Register, under 4 Sept. 1547, and elsewhere.

[b] See hereafter, p. xxxix.

[c] Margaret, daughter of Humphrey Bourchier lord Berners, and wife of sir Thomas Bryan, knight. She is mentioned several times in the Princess Mary's Privy-purse Expenses under no other name than "my lady maistres:" as in January 1537-8, "Item payed for a bonet and a frountlet, and the same geven to my lady maistres, xxviij s."

Lady Bryan made her will on the 20th Aug. 1551 (and it was proved on the 21st June following), in which she styles herself "Dame Margaret Brianne widow in the parish of Leyton in the county of Essex," and concludes thus: "And I do most humbly beseech the King's majesty to be good and gracious to my servant Elizabeth Dudley, &c. and that it may please his most excellent majesty, towards the payment of my debts and reward of my servants, to give unto me or unto my executrice [the same Elizabeth Dudley] the sum of xxxv li. due unto me at Michaelmas next ensuing for the half-year of my annuity graunted unto me by the virtue of his gracious letters patents, for my poor service done as well unto his Majesty in his tender age, as also unto his dearly beloved sisters the lady Mary's grace and the lady Elizabeth's grace; and, in consideration of my said service, it may finally please his Majesty to graunt unto me or my executrice a sufficient disharge or *Quietus est* for all such things as I had in my charge or custody of his Majesty's, during the time of my daily attendance upon his Highness, having delivered the same, and every part thereof, to the hands of sir George Cotton and sir Jasper Horsye knights, as appears by the several bills under their hands and seals ready to be shewed." (Strype's Appendix to Stowe's Survey of London, fol. 1720, vol. ii. p. 114.)

*Governess (mistaken).* Anne lady Bacon. There is another lady of some celebrity who has been designated Governess of King Edward the Sixth. This is Anne lady Bacon, the mother of lord Bacon. She was the translator into English of bishop Jewel's Apology, which was printed in 1562; and Ballard, in his Memoirs of British Ladies, 1775, p. 132, states that she was also the translator of "Certayne Sermons of the ryghte famous and excellent clerk, master Barnardine Ochine," which were printed in 1550. As A. C., the translator of those sermons, mentions her mother the lady F., it appears probable that their real translator was Anne lady Cooke (the mother of the four learned sisters, the ladies Burghley, Bacon, Russell, and Killegrew), for lady Cooke was the daughter of sir William Fitzwilliam. Mr. Ballard states positively that Anne Cooke, afterwards lady Bacon,

to Crumwell, respecting the education of the lady Elizabeth. "My Lord (she writes), when my lady Mary's grace was born, ẽt pleased the King's grace to appoint me Lady Mastres, and made me a Barones. And so I have ben to the cheldren hes grace have had sens."[a]

*Nurse.* Sibil Penne.

The Prince's dry-nurse, Sibel Penne,[b] was appointed in October 1538, when he was nearly a year old. She was a sister to the wife[c] of the chamberlain sir William Sydney, to whose recommendation she owed her place, as appears by the following letters addressed to Crumwell:—

[Crumwell Correspondence, State-paper office.]

Pleaseth it youre good lordship to be advertised that I have received youre lettres with right humble thankes, as well for your beneficence conteyned in the same, as also for all other your manifold and approved goodnes heretofore most benivolentlye conferred and bestowed uppon me, for the whiche ye have straictlye bounden me to be youre owne assured with hart and service during my life; signifieng unto you that I wold never have byn so bold as to have attempted your lordship, or in anny wise procured your favoure and goodnes towardes the preferrement of my sistre unto so highe a rowme of weighte and charge as ye have at my poore instaunce and request obtayned for hir, in case I were not right well assured of hir good demeanour, hablenes, honestye, and truthe, in whom I doubt not there shalbe founde no want of diligence nor scarcitie of good wille towardes th'accomplisshement of that which unto hir office and duty shall apperteyne at all tymes. Letting your good lordship further to witt that, according to youre commandment, she is in a reddines to waite uppon the Kinges hieghnes, when soever she shalbe sent for, with speede; as knoweth almightie Jh'u, who preserve your good lordship with long conty-

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was Governess to King Edward: but Dr. Kippis has remarked, "If this be a fact, it is a very surprising one; since she could not be much more than twenty-five years of age at the death of that young monarch, and only nineteen when he began to reign." (Biographia Britannica, 1789, iv. 96.) The assertion is evidently an error, either arising from sir Anthony Cooke himself (the same initials) being one of the King's tutors, or from lady Cooke (whose name was also Anne) having been sometime Governess.

[a] Printed by Strype, Eccles. Memorials, i. 172; and by Ellis, Letters, II. ii. 278.

[b] In 1556, among the New-year's gifts to queen Mary, "Mrs. Penne, that was King Edwardes nurse, gave six handkercheves edged with passamyne of golde and silke." In the New-year's Gift Roll of queen Elizabeth, 1561-2, among the Gentlewomen, occurs the name of mrs. Barley, *alias* Penne: she was the widow of John Penne, barber-surgeon to Henry VIII. who died in 1557, and she was remarried to John Barley. (See Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire, ii. 305, 306.)

[c] Sir William Sydney's wife was Anne, daughter of sir Hugh Pagenham. She had been first married to Thomas FitzWilliam, the elder brother of William earl of Southampton.

nuance of helth and encrease of honoure. From Havering at boure the last daye of Septembre.

The foregoing is all in the hand of a scribe: the signature is autograph.

Yowr lordship's wyth hyss servyce to commaund,
Wyllyam Sydney.

*Directed*, To the right honourable and my singuler good lord, the Lorde p^ivey Seale, yeave this.

The next letter is entirely autograph.

[Crumwell Correspondence, State-paper office.]

Pleaseth yt your good lordshyp to be advertysed thatt I have resceyvyd your letterys, wheryn I doo nott only perceyve that your good lordship's pleassour is that I shuld signifie on to yow the good habylite of my wyfe's syster for the rowme of my lord the Prince's good grace's drye norrice, but also that I shuld weye the greate charge that shalbe commytted unto hyr, withe lyke consideration of the Kinges majestye as welle towardes your good lordshyp, for the mocion and instaunce of my poore sute therin, as also onto mee for the commencement and attemptyng of the same; so that if I thought the thinge mete for the taking upon hyr I shuld so write playnlye unto you. My lord: to declare the truthe in this behalfe, I doubte not but that she ys and shalbe founde bothe for hir wisdome, honest demeanour, and faythfullness, every waye an apte woman for the same; in whom I dare well justifye there shalbe founde no lacke of good wille, truthe, and dyligence towardes the good admynestracion of that whyche on to hyr office and dutye shall appertayne, at all tymes; as knoweth Jh'u, who preserve your good lordshipp in long lyfe and good hellth. From Haveryng of the boore the .iij.^de daye of Octobre.

Your lordship's with harte unfayned,
Wyllyam Sydney.

*Directed*, To the righte honorable and my singuler good lord the Lord p^ivey seale.

To these we may add a letter[a] of Sibel Penne herself (written by a professional scribe), soliciting a grant of the priory of Missenden,[b] in performance of a promise that had been made her.

[Crumwell Correspondence, State-paper office.]

My dutie and observaunce to wardes youre good lordship ryghte humbly considered. Forasmuche as it hathe pleased you heretofore of youre bounty and gentilnes, farre above

[a] Miss Wood (Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies, vol. iii. p. 66) has already published another letter of Sibel Penne to Crumwell, written to procure the admission of her brother-in-law Gryffith Richardes into the Prince's service.

[b] It appears that Sibel Penne had a grant of the manor of Beamond and the rectory of Little

my desertes, to promyse unto me that if I could fynde anny thing wherein ye might do me good I shuld at no tyme faile of the same, I am therefore at this instaunt the moore encouraged, after this my rude maner, to desire and lowly beseche youre good lordship to extend your goodnes unto me in th'obtayning and graunt of the Monastery of Missindyne, in the countie of Buckingham. That according to the yerely value therof, by the Kinges surveyours cessid, I may have his highnes laufulle lease of the same, wherin ye shall moost straictly bynde me to be your poore bedeswoman with hart unfayned during my life; as knoweth Almightie Jh'u, who evermore preserve your good lordship with long contynuaunce of helth and encrease of muche honour. From Hunesdon this present Sonday. HOUSEHOLD.

Your pore bedeswoman, Sibbelle Penne.

*Directed*, To the right honourable and my singuler good lord, My lord p'vey seale.

The establishment of the royal nursery was completed by four "rockers," two of whom were still receiving pensions in the last year of Edward's reign.[a] *Rockers.*

The name of doctor George Owen[b] occurs as Physician to the Prince at new-year's tide 1537-8; and he was attendant on his death-bed in 1553. *Physician.* Doctor Owen.

We shall now proceed with events in their chronological order; and the earliest in date are several visits which were paid to the infant Prince. The King took care that this should be a favour rarely granted, but then it was one which was acknowledged accordingly, and therefore we read much about it. VISITS TO THE PRINCE.

The lady Mary was expected to be especially attentive to the infant brother who had supplanted her in the place she once occupied as "Princess;" and let us render such justice to her amiability as to believe that she performed the duty The lady Mary, at Hampton Court.

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Missenden (Originalia 7 Edw. VI. rot. 49, as calendared in Jones's Index), though her name does not occur in Lipscombe's History of Buckinghamshire. The whole lands of the monastery formed a much larger estate, which was granted to the lady Elizabeth, and subsequently came to the Hampdens.

[a] "To Jane Russell, one of the rockers to the King's majesty, x li. To Bridgett Forster, one other rocker to his Grace x li." (Annuities payable out of the Court of Augmentation, Report, 7 Edw. VI. MS. Soc. Ant. 209.) In 1539-40 the lady Mary gave to the Prince's nurse "v. yerdes of yeolowe satten at vij s. vj d. the yerde," amounting to xxxvij s. vj d.; and to his rockers iiij. gilt spoons, which cost xliiij s. (Privy-purse Expenses, p. 85.) The number of the spoons probably denotes the actual number of these under-nurses.

[b] "To doctor Owen, the Prince phesition, a dublet clothe of satten, xxiiij s." (Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, p. 52: see various other notices of him in that volume, p. 254, and a memoir in Wood's Athenæ Oxon. by Bliss, i. 274.) He had attended queen Jane on her death-bed, Oct. 24, 1537; and on the same day in 1558 he was himself buried at St. Stephen's Walbrook. (Machyn's Diary, p. 177.)

Visits to the prince.

with cheerfulness. She was at this period a young woman of twenty-two, for whom a long series of matrimonial schemes had already been formed, but all had successively failed, or she might now herself have been a mother. As she was resident at Richmond, her visits to Hampton Court were easily accomplished. We read of one in November 1537, another in March following, and others in April and May 1538. Some of the late queen's palfreys were usually brought for her to ride, and in May she returned down the Thames in her barge.[a]

Lords of the Council, at Havering.

It was not until the following September that the lords of the council were allowed access to the heir apparent. Of this event we have the following curious account addressed by lord chancellor Audley to lord Crumwell, evidently with the intention that it should be read to the King. The royal nursery had then been removed to the palace of Havering atte Bower in Essex.

[State Papers, i. 586, from the Crumwell Correspondence, in the State-paper office.]

After my right harty comendations to your good lordship, with my most harty thankes for your last gentill letters, I am required by the erle of Oxford, and master chauncelour, to desire your good lordshipp, in all our names, to make our moost humble recommendations to the Kynges mageste, and to render ouer most harty thankes to his highnes for our licens to visite and see my lord Prynce's grace, whom, acordyng to our desires and duteez, we have seen to our most rejoise and comfort, next the Kynges mageste. And I assure your lordshipp I never sawe so goodly a childe of his age, so mery, so plesaunt, so good and lovyng countenauns, and so ernest an ye, as it were a sage juggement towardes every person that repayreth to his Grace; and, as it semyth to me, thankes be to our Lord, his Grace encresith well in the ayer that he ys in. And albeyt a litell his Graces flesche decayeth, yet he shotyth owt in length, and wexith ferme and stiff, and can stedfastly stond, and wold avaunce hymself to move and go, if they wold suffir hym; but, as me semyth, they do yet best, considerynge his Grace is yet tendir, that he shuld not streyn hymself, as his owen corage wold serve hym, till he cum above a yere of age. I was right glad to understond there that the Kynges mageste wil have his Grace removyd from Haveryng now ageynst wynter tyme, for suerly it semythe to me that the house wil be a cold howse for wynter, but for somer it ys a good and goodly

[a] On her visit in March were given,—"to the Prince's mynstrelles x s.,—to Grey, one of the same mynstrelles, vj s. vj d.,—to one of the late qwenes palfreymen, attending with ij palfreys upon my lady's grace from Richemount to Hampton court and home again, v s.;" In April,—"to ij watermen feryeng my lady's grace over the water from Richemount to Hampton court, going and comyng, ij s." In May, when she returned by the river—"for a barge at her grace coming from the Prince, x s. iiij d. Item, to the Prince's mynstrelles, x s." (Privy-purse Expenses, pp. 61, 64, 69.)

ayer. I can not comprehend nor describe the goodly, towardley qualyteez that ys in my lord Prince's grace. He ys sent of Almyty Good for al our comfortes. My dayly and contynual prayer ys, and shalbe, for his good and prosperus preservation, and to make his Grace an olde Prince; besechyng your good lordeshipp to rendir to the Kynges mageste thankes, in al our names, as ys above sayd. (Dated from Berechurch, near Colchester, Sept. 8, 1538.) VISITS TO THE PRINCE.

We shall not greatly err if we conclude that it was when the lady Maistres was first apprised of this visit, that the following (undated) representation of her wants was despatched to the prime minister:—

[Crumwell Correspondence, in State-paper office.]

Jh'us.

My lord,—After my most bownden deute I humbely recommand me un to yowr good lordsychep; and, accordyng to the Kynges graces commandment and youres, schal a compleche et to the best of my powr with syche thynges as her es to do et with al, wyche es but very bare for syche a time. The best cot (coat) my lord Prinses grace hath es tensel, and that he shal have on at that teym; he hathe never a good jewel to set on his cape; howbet I shal order al things for my lordes honer the best I can, so as I trost the Kynges grace shalbe contented with al; and also master vey-chamberlayn and master cofferer I am sewer will do the best delygens that lyethe in them in all causes.

My lord, I thank Jh'u my lord Prenses grace is in good helthe and mere (merry), and hes grace hathe iiij teeth: iij fol owt, and the forthe apearethe. And thus far yow wel, my owen good lord, with as myche joy and honer as your noble hart can desyer.

From Haveryng, with the hand of har that es yowr trew bedwoman, and welbe deweryng my leyf,

Marget Bryan.

To the ryght nobel and my very sengeler good lord,
my lord prevysel, be thys delyverd.

Shortly after, the Prince was removed from Havering to Hunsdon in Hertfordshire, and from that place (probably in the year 1539,) the lady Bryan wrote[a] to Crumwell as follows:— The Prince at Hunsdon.

[Crumwell Correspondence, in State-paper office.]

Jh'us.

Pleasethe your lordyschep to understond that, blesced be Jh'u, my lord Prenses grace es in good helthe and mery, as wold to God the Kinges grace and your lordsyshep had sen

[a] The whole letter will be found in Miss Wood's collection, vol. iii. p 112.

VISITS TO THE PRINCE.

hem ester nyght, for hes grace was marvelowss plesantly desposed. The mensterels played, and hes Grace dawansed and playd so wantownly that he cowld not stend stel, and was as fol of prety toyes as ever I saw chyld in my leyf, as master chamberlayn and my lady hes wyfe can shew yowr lordsyshep whan they spek with yow, hom I assewr yowr lordsychep gevethe as god and dilygant atendance as es posybel.

The French ambassador.

In February 1538-9 the French ambassador was desirous to enjoy the gratification of seeing the heir apparent, as we are informed by the following passage in one of Crumwell's letters[a] to the King:—

The saide Castillon is moch desyrose of spede; and, if it were possible to have your favorable audience to-morrowe, he wold fayn see that your Majestes most noble joyell, my lorde Prince's grace. Wherby my pouer advice is, under your graciouse correction, that (if your Highnes could have convenient leasure) it shuld be best to appoincte to-morrowe. Nevertheles your high wisedome can better juge what is most expedient; requiring forgevenes for this my bold audacité.

The earl of Tyrone.

In October 1542, a few days after the creation of Con O'Nele earl of Tyrone, which took place at Greenwich on the 1st of that month, mr. Wiatt and mr. Tuke were appointed to conduct that great Irish chieftain, and his principal attendants, sir Dole Guineys, sir Arthur Guineys, and the bishop of Clogher, to do their duties to the young Prince Edward.[b]

The Prince at Ashridge.

In the autumn of 1543, when the King was sojourning at his manor of Ampthill,[c] in Bedfordshire, we find the Prince at the neighbouring house (late the convent of Bonhommes) at Ashridge,[d] which was also his residence in the following year.

The King had all his children with him in December 1543, for we then find the regent of Flanders inquiring of doctor Layton, the English ambassador at Bruxelles, "how the Quenes grace, my lord Prince, my lady Mary, and my lady Elizabeth did, and wether your grace (the King) and they continewed still in one howsold?"[e]

In July 1544 King Henry went to France, leaving queen Katharine as Regent,

[a] State Papers, i. 594.

[b] Privy Council Register.

[c] The lord Fanhope, "of great renowne in the raigne of King Henry 5, buildid this castelle of Antehille, as it is now stonding stately on a hille, with 4 or 5 faire towers of stone in the inner warde, beside the basse courte, of such spoiles as it is saide that he wanne in Fraunce." (Leland, Itinerary, i. fol. 119.) See a note on Ampthill in the Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII. edited by sir N. H. Nicolas, p. 295.

[d] "Item payed to mr. Chichester for his costes, sent from Ampthill to Assherige to the Prince grace for ij. dayes, iij s. iiij d." (End of October 1543.) Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, edited by Sir Fred. Madden, p. 134. The King's removal from Ampthill is mentioned in p. 136.

[e] State Papers, ix. 570.

and nominating, provisionally, the earl of Hertford to the military office of Lieutenant of the kingdom, should any emergency require an appeal to arms. At the same time some important alterations were made in the Prince's household, according to the following scheme:— His household remodelled at Hampton Court.

Item. His Majeste woll that my lord Prince shall on Wednesdaye next remove to Hamptoncourte; and that the lord chauncelour (Wriothesley) and th'erle of Hertford shall repayre thither on Thoresdaye, and there discharge all the ladyes and gentlewomen out of the house, and also admit and swere sir Richard Page [to be] Chamberlayn to my lord Prince, mr. Sydney to be avaunced to the office of Stuard, Jasper Horsey[a] to be chief Gentleman of his Privey Chambre, and mr. Cox to be his Aulmoner, and he that is now Aulmoner to be Deane, and mr. Cheke as a suppliment to mr. Cox, both for the bettere instruccion of the Prince, and the diligent teaching of suche children as be appointed to attende uppon him. (State Papers, i. 764.)

The Queen appears to have undertaken on this occasion the charge of all the royal family, as on the 25th of July she wrote from Hampton court to the King, "My lord Prince and the rest of your Majesties children are all (thanks be to God) in very good helth."[b]

The memoirs of Jane (Dormer) duchess of Feria,[c] contain an anecdote of Edward's early life, which is placed about the year 1544, when the Prince was "remaining for a time at Ashridge."[d] The young lady's mother was Mary, the eldest daughter of sir William Sydney. At Ashridge.

(Cap. 13.) Her grandfather sir William Sidney, whom the King, though still carried in his own exorbitant passions, did choose, respecting his worth and virtue, to be tutor and governor of his son Prince Edward, when remaining for a short time at Ashridge, which was not far from her grandfather Dormer's,[e] sent for her to entertain some time

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[a] Sir Jasper Horsey was of an ancient family in Dorsetshire. He was steward to the lady Anna of Cleves. (State Papers, ii. 764.)

[b] State Papers, x. 13.

[c] These interesting memoirs are hitherto unpublished; but they are expected to appear, under the editorship of the Rev. Mr. Estcourt, of Birmingham, to whose kindness I am indebted for the present and a subsequent extract.

[d] "The house of Bonehomes, caullid Asscheruge, is about a mile off Berkhamsted castel, and there the King (Henry VIII.) lodgid." Leland, Itinerary, i. fol. 121. The circumstance of King Edward being at Ashridge in the year mentioned by the biographer of the duchess of Feria is confirmed by the epitaph of his steward sir John Cornwallys already given in p. xxxi. The lady Elizabeth resided much at Ashridge during the reign of her sister Mary.

[e] The mansion of sir William Dormer was at Ascot, in Buckinghamshire; and he was steward of the royal manor of Ampthill, which was also within a few miles of Ascot.

with the Prince, they being both near of one age—about six or seven years, the Prince only elder by three months, whose company he desired, taking particular pleasure in her conversation. Thither she was sent with the governess, passing her time with the Prince either in reading, playing, or dancing, and such like pastimes, answerable to their spirits and innocency of years; and in playing at cards would use this speech, as it fell out, "Now, Jane, your King is gone, I shall be good enough for you;" and would call her "my Jane," their natural dispositions so correspondent to each other." "I have heard them that were about the Prince avouch it, that his inclination and natural disposition was of great towardness to all virtuous parts and princely qualities; a marvellous sweet child, of very mild and generous condition, if afterwards, being yet in the blossom, when his father died, but nine years of age, mischievous and heretical governors, contrary to his father's will, had not abased his tender age, who ruling to effect their own ends notoriously injured the natural good inclination of this gentle and noble Prince."

EDUCATION.

The King himself tell us,[a] that until he was six years old he continued to be brought up "among the women." His instruction "in learning" then commenced. Edward's voluntary application to study was soon recognised as a prominent feature of his character; and on that account, and because we owe to it the remarkable contents of the present volume, the subject of his education suggests the most appropriate inquiry that can occupy our attention. In collecting and arranging its scattered details, it will be desirable to avail ourselves also of such illustrations as may be gathered from the general sentiments and practices of the age. It was a time when scholarship was in high estimation, from the revived study of the ancient languages, which ensued upon the invention of printing, and from the spirit of inquiry evoked by the church-reformers; but it was also a time when the institutions for the promotion of scholarship, in this country at least, were by no means prosperous. Popular education was languishing. The schools of the monasteries were abolished, and the grammar-schools of the Reformation as yet unfounded. The universities were at a low ebb in the number of their students: for the common people, which had formerly filled them with "poor scholars," had no longer in prospect those rewards for clerical talents which the Church had once so largely offered. But a love of learning for its own value had arisen among the nobility,[b] and this was shared by the youth of both sexes. Henry the Eighth,

[a] Journal, p. 209.

[b] Bishop Latimer (Sermon 73) complains of great men and esquires sending their sons to the universities, as if their coming excluded "poor scholars that should be divines: for their parents intend not that they should be preachers, but that they may have a shew of learning." We are told, however, that neither rich nor poor abode long in the university (of Cambridge)

with all his faults of temper and morality, was a sincere friend and patron of scholarship, and careful in providing instruction for his own children. EDUCATION.

The great schools of Eton, Winchester, &c. were at this period much what they continued to be for many generations after, except perhaps that their discipline was harsher, and their masters generally more severe and tyrannical. These served for the lower gentry, and for younger sons, as well as for humbler aspirants to literature that ambition or the kindness of patrons brought to their gates. But the nobility were frequently educated in the households of bishops, or in those of great lords, where little schools were formed on purpose to provide them with comrades. Thus Roger Ascham, shortly before the year 1530, was as a boy entertained by sir Humphrey Wingfield, a worshipful gentleman who "ever loved and used to have many children brought up in learning in his house;"[a] and in the same way, in the next generation, sir Richard Sackville (then treasurer of the Exchequer, and father of the future lord treasurer Buckhurst), took Ascham's son to be a companion to his grandson "little Robert Sackville," afterwards the second earl of Dorset.[b] The lord privy seal Crumwell had his only son Gregory taught together with a boy named Nicholas Sadler.[c]

King Henry the Eighth himself followed the same plan, first with his natural son Henry duke of Richmond,[d] and afterwards with prince Edward. In the former case "suche yonge gentilmen" were appointed to "be attendant upon my said lorde, as by example of good education, as well in noryture as good lernyng, myght the more fayrly induce him to profit in his lerenynge." These are the words of doctor Richard Croke,[e] the pedagogue employed in that charge. He, like others

to attain to any considerable degrees of learning, because of its obscure and neglected condition. (Letter of Ascham to the marquess of Northampton.) See also Lever's very curious description of the university of Cambridge at this time, in Strype, Eccl. Memorials, ii. (259); and Bernard Gilpin's lamentation in 1552, "that the two wells, Oxford and Cambridge, were almost dried up, the decay of students so great, that there were scarce left of every thousand a hundred." (Ibid. p. 371.)

[a] Ascham's Toxophilus. Graunt, in his life of Ascham, altered the knight's christian name to Anthony, which has been followed (we may presume erroneously) by all Ascham's biographers. His schoolmaster's name was R. Bond.

[b] See the history of this pleasantly related by Ascham in the introduction to his (unfinished) essay entitled "The Schoolmaster:" but he does not give the name of the master who was engaged.

[c] Their master was Mr. Copland. Miss Wood's Letters of Royal, &c. Ladies, ii. 58.

[d] William Parr the brother of queen Katharine, and afterwards marquess of Northampton, was apparently one of the duke of Richmond's schoolfellows.

[e] Sometime Greek reader at Cambridge. (Memoir of the Duke, in Camden Miscellany, vol.

EDUCATION. of his contemporaries, appears to have been somewhat inclined to a harsh discipline, but was withstood in its exercise by another officer of the young duke's household, who maintained that "noble boys were not to be treated with such severity."[a] It was a portion of this system that the princely pupil should not receive personal chastisement, but merely be intimidated by witnessing the punishments of his comrades; on this point we shall hear more presently.

*Schoolfellows.* Conrad Heresbach, who at this period was preceptor to William duke of Cleves (the brother of Henry the Eighth's fourth wife), and who wrote at great length on the education of the children of princes,[b] recommends that their fellow-pupils should not be more than six, or at most eight, in number, nor fewer than four;[c]

iii. p. xliv.) Another of the duke's masters was John Palsgrave, author of Lesclarcissement de la langue Francoyse. (Ibid. p. xxvii.)

[a] "Hos obstinatè negligentes, si quando in terrorem principis admoneam liberius, aut contingam levius, hic non deest suo instituto Cottonus, sed continuo aliquamdiu jurgare me, et ipsis coram et principe clamitare, non tam rigidè tractandos nobiles pueros, meam austeritatem incusare, vitia et errata puerorum modis omnibus defendere, interim nullâ meâ veniâ, sed plerumque etiam me invito, abducere quoslibet, venatum, expatiatum, commessatum secum." This passage is from a letter of complaint addressed by the schoolmaster to Wolsey: a very curious document, which is printed ibid. p. xxxvii. Cotton (afterwards sir George) continued in the duke's household, and was his governor at the time of his death.

[b] "De Educandis Erudiendisque Principum Liberis, Reipublicæ gubernandæ destinatis, deque Republicâ Christianâ administrandâ: Ad illustrissimum Willelmum Ducem Juliacens. Clivens. (&c.) Libri duo. Auctore CONRADO HERESBACHIO Jureconsulto et ejusdem Principis Consiliario. Francof. ad M. 1570." 4to. This treatise occupies 147 leaves, at the end of which is, "Joannis Sturmii ad illustrissimum principem Gulielmum, Ducem Juliacensium, Clivensium, Montensium, Comitem Marchiæ et Ravenspurgii, Domino in Ravenstein, Joannis Sturmii de Educatione Principis," an essay of only fifteen pages. The volume is dedicated to Charles Frederick jun. Duke of Cleves by Conrad Heresbach, who tells him that he had been engaged in educating his father when a youth. Sturmius also, in his address to the duke, thus writes of Heresbach: "Itaque felicitatis tuæ pars esse non minima creditur ab eruditis hominibus, quod adolescentulus Conrado Heresbachio traditus in disciplinam es, cui viro et prudentiam tribuunt, et diligentiam, et fidem, et doctrinam, et religionem, et moderationem, quæ sex virtutes cum in magistro ac præceptore insunt ubi natura bona erudienda concredita est a parentibus, nihil potest non ex se præclarum atque excellens gignere."

[c] "Proxima cura est cœtaneorum, qui vel disciplinæ commilitio vel ministerio principi adjunguntur, quos *συμπαίκτορας* quasi collusores Xenophon, Plutarchus *συντροφαπαιδεία* vocat, quasi convictores. . . . . Hi ut nostris fere principibus e nobilissimis subditorum assumuntur aut intruduntur aliquoties, ita convenit non tam ad gratiam potentiorum quàm summo delectu exquisitos adsciscere, qui sint non tam genere quàm indole ac moribus generosis, nullis neque animi neque corporis vitiis deformari. . . . . Nollem hos supra sex esse, aut ad maximum octo, nec infra quatuor. Ita simulet et solitudinis tædium discutietur neque sodali-

chosen rather for their good dispositions and generous manners than high birth; and that, once admitted to association with the prince, they should not be changed without some grave cause, but be allowed to grow up together with him. EDUCATION.

The same writer, in discussing the selection of masters,[a] advises that they should be men of good parentage, liberal education, and high character; such as a boy would take no dislike to, and of a disposition so accommodating as to be ready to make themselves boys again in order to win the affections of their pupils. He considers it desirable, both for the prince himself and for his country, that they should be subjects rather than foreigners. *Schoolmasters.*

Besides these schoolmasters or teachers, Heresbach speaks of an officer whom he styles *præfectus aulæ*.[b] He, for the same reason as before, should be a subject: a man of gravity, tried fidelity, prudence, and experience in the affairs of war and the state. He was to preside over the discipline of the prince's court, instruct him in military exercises, and form his manners, in conjunction with the schoolmasters, between whom and this officer our author especially deprecates any clashing of *Governor.*

tas deerit ætati, et corruptela multitudinis vitabitur. Hosque non suaserim sine gravi causâ mutandos, sed permittendos simul cum ipso principe in iisdem disciplinis et exerciciis adolescere." (fol. 20.)

[a] "Asciscendi autem ad hanc provinciam viri bonis parentibus orti, liberaliter instituti, quique bonum testimonium habeant ab annis ætatis virentis, a quibus non abhorreat puer, et quos non pigeat quamvis personam sumere, ac velut cum puero repuerascere. Subditos malim, siquidem his et conditio principis ac patriæ magis perspecta, et naturâ fidelius libentiusque patriæ rebus ornandis provehendisque studemus quàm externis." (fol. 20.)

[b] "Porro Institutori adhibeatur Aulæ Præfectus, vir gravis, fidei exploratæ, prudentiâ, militarium et aliarum rerum experientiâ præstans, (subditum et hunc optarim, ob causas superius citatas,) qui aulicæ disciplinæ dispensationem atque decorum statusque ut vocant administrationem tueatur, quique in militaribus exercitiis per ætatem futurum principem instituat. Qualem fuisse Parmenonem apud Alexandrum Magnum, et Burrum apud Neronem memorant historiæ. . . . . Maximè autem alienus sit a fuco et assentatione, cui gravitas auctoritatem conciliet, non furiosus neque præceps, neque temulentiæ aut compotationibus deditus, sed sobrius, verax, et sermonibus et moribus castis. Breviter: qui gravitatis et reverentiæ exemplar præ se ferat. Is una cum Institutore mores pueri formet, et licet aliâ viâ utrâque tamen eodem ducente. Quod si in diversum illi trahunt uterque efficiet ut neuter promoveat, sed quo hic construit illo destruet. Quapropter vigilantiâ dispiciendum principi, ne qua inter hos duos sit æmulatio, aut favoris emerendi conversatio. Quia potius uterque alterius conatus apud principem commendet, honorem favoremque tueatur, dicta factaque comprobet, si quid displiceat alter seorsim alterem amicè admoneat. . . . . Et quemadmodum institutor literis et disciplinis honestis et piis pueritiam principis imbuet, ita magister aulæ corporis exercitiis militaria progymnasmata miscebit. Utrisque exercitiis sui comilitones et antagonistæ adjungendi, suisque horis utraque sunt usurpanda." (fol. 22.)

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authority, an inconvenience which actually occurred in the duke of Richmond's household, between doctor Croke and his chief gentleman or governor sir George Cotton.

*Bedchamber men.*

The selection of bedchamber-men[a] was another important consideration, as they had so much opportunity for conversation during brushing and dressing, and boys were so ready to imitate the attendants to whom they took a fancy. In like manner the other servants, whether gentle or simple, who waited at meals, such as

*Sewers and cupbearers.*

sewers and cupbearers,[b] should be such only as would offer examples of sober and modest manners: for if of that character, and also well skilled in sound information and in languages, they had the power to aid not a little in the instruction of their lord. Whilst attending at his table they were recommended to discourse on the customs of foreign nations, to relate what they had seen or done abroad, and on other matters of honesty and utility—a course much preferable to the admission of those professional buffoons, or "fools," which it had been the fashion to keep in the courts of princes, in order to raise a laugh by their coarse jests and obscene gambols.[c]

Such, in theory, were a young Prince's governors, teachers, and attendants at the period which is presented to our consideration, and in a court which was influenced by the sentiments of the Reformation. Let us now endeavour to ascer-

[a] "Cubicularii si probi, fidi et dextri sint, poterint privatâ illâ et liberâ confabulatione in matutinis vespertinisque ministeriis et illâ inter comendam amiciendumque operâ plurimum efficere. Siquidem liberius animi affectus apud ministros produnt pueri eosque libentius imitantur." (fol. 23.)

[b] "Non negligenda quoque cura in nobilibus aliisque ministris asciscendis, veluti structoribus atque iis qui à mensa et à poculis principi adjunguntur, qui nisi sint incorrupti et moribus castis, plurimum exemplo officere poterunt. Sin autem sobrii, modesti, rerumque honestarum et linguarum periti, consuetudine assiduâ rectores non mediocriter adjuvare queant. Siquidem vel mensæ astantes vel in confabulationibus aliis et exercitiis de rebus honestis, de externarum gentium moribus, de iis quæ peregrè viderint, gesserint, honesta et utilia referent. Idque probarim magis quàm morionum gesticulationes et cachinnos ludosque obscœnos admittendos, ut videlicet undecunque omnia apud Principem casta, erudita, gravia, et in primis pia sint." (fol. 23 b.)

[c] We find doctor Croke complaining on this head. The same man who excluded the schoolmaster, except at his stated hours, had admitted the vagrant minstrels to enact their performances even within the duke of Richmond's bedchamber,—"hic tam in preceptore arcendo diligens, libenter patitur scurras et mimos (qui digna lupanari in sacro cubiculo coram principe cantillent) admitti." The name of the favourite fool of Henry the Eighth, Will Sommers, is well known: he was living in the reign of Edward the Sixth, but perhaps in retirement, judging from the following entry: "Oct. 1551. A warrant to sir John Gate, sir Andrew Dudley,

tain how far the same principles were carried into practice in the education of the heir to the English throne. EDUCATION.

King Edward's masters are thus enumerated by himself:[a] "At the sixth year of his age, he was brought up in learning by mr. doctor Coxe, who was afterwards his almoner, and mr. John Cheke, master of arts, two well-learned men, who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues, of the Scriptures, of philosophy, and all liberal sciences. Also John Belmaine, Frenchman, did teach him the French language." *Edward's Schoolmasters.*

Dr. Fuller names two other preceptors, in the following passage of his English Worthies: "King Edward used to say of his tutors, that Randolph the German spake honestly, sir John Cheke talked seriously, doctor Coxe solidly, and sir Anthony Cooke weighingly."

Doctor Richard Coxe,[b] who had been master of Eton school, was the first preceptor chosen for the Prince, probably on the recommendation of archbishop Cranmer. He was then a man of forty-four years of age, of experience in tuition, and of amiable manners: and a person of such reputation for his fidelity and integrity that Leland, when required to point to the pattern of such a character, could name no man that deserved it more than that eloquent preacher of the gospel the King's schoolmaster. Dr. Richard Coxe.

sir Thomas Wroth, and sir Henry Sydney [the four principal knights attendant], to pay to William Seyton as well xl s. by the yeare, for his wages from th'annunciation of our Lady last during the Kinges pleasure, as also lvj s. for iij livery cotes yearly at the feastes in the same expressed; whom his Ma^tie hath appointed to keape William Somer." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. p. 137 b.) Will. Sommer survived Edward VI. and had blacks to walk at his funeral. The lady Mary also had an attendant of this class, who was called Jane the Fool: she is frequently mentioned in the Privy-purse Expenses of that princess.

[a] See the commencement of his Journal, p. 209.

[b] Richard Coxe, born of humble parentage at Whaddon, in Buckinghamshire, in 1499, was a scholar of Eton, and fellow of King's college, Cambridge, and afterwards one of the first members of Wolsey's new college at Oxford. He became archdeacon of Ely 1540, was nominated bishop of Southwell in 1542, but, that see not being established, was made dean of the cathedral, founded first at Osney, and afterwards at Christ church, Oxford, and in 1547 was elected chancellor of that university, which office he retained during the whole of King Edward's reign. He also, from Oct. 1549, held the deanery of Westminster, together with that of Oxford. During the reign of Mary he was an exile at Frankfort. After his return he was consecrated bishop of Ely in 1559. He died in 1591. He was so severe a Reformer that many writers have viewed his character unfavourably. See memoirs of him in Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (by Bliss,) i. 466; Bentham's Ely, p. 192, and Supplt. p. 104; and Neale and Brayley's Westminster Abbey, vol. i. p. 108, for which last his portrait is engraved, by G. P. Harding.

EDUCATION.
*Schoolmasters.*

Et quem Roma colit diserta multum;
Quem Rex maximus omnium supremusque
Henricus reputans virum probatum
Spectatumque satis, reconditæque
Censorem solidum eruditionis,
Eduardum bene filium, suumque
Heredem, puerum illi ad alta natum
Sic concredidit, utriusque linguæ
Flores ut legeret venustiores,
Exercens facili manum labore,
Et Christi imbiberet suäve nectar.
Felicem arbitror hanc diem fuisse,
Tanto discipulo dedit magistrum
Quæ talem. Unde suo venusta alumno
Granta assurgit, et excitata plaudit
Quod jussi, facias velim, libelle,
Checum concilies tibique amicum,
Is si te nivea manu tenebit,
Prolustrans oculo tuos sereno
Versus, ô facile inter eruditos
Exspectare potes locum poetas,
Et famam domini tui per orbem
Latè extendere. Perge quo parabas.

*Encomia Illustrium Virorum*, p. 88.

Nor is the testimony of Bale, another eminent contemporary, less enthusiastic in praise of Edward's schoolmaster:—

Virtutum eximiarum et sapientiæ merito postea tanta ejus erat apud regem illum (Henricum) authoritas et gratia, ut unicum ejus filium Edwardum, regni heredem, ipsius fidei committeret; ut præceptis optimis ac vitæ integerrimæ exemplo ad sapientiam veram et omnes virtutes heroicas, per divinam opem, ipsum ille formaret. Sic benignissimus puer, et divinæ spei Rex, tandem institutionem eam hauriebat, qua neque Cyrus, neque Alexander, neque ullus unquam præteritorum regum politiorem sanctioremque accepit. Qua si adultus uti potuisset, si ad regni gubernacula cum ea pervenisset, et ante tempus immatura morte præreptus non fuisset, quodnam regnum in terris fælicius? quæ gens beatior unquam extitisset? Sed ostendere hunc terris tantum fata voluere, neque ultra sinere.—*Scriptores Brytaniæ*, fol. 1557.

Sir Anthony Cooke[a] was another of King Edward's preceptors. We have

EDUCATION. Sir Anthony Cooke.

[a] But little is recorded of the personal history of sir Anthony Cooke, though he was evidently in high estimation among his contemporaries. He inherited the mansion of Gidea hall, near Romford, where he was born in 1506, from his great-grandfather sir Thomas Cooke, an alderman of London, celebrated as having suffered political persecution in the time of Edward IV. It is only by conjecture that sir Anthony's education has been assigned to the university of Cambridge. He was made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Edward VI. During the reign of Mary he joined the English exiles at Strasburgh. On his return it was rumoured that he would be made lord chancellor. He died at Gidea hall, on the 11th June 1576, aged 70; and a monument in Romford chapel, inscribed "Dominus Antonius Cooke, ordinis equestris miles, ob singularem prudentiam et pietatem regis Edwardi institutor constitutus:" presents kneeling figures of sir Anthony and his four learned daughters, lady Burghley, lady Bacon, lady Russell, and lady Killegrew; from which their busts are engraved in Ogborne's History of Essex. The great Cecill, having first married Maria Cheke, daughter of one of King Edward's preceptors, took for his second wife Mildred Cooke, the eldest daughter of another. The accomplishments of sir Anthony's daughters are celebrated in Ballard's Memoirs of British Ladies, in the Biographia Britannica, and other works.

David Lloyd, in his "State Worthies," discourses at very great length on sir Anthony's character, which Camden had briefly described in the few words, *Vir antiqua serenitate*. "Gravity (says Lloyd) was the ballast of his soul, and general learning its leading. He was somebody in every art, and eminent in all the whole circle of arts lodging in his soul: his Latine, fluent and proper; his Greek, critical and exact; his philology and observations upon each of these languages, deep, curious, various, and pertinent; his logick, rational; his history and experience, general; his rhetorick and poetry, copious and genuine; his mathematicks, practicable and useful. . . . . Three things there are before whom (was sir Anthony's saying) I cannot do amiss: 1. my prince; 2. my conscience; 3. my children. . . . . Fondness never loved his children, and passion never chastised them; but all was managed with that prudence and discretion, that my lord Seymour [the Protector is probably meant] standing by one day when this gentleman chid his son, said, 'Some men govern families with more skill than others do kingdoms;' and thereupon commended him to the government of his nephew Edward the sixth. Such the majestie of his looks and gate, that awe governed; such the reason and sweetness, that love obliged all his family; a family equally afraid to displease so good a head, and to offend so great. . . . . Very providently did he secure his eternity, by leaving the image of his nature in his children, and of his mind in his pupill. . . . .

"Sir Anthony took more pleasure to breed up statesmen than to be one. Contemplation was his soul, privacy his life, and discourse his element. Business was his purgatory, and publickness his torment. . . . . King Edward would say of his tutors, that Randolph the German spoke honestly, sir John Cheke talked merrily, dr. Coxe solidly, and sir Anthony Cooke weighingly, a faculty that was derived with his blood to his grandchild Bacon, which informs the world of this great truth, that education doth much towards parts; industry more; converse, encouragement, and exercise, more yet; but a sound temper and nature, an wholesome blood and spirit, derived from healthful and well-constituted parents, doth all."

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*Other languages.*

We have no positive evidence that Edward's knowledge of languages extended beyond Greek, Latin, and French: though he has had the reputation of being acquainted with more. This has apparently rested on the authority of Cardan (in a passage quoted at length hereafter), who asserted that "he was skilled in many languages,—Latin, his native English, French; and he was not unversed, I hear, in Greek, Italian, Spanish, and perhaps yet others." Upon this it may be remarked that it is highly improbable that Edward troubled himself with the Spanish language, and it may be doubted whether he even studied Italian. The evidence is so copious of his exercises in Latin, Greek, and French, that it is scarcely likely that all vestiges should have disappeared of his exercises in Italian, had he undertaken to learn that tongue. But he would, no doubt, have pursued his study of languages to a further point had his life been prolonged: for both his sisters had done so. With Mary the Spanish was in some sort her mother-tongue: and we find Elizabeth writing a letter in Italian[a] so early as the summer of 1544.

*Penmanship.*

Roger Ascham.

In the art of writing Edward was instructed by Roger Ascham, well known as the schoolmaster of his sister Elizabeth.

Many tymes by myne especiall good master mr. Cheke's means[b] I have been caulled to teache the King to write in his privy-chambre; at whiche tymes his Grace wold oft most

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[a] Addressed to queen Katharine Parr, and commencing, L'inimica fortuna. It is printed in Howard's Lady Jane Grey and her Times, p. 133.

In the Historia di Pietro Bizari (relating to the war with the Turks and other events that had elapsed in Europe from 1564 to 1568), printed *in Lyone* 1569, and dedicated to Francis earl of Bedford, occurs, at p. 205, a high eulogium on queen Elizabeth, concluding with the following testimony to her skill in foreign languages, but more particularly in Italian, in which she had been instructed by Gio. Battista Castiglioni, who was then a gentleman of her privy chamber: "Dirò ben questo, che fra l'altre sue reali virtu, ella è cosi ornata delle piu belle scientie, et cosi esperta in diverse sorti di linguaggi forestieri, che se in tutti fosse nata et nodrita, non potrebbe piu agevolmente spiegarvi i suoi alti concetti. Ma in particolare possede ella oltimamente la nostra piu tersa et piu elegante favella: di cui suo principal precettore è stato il S. Gio. Battista Castiglioni, hora gentil'huomo della camera privata di lei: il quale è cosi ornato di generose maniere, et di cosi nobili et honorate creanze, che meritamente per questo et per lo suo valore è carissimo à cosi gran Reina."

[b] Strype, in his Life of Cheke, asserts that Cheke "brought in a fair and graceful writing by the pen, as he wrote an excellent accurate hand himself." But to assign to Cheke the exclusive credit of introducing fair writing is to give him more than his due. Strype, however, in the remarks which next follow, states the case more justly, viz. that "all the best scholars in those times practised to write well. So did Smith and Cecill, and especially Ascham: who, for his exquisite hand, was the person appointed to teach the lady Elizabeth to write. So that fair writing and good learning seem to commence together."

The following remarks on this subject were from the pen of the Rev. T. D. Fosbroke, author

jently promise me one day to do me good; and I wold say, "Nay, your Majestie will sone forget me when I shall be absent from yow;" which thing he said he would never do. Sir, I do not mistrust thies wordes because thei were spoken of a childe, but rather I

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of the Encyclopedia of Antiquities. "Our own experience in ancient manuscripts is, that running or epistolary hand was at first derived from what we call *engrossing*, the forms of the letters being similar, only scrawled; but subsequently there appears to have been occasionally practised, by the same persons, a copy of printing in Roman characters, which very much resembles what we call Italian hand. We have seen autographs of the same nobleman in both engrossing and Italian hands. It is evident that the former must have been a very slow process, though only scrawled, because it was rather drawing than writing; and probably the upright stiffness and rectilinear terminations of letters were adopted from evident acceleration by this serrated fashion of running one letter into another, as in the Gothic. Both the engrossing and Italian hands appear (in Nichols's Autographs of Personages remarkable in English History, 1829, 4to. Plate 21) in two distinct signatures of Henry Derneley, husband of Mary queen of Scots. From similar Italian hands, or rather imitations of Roman letters, in the writing of Mary and Elizabeth when princesses (ibid. Plate 7), lady Jane Grey, and Edward the Sixth, we are inclined to suspect that a Roman hand was first taught to children, as easier than the black-letter." (Gentleman's Magazine, 1828, vol. XCVIII. ii. 540.) Croke, the tutor of the duke of Richmond, was in 1527 highly indignant that the duke's schoolfellows had been instigated by his governor, mr. George Cotton, to relinquish the Roman hand which Croke had taught them, and that Cotton had undertaken to teach them the secretary hand, with what success (Croke suggests to Wolsey) you may judge from his own autograph: "Nec hæc satis nocuisse contentus, animari pueros ut (quam a me dedicêre scribere) *Rhomanam* contemnant et in meum contemptum dediscant. Sed neque hic diligentiæ fucus malitiæ deest. Nam ipse *secretariam* ipsos docet. Qualem autem ex ipsius autographo licet judicare!"

An amusing instance of Prince Edward's commending the Roman penmanship of queen Katharine occurs in his Letter XVII. p. 16. In the following epigram Leland compliments Ascham at once on his Italian and his Greek writing:—

*Ad Rogerum Aschamum.*

Aschame, litterulas tam belle pingis, ut ipsa
  Græcia te scribam pervelit esse suum:
Ut velit esse suum, rerum caput, inclyta Roma,
  Quamvis Italicos scribere docta modos.
Sed calamos cur certo tuos attollere vates
  Carmine: sit virtus quum tua nota satis.

Roger Ascham's skill both in the composition and in the penmanship of letters, is thus described by his biographer Edward Grant: "Scripsit literas omnes, quas Academia ad Regiam majestatem aut quoscunque alios honoratos viros, multorum annorum spatio, dederit: et tantâ diligentiâ, tantâ elegantiâ depinxit, ut nihil accuratius fieri, nihil elegantius depingi potuerit. Politissimè quidem depinxit, venustè exaravit, hâcque optimâ exercitatione omnes tunc temporis studiosos et litteratos longè superavit. Si Latinè literas exararet, nihil admirabilius. Si Græcè scriberet, manu ejus nihil pulchrius. Si Anglicè literas pingeret, valdè

EDUCATION. the old metrical version of the Psalms, was groom of the robes to King Edward, (as he had previously been to Henry VIII.) and has left on record that his Grace sometimes took pleasure in hearing those compositions sung: of which in his dedication (written in 1549 [a]) he thus reminds him:

> Seeing further that youre tender and godly zeale doeth more delyghte in the holye songes of veritie, then in anye feygned rimes of vanitie, I am encouraged to travayle further in the sayd booke of Psalms; trustyng that as your grace taketh pleasure to heare them song sometymes of me, so ye will also delyght not only to see and reade them youre selfe, but also to commaunde them to bee songe to you of others; that as ye have the psalme it selfe in youre mynde, so you maye judge myne endevoure by youre eare.

*Schoolfellows.* Having reviewed the names of those who acted as King Edward's teachers, we have now to inquire who were provided as his companions, in pursuance of the plan of education which has been already described. We have various allusions to his schoolfellows, though no direct accounts of them. We have seen [b] that in July 1544 Cheke's appointment was made both to assist Coxe in the instruction of the Prince, and also to secure "the diligent teaching of such children as be appointed to attend upon him." In Edward's letter [c] to Coxe written from Hertford on the 2d April, 1546, he mentions the "alii pueri qui hic sunt," as being equally bound with himself to write to their absent master. When Haddon visited the same place, he found the young duke of Suffolk an inmate, whose scholarship reflected the highest credit upon Coxe. [d] In the articles objected against the lord protector in October 1549 the young lords attendant on the King's person are mentioned. [e] In September 1552 we read of the table of

[a] Sternholde died in the same year, when his will was proved in September. The first edition of his Psalms was printed by Edward Whitchurche in 1549, 8vo: see the Athenæ Oxon. by Bliss, i. 187. The whole dedication will be found in the Censura Literaria, vol. x. p. 10; where accounts are given of the editions of 1551, 1561, and 1581, with extracts, and biographical notices of the several authors. Sternholde versified forty of the Psalms; John Hopkins, William Whittingham, Thomas Norton, and others wrote the remainder. Versions of some of the Psalms were also written by William Hunnis; and dr. Matthew Parker, in 1560, versified the whole. John Hall versified certain chapters of the Proverbs, also in 1560. (Hawkins, Hist. of Music, iii. 254.)

[b] In p. xxxix. [c] Page 7. [d] See Haddon's letter, hereafter.

[e] "XIX. Also you declared and published untruly, as well to the King's majesty, as to other the young lords attendant upon his Grace's person, that the lords of the council at London minded to destroy the King; and you required the King never to forget it, but to revenge it: and likewise you required the young lords to put the King in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make sedition and discord between the King and his lords." Foxe, Acts and Monuments, edit. 1838, vi. 291.

the young lords, which had been one of the standing tables at court, being stopped, for the sake of economy;[a] but still, at the time of the King's death, there were "fower yonge lordes" resident at court, and who attended his funeral, namely, the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Giles Poulet, the lord Lumley, and the lord Mountjoy.[b]

EDUCATION. *Schoolfellows.*

The King's companions are also alluded to in two of Roger Ascham's letters. One of these is hereafter inserted.[c] In a letter to Sturmius, written on the 4th April, 1550, Ascham mentions "the duke of Suffolk and the rest of that company of most noble youths, who, having been hitherto educated in Greek and Latin literature together with our King, are on this very day started for France." From this it would seem that the King's schoolfellows were identical with the hostages sent to France in 1550, namely, the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Hertford, the lord Talbot, the lord Fitzwarine, the lord Maltravers, and the lord Strange.[d] It is obvious, however, that this cannot be accepted as a determinate list, as we know that the hostages were selected as six youths of the highest rank in the kingdom, and that the earls of Warwick, Bedford, and Huntingdon were also requested to send their heirs,[e] though afterwards excused.[f]

Henry Brandon, duke of Suffolk, though seven years senior to the King,[g] was certainly for a time one of his associates in study,[h] and was probably in acquirements, as well as rank, the foremost of his schoolfellows.[i] His brother lord Charles

Duke of Suffolk.

Lord Charles Brandon.

[a] See p. 458. [b] Archæologia, vol. xii. p. 375. [c] See p. lxx.

[d] See p. 253. [e] See p. 252.

[f] It may be remarked that among the knights of the Bath made at Edward's coronation were all of the nine noblemen above mentioned, except lord Fitzwarine, and also lord Charles Brandon and the earl of Ormonde, who will be named presently.

[g] The elder brother was born on the 6th Sept. 1530, and was ÆT. 5 when his miniature was painted in 1535; the younger was born March 10, 1537, and was ÆT. 3, 1541. See these miniatures engraved in a supplemental plate to Chamberlain's Holbein Heads.

[h] See Haddon's letter hereafter. See also the note in p. 137 in regard to the enigma presented by ORATIO XII.

[i] As the duke of Suffolk exhibited so excellent an example to his young master, the following particulars of his studies, derived from the oration delivered at his funeral by dr. Haddon, may be here appropriately introduced. Haddon describes him as far advanced in learning for his years, and much addicted to literature; and his intelligence such that he readily imbibed whatever instruction was given him. His favourite discourses were upon learned arguments, and his delight in the conversation of learned men, many of whom his mother took care to introduce to him, and with others he made acquaintance of himself, on perceiving their abilities, and fancying their conversation. When surrounded by this learned retinue, his custom was to propound some question, upon which he himself would first speak, and then

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was by a few months the King's junior. These two noble youths appear to have been removed together to the university of Cambridge, where in 1551 they contributed to the mortuary verses written in commemoration of the reformer Bucer;[a] and shortly after they were together at the house of bishop Holbeach at Buckden, where the sweating-sickness in the course of a few hours summoned them both to an early death.[b] Roger Ascham, as appears by one of his letters to Cheke, was for some months in the year 1549 engaged in teaching Greek to lord Charles Brandon, and writing to both brothers.[c] A Latin letter addressed to the King by the duke of Suffolk, when he was resident in Cambridge, is preserved among the choicest autographs of the British Museum[d], but is now printed for the first time. Its language is obviously superior to that which the King had attained when, at a much earlier age, he wrote his Epistolæ contained in this volume: but, however admirable for what doctor Haddon was pleased to term a Ciceronian style, it is pervaded with a spirit of extravagant adulation to which it is impossible to give credit for perfect sincerity.

*The Duke of Suffolk to King Edward.*

[MS. Cotton. Vesp. F. XIII. p. 174.]

Quemadmodum, Rex benignissime, ortâ die, solis ad nos reditum agnoscimus, tametsi per obscurarum interstitia nubium relucescentem illius globositatem apertè non intuemur

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require their opinions in turn. He had a ready and fluent utterance, yet accompanied with a becoming modesty, which preserved him from boasting and self-conceit, or from despising others. Haddon, on observing this style of his, especially exhorted him to study Tully for its further improvement, adding, that by perusing that author diligently for a year or two, he would prove a better Ciceronian than himself, whatever credit he had from the world in that respect. This counsel was given in the winter, when an ague interrupted this noble youth in his studies; but as soon as he recovered his health he returned to the reading of Tully with all vigour, according to his tutor's advice, which, like a true scholar, he regarded as a command. His only brother, lord Charles Brandon, was equally promising, though many years younger.

[a] See p. 306. [b] See p. 330.

[c] "Domina Suffolciensis hoc proximo superiori anno prolixè et largè mihi pollicita est, cum aliquot menses dominum Carolum Græcis literis institui, et ad pulchram manum formavi; ejus liberalitatem ad hoc tempus, et hunc usum, reservavi. Clarissimus etiam dux Suffolciensis, cum mihi fovet, et elegantiam scribendi, quâ ille præstat, mihi quoque debet, hanc postulationem meam apud matrem adjuvabit." Letter dated Nov. 11, 1550.

[d] In the Cottonian Catalogue it is inaccurately described as a letter of Henry Grey duke of Suffolk.

oculis, eodem modo tuæ Majestatis singularis et prope incredibilis benignitas usque adeo fulget et splendescit, ut quamvis præsens præsentem externis meis luminibus non aspiciam, ea tamen mihi usque aut unquam mihi excidere non possit. Neque enim minus lucescere judico tuæ celsitudinis infinitam bonitatem quàm solis splendorem, nec magis capi hominum oculos solis fulgore quàm aures omnium deliniri præclarissimâ illâ tuâ excellentiæ famâ. Quoties igitur ad tuam immensam erga me homulum tuum benignitatem animum meum revoco, et in omnes mei officii partes penitus introspicio, horrescit quidem animus meus horrescit, ita ut horrescendo mirâ etiam jucunditate gestiat, eo me tua Ma^tas et suavissimus candor simul rapiunt. Ex quo fit ut semper ante oculos versetur quibus sim ignominiæ verberibus excruciandus, si vel minimam officii me particulam negligentiâ prætermiserim. Ipsa enim tanti sceleris conscientia animum meum perpetuo dilaniaret et mirum in modum torqueret, et maximè si nunc tam accommodatæ ad meum officium perficiendum occasioni non in frontem occurrerem. Quocirca ipse rumor qui vere apud nos sparsus fuerat de adventu domini Checi mihi summam attulit jucunditatem, et ad has literas scribendas animum meum, jampridem erectum ac paratum, vi impulit, si vis dicenda sit quæ ab ipsâ voluntate proficiscitur. Defluunt præterea ab illo tam nobilitato fonte et omnium sermonibus celebrato, nempe tuâ serenitate, alia quædam instrumenta, vel potius incitamenta, ad officii mei recordationem, quando intra tui divini animi limites compingi video, quæcunque egregia ex majorum monumentis singulis principibus attributa esse lectione assiduâ colligo. Nam ab ipsâ ineunte ætate ad hoc usque tempus illa admiranda bonitas pro ratione ætatis tanquam ab ipsâ naturâ accepta referres, una tecum crevit, et ut consenescas quàm maximè in meis optatis est. Quemadmodum enim alcumistici ex bis binis elementis jam diu frustra quintam nescio quam essentiam omnium perfectissimam elicere conati sunt, ita quod illi nullo studio aut arte efficere valuerunt, parens omnium Deus, si quid sit in hominum naturâ ad conservandos homines eximium, tale quiddam in tuâ Majestate facile nobis expedisse videtur. Neque enim tua singularis lenitas impunitatem scelestis viris imponit, neque severitas innocentium animos a tui admiratione alienare potest. Illam igitur laudem quam Cicero sibi tanquam suo jure vindicabat, a Cicerone ad tuam Ma^tem merito transferri posse mihi videtur. Cicero enim, studio honoris inflammatus, plus sibi arrogavit quàm veritas patiebatur. Affirmavit enim naturam lenitatis personam illi imposuisse, patriam severitatis, et rectè quidem suo judicio: docet enim eum qui semel verecundiæ fines transgressus esset, bene et naviter impediendum esse oportere. At contra tuæ Majestatis modestia, quæ mirum in modum omnibus probata est, hanc sibi laudem debitam quidem ad se trahit. Sed dum hæc apud me evolvam, non possum gaudiis meis finem imponere. Congratulor enim tibi, ô Britannia. Jam enim usu venire in te cerno, quod sæpius a Platone de Reip. fælicitate accepi, qui docet eam demum πολιτείαν εὐδαιμονέστατην εἶναι in quâ aut reges philosophi sint aut philosophi reges sint. Sed nostram fælicitatem non possum satis admirari, quibus et regum φιλοσοφότατος et philosophorum βασιλικότατος imperat. Jam vero tuam Majestatem

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hisce meis nugis a gravioribus rebus diutius detinere nolo. Quocirca a Deo optimo maximoque vehementer peto, ut in suâ tutelâ tuam Majestatem suscipiat.

Tuæ Ma^tis humillimus servus,

H. SUFFOLK.

' (*The signature partly cut away.*)

Cantabrigiæ, xxij. Maij.

*Directed,*—Edwardo Sexto regi potentissimo ac domino suo colendissimo.

Earl of Hertford.

Next in rank to the duke of Suffolk among the comrades of the youthful monarch was the earl of Hertford, the son and heir apparent of the lord protector. The duke of Somerset's children were divided into two families, placed respectively in very different positions. Whilst those[a] of his first wife Katharine Fillol were deprived, by legal settlements, even of the greater part of their mother's inheritance: those of the living duchess (Anne Stanhope), so long as their father retained his power, enjoyed all the estimation attached to the highest grade of nobility. It was suspected that the duke of Somerset entertained a project of matching his royal nephew with his third daughter lady Jane Seymour.[b] Edward, the eldest son of the second marriage, bore the courtesy title of Earl of Hertford. He was born in 1539, less than two years after the King his cousin; and, before his father's disgrace, he received from Edward two very flattering letters, in which his amiability and his love of learning were alike complimented in the highest terms.[c] In 1550 he went as a hostage to France, at considerable expense to the King;[d]

[a] The children of the first wife were John and Edward. The former, John Seymour esquire, died in Dec. 1552, and was buried in the chapel of the Savoy hospital, leaving his estates to his only brother of the whole blood, who was then styled sir Edward Seymour, having been knighted in 1547 at Musselburgh, when he was eighteen. He was subsequently sir Edward Seymour of Berry Pomeroy, the lineal ancestor of the present ducal house of Somerset, and died in 1593. Before his father's disgrace he was certainly styled "lord Edward" (see pp. 236, 274, of the present volume); but I have not met with the name of his elder brother as "lord John." There was a John Seymour, clerk of the lower house of parliament during the reign of Edward VI.; but it is presumed that that officer must have been a different person. There was also a John Seymour elected to parliament for Reading (see pp. 354, 355, 368).

[b] See p. 361 of the present volume.

[c] See Letters XLV. and LII. at pp. 42, 52.

[d] On the 7th May Frauncis Newdigate (his father's steward, and subsequently his step-father), received "by way of gift toward the charges of the furniture of the earl of Hertford, ij c. marks" (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 676); and on the 4th July the duke received a further sum of 245*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* on the same account. See the note in p. 252, and also those in pp. 253, 259, 262.

and in May 1551 we find him heading one party of competitors, whilst the King led the other, at a challenge of running at the ring,[a] held in Greenwich park. Before the end of that year his juvenile career as a courtier was cut short: by the attainder of his father he lost his rank and title, and was thenceforward styled "sir Edward Seymour" only (being a knight of the Bath), until created a peer as Earl of Hertford after the accession of Elizabeth. Towards the close of 1552 we find him with his two younger brothers[b] in the house of the marquess of Winchester, who together with the high office of lord treasurer held also that of master of the wards; subsequently his wardship was granted to the great enemy of his house, the duke of Northumberland.

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Lord Henry Seymour, the next son, was one year younger than the earl of Hertford; Edward,[c] the youngest, was a child of only four years at his father's death.

Lord Henry Seymour.

The next of the hostages sent to France, George lord Talbot, afterwards sixth

Lord Talbot.

[a] See p. 317.

[b] In a remarkable letter addressed to Calvin on the 13th Nov. 1582, Thomas Norton, the schoolmaster of the duke of Somerset's sons, gives an interesting account of the disposition of the duke's children, both daughters and sons, whilst the duchess their mother still remained in the Tower. After naming "Edward, his son and heir, thirteen years old, and as it were the living image of his father," and "his two brothers, Henry and Edward, the latter five years old, and the other twelve," Norton states that they were then residing, as the King's wards, in the house of the marquess of Winchester. "They are liberally educated, and have no other attendants or governors but those to whom they were entrusted by their father in his lifetime. Philip Gilgate, a worthy gentleman, is their governor, and I retain my old office of instructing them." Zurich Letters, Second series, p. 341 (where the editor's notes on the two Edwards are both in error).

[c] See the birth and christening of lord Edward Seymour, the King being his godfather, noticed at p. 61 of the present volume. Collins (Peerage, 1779, i. 162) states that he "died, unmarried, a knight, in 1574;" but if he had survived to Elizabeth's time he would surely have been styled "lord Edward," as his brother was "lord Henry." With regard to the strange circumstance of the duke of Somerset having three living sons all named Edward, it is perhaps unparalleled in English genealogies; but there are many instances, both in earlier times and in those of which we are treating, of the same Christian name being given to two living sons, the imposition of more than one name in baptism, which might have distinguished the parties, not having been as yet adopted. The duke of Northumberland had two sons alike named Henry. John White, bishop of Winchester 1556, and sir John White, alderman of London, were brothers; and John Leland, the antiquary, had a brother of the same name. Thomas Cavendish, of the King's exchequer, who died 15 Hen. VIII. had two sons named George.

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earl of Shrewsbury, was probably some years older than Prince Edward,[a] and nothing has been found to show that they were companions.

Lord Fitzwarine.

John Bourchier, lord Fitzwarine, was the son and heir apparent of John earl of Bath, the duchess of Somerset's maternal uncle; but the earl was not a nobleman that was brought prominently forward during the reign of Edward the Sixth, as he was an adherent to the faith of Rome.[b]

Lord Maltravers.

Henry lord Maltravers was the only son of the earl of Arundel, who was one of the few representatives of the ancient nobility of England that still stood their ground in the Tudor age. The earl was himself a great patron of literature, and he gave a learned education both to his son and to his two daughters—Mary duchess of Norfolk and Jane lady Lumley.[c] Ascham in his "Schoolmaster," written in 1564, has the following passage:

> If King Edward had lived a little longer, his only example had bred such a race of worthy learned gentlemen as this realm never yet did afford; and, in the second degree, two noble primroses of nobility, the duke of Suffolk and lord Henry Matrevers, were two such examples to the court for learning as our time may rather wish than looke for again.

A contemporary biography of the Earl of Arundel confirms this statement, with further particulars:—

[a] Earl Gilbert, his second son, was born in 1553; therefore earl George was married in 1551, or before. Pedigree in Hunter's Hallamshire, p. 44.

[b] His politics were at length decidedly manifested at the death of King Edward, when he took an active part in support of the title of the lady Mary. See such particulars as are known of him in Gage's History of Hengrave. Mr. Gage (p. 132) states, that lord Fitzwarine was one of the knights of the Bath made at the coronation of queen Mary; but such was not the case. It appears by the list of Edward's knights that "The duke of Lunenburg [was] dubbed at Westminster the 17 of Nov. a° 3 of the Kinges reigne, and with him these fyve followinge,—Lord Fitzwarin, son and heir of the earl of Bath, sir [Nicholas] Pelham, sir Ambrose Dudley [afterwards earl of Warwick], sir John Parrett, and sir Thomas Russell." (MS. Cotton. Claudius, C. III.) The original letter of the council to the earl of Bath (mentioned in the note at p. 252 hereafter), summoning lord Fitzwarine to become one of the hostages to France, is printed in Gage's Hengrave, at p. 131.

[c] Both these young ladies—the former of whom died at the age of sixteen, but not before she had given birth to Philip afterwards earl of Arundel, are commemorated in Ballard's Memoirs of British Ladies, and in Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, in consequence of their exercise-books, consisting of translations from the Greek, being still preserved in the Royal collection of Manuscripts. See a full description of the books in question attached to the Life of Henry earl of Arundel, 1834, p. 26: where also will be found an exposition of the numerous

His only sonne, the lorde Matrevers, who in his tyme was worthely estemed the paragon of this realme, not exceding the age of 18 yeares, did excell in all manner of good learninge and languages, in all activities on horsbacke and on foote, and in his behaviour was a most righte courtier, to the honour of this realme; who, being but of those yeares, was sent ambassadour to Maximilian the kinge of Boemia, into the Lowe Country, wheare, throughe a hot burninge fever, he ended this life.[a]

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This happened during the reign of Mary, in the year 1556. In Edward's court this young nobleman was only a boy, very nearly of the same age with the King, and he was consequently not more than ten when he officiated at the coronation banquet in 1549 as Chief Butler of England, an office hereditary in his family, and which was on that occasion deputed to him because his father served as High Constable.[b] At the same period, whilst his father continued lord chamberlain, the lord Maltravers may very probably have been classed among the King's companions; but when Arundel was sequestered from office, early in 1550,[c] the lord Maltravers would also be withdrawn from the court, and subsequently, when his father was a prisoner in the Tower, we find that the son was placed under some restraint, in the custody of sir Richard Sackville.[d]

errors, in reference to this family group, committed in the last edition of Walpole's work, by Mr. Park—among others, that of giving, instead of a memoir of John lord Lumley, the husband of lady Jane Arundel, one of his grandfather of the same name.

[a] Life of Henry earl of Arundel, K.G. edited by John Gough Nichols. 1834. 8vo. p. 18.

[b] "At the King's return to England (from Boulogne) he called this earle more nearer him, and maid him his Lord Chamberlaine about his person, in which office he continued duringe the Kinges life; who at his death maid him also one of his executors. After whose death he remained in the same office about King Edward his sonne, and served him at his coronation in place of Highe Constable of England, supplying the same to the honour of himselfe, and of the place which he did use, albeit that by byrth he was Cheefe Butler of England, a place of service both for honour and costlye chardges sufficient, which that day was supplied by the lorde Matreevers, his lordship's eldest sonne, for therein consisted not only the chardge of the cup bord, but allso the service of the hall, beinge Westminster halle, thorougoutly set that day, which was onely waited uppon by the earles servants in his own liverey, gentlemen and yeomen, being fower hundreth and fiftye servitours in number." Life (as before), p. 4.

[c] See p. 245.

[d] "29 May, 1552. A lettre to sir Richarde Sakevile knight, that, in respect of the heate of the yere drawing on, he may sende the lorde Matravers to some howse of hys in the countrie where he shall thinke meete." (Privy-council Register.) The reign of Mary, and the ascendancy of Arundel as one of her chief councillors, seemed to open a fresh prospect of aggrandisement to this very ancient and highly distinguished house. In the despatches of the

EDUCATION. *Schoolfellows.* John Lord Lumley.

In connection with the Arundel family it will not be out of place to introduce the name of John lord Lumley, who, after the death of lord Maltravers, to a great extent occupied his place, as the husband of Arundel's only surviving child.[a] He pursued his education in the earl's family, and among his early literary tasks was a translation of "the Golden Boke, which techethe the Instruction of a Christen Prince, and the dyligent governance of his subjectes," which was one of the essays of the great Erasmus.[b] We have seen that lord Lumley was one of the four young lords resident at court at the time of the King's death. He retained his literary tastes throughout a long life; and the Royal Library,

imperial ambassadors (as given by Mr. Tytler) occur the following passages: "Paget has importunately pressed Courtenay to marry the lady Elizabeth: adding that, if he did not listen to this, the son of the earl of Arundel would marry her." (Montmorency and Renard to the emperor, 4 June, 1554.) Again, "Many surmise that there exists a plot and conspiracy, of which the earl of Arundel, Pembroke, and Paget are chiefs, to whom the chancellor (Gardiner) and others of the council do not give great heed, and it is held that all is done to marry the eldest son of the said earl of Arundel with the lady Elizabeth." (Simon Renard to the emperor, 14 June.) However, the earl would soon find—supposing there was any foundation for this report—that such a project could not be safely pursued, the lady Elizabeth herself being shortly after withdrawn from the court, and even carried to the Tower; and, probably in the course of the next year, an alliance was formed for the lord Maltravers with Anne, widow of sir Hugh Rich, K.B. (second son of lord chancellor Rich), and the only child and heiress of sir John Wentworth, of Gosfield in Essex: of which lady see further in the Life, &c. of the Earl, p. 19. By lord Maltravers's death at Bruxelles, in the summer of 1556, the male line of the house of Arundel failed; for, though the old earl survived him for more than twenty years, tantalised at one time, if we may believe Camden, with a visionary ambition of himself marrying "the lady" now queen Elizabeth, yet he was the last of his race, and on his decease in 1579 his earldom passed to the house of Howard, in right of his elder daughter. A Latin poem on the death of the lord Maltravers is among the Poemata of doctor Walter Haddon, at p. 97. There is a whole-length portrait of him at Arundel castle, painted shortly before his death, it is supposed by Lucas de Heere.

[a] The earl of Arundel had also a step-son, John Radcliffe, son of his second wife by her former husband, Robert first earl of Sussex, K.G. This young man pursued his studies with the earl of Arundel's children, and among the Royal MSS. (12 A. III.) is a book upon Alexander Severus, the joint production of his sister Mary Arundell and him, written for a new year's gift to the earl of Arundel. Another volume (7 D. X.) is a Latin translation, by John Radcliffe, of queen Katharine's Prayers, prefaced by a dedication to his step-father. He was knighted at the coronation of King Edward, and died in 1568; see Life of the Earl of Arundel, pp. 28, 32; and the Collectanea Topogr. et Geneal. vol. ii. p. 314.

[b] "A certaine treatise cauled the institution of a christen prince or ruler, collected by Erasmus of Rotherodame." At the close, "Here endethe the golden boke, which techethe the

(now in the British Museum,) to which his collection of books (after certain portions had been given to the university of Cambridge and the Bodleian library,) was added by Henry Prince of Wales,[a] still contains many volumes, both printed and manuscript, that are inscribed with the name of Lumley, as well as with that of his father-in-law Arundel. Education. *Schoolfellows.*

The earl of Derby was one of the great peers whose wealth made them independent of court favour; but whose alliance was a matter of competition with the statesmen who took a more active part in the government of the country. His son and heir Henry lord Strange was evidently one of the King's associates in the first year of his reign, when we find him sent to Cowdray to act as the King's proxy at the christening of a son of sir Anthony Browne.[b] He was subsequently contracted in marriage with the lady Margaret Seymour, second daughter of the duke of Somerset:[c] but when Somerset was overwhelmed by his enemies, the lord Strange, as the King himself has recorded in his Journal,[d] was brought to confess "how the duke willed him to stir me (King Edward) to marry his third daughter the lady Jane, and willed him to be his spy in all matters of my doings and sayings, and to know when some of my council spake secretly with me." This passage sufficiently proves the intimate footing upon which the lord Strange was associated with his sovereign. Subsequently, in the reign of Mary, this nobleman married, with the queen's consent, the junior scion of the blood royal, lady Margaret Clifford,[e] a great-niece of Henry VIII. Lord Strange.

The duke of Northumberland, ever alive to all means of aggrandisement, took Lord Lisle, Earl of Warwick.

instruction of a christen prince and the dyligent governance of his subjectes. Your lordshippes obedient sone,

J. Lumley,

"1550."

On the first page is the autograph of the earl of Arundel, and also that of lord Lumley repeated. (MS. Reg. 17 A. XLIX.)

[a] See Birch's Life of Henry Prince of Wales, p. 161, and the Life of the Earl of Arundel, p. 21; and also the Gentleman's Magazine for 1790, p. 117, where are engraved the autographs of *Thomas Cantuarien'* [archbishop Arundel, who died in 1413], *Arundel*, and *Lumley*, from an ancient psalter, a stray volume of the same collection.

[b] Account of the Treasurer of the chamber. (MS. Trevelyan.)

[c] "Oct. 1551. A letter to th'erle of Darbye, declaring the Kinges majestie is well pleased his sonne lord Straunge shall solempnise mariage with his Ma^ties kinswoman the lady Margaret, doughter to the duke of Somerset, his Highnes' unkill on the mother's syde." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 122 b.)

[d] See p. 361, and in the note the confirmatory extract from the marquess of Winchester's letter.

[e] See the pedigree in p. xxii.

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care that his children should not be behind their compeers in the advantages of scholarship.[a] Supplanting Somerset as chancellor of the university of Oxford, as he did in the government of the realm, he turned towards himself the homage of clerks as well as laymen, and the patronage of the Church as well as the State. His eldest son, John, who first bore the title of viscount Lisle, and afterwards that of earl of Warwick, was conspicuous for his love of learning;[b] but we have no evidence that he shared in the King's studies—being, probably, a few years older than the King. Before the close of the reign he became an officer at court as master of the horses,[c] as did his brother lord Robert Dudley as one of the "six ordinary gentlemen" attendant on the King,[d] and master of the buck-hounds.[e]

Lord Russell.

Francis lord Russell, the heir apparent of the lord privy seal, was by some years the King's senior, and we have no reason to regard him as one of Edward's schoolfellows, though his zealous Protestantism would have well accorded with the sentiments adopted by the King.

[a] In a letter written by Ascham in 1549 on the part of the university of Cambridge to the earl of Warwick, that nobleman's care in the education of his children is thus complimented: "Et animum tuum mirificè inflammari literarum amore vel hinc certè perspicimus, quod tantam curam suscipis tibi in educandis omnibus filiis tuis, potissimum vero in nobilissimi patris nobilissimo filio tuo domino de Lysle; nec apud te prius quicquam est, quam ut claritas generis, et fortunæ dignitas, splendore literarum indies illustraretur." Again, in a letter written at a much later date to Robert Dudley, then earl of Leicester, Ascham repeats the same sentiments, and upon similar grounds: "Quoniam amorem literarum omnino habes hæreditarium, pater enim, licet ipse ineruditus, tamen eruditorum studiosissimus fuit. Quod etiam in eo satis apparuit, quia in meipso, cùm doctrinam non posset, tamen umbram doctrinæ quandam magni fecit. Deinde, frater natu major Joannes Varvicensis (the lord Lysle of the former passage,) ita disciplinarum amore fuit incensus, ut illis omnia prope alia posthaberet. Et licet facultate dissimili, tamen simili studio et affectu, est tuus qui nunc est Varvicensis (Ambrose earl of Warwick), qui nullos libentius audire solet quàm quos sapere plus et intelligere putat quàm alios. De te nihil, præsertim ad te, tantum hoc ad extremum apponam, cùm te Deus longè supra communem hominum conditionem evexerit, tibi dandam esse operam, primùm ut Deo, à quo sunt omnia, supplices et servias assiduè, deinde ut illam omnium rerum undique scientiam colligas, qua principi quod debes officium et patriæ persolvas."

[b] "The Arte of Rhetorique, for the use of all suche as are studious of Eloquence, sette forthe in English, by Thomas Wilson," in Jan. 1553, was dedicated "To the right honorable lorde, John Dudley, lorde Lisle, earle of Warwicke, and Maister of the horse to the Kynges Maiestie." See Dibdin's Ames, iii. 580.

[c] See p. 409.

[d] See p. 338.

[e] The earl of Warwick relinquished this office to lord Robert (with the yearly fee of xxxiijli. vjs. viijd.) on taking that of master of the horses. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 211.)

Henry lord Hastings, afterwards the third earl of Huntingdon, was certainly one of the King's companions, as we learn from an anecdote related by himself on the report of dr. Fuller.[a] He was about two years older than Edward:[b] and his near cousin,[c] his mother being a Pole, a niece of Reginald the cardinal. EDUCATION. *Schoolfellows.* Lord Hastings.

Of the same kindred was Henry lord Stafford,[d] son and heir of the last duke of Buckingham, beheaded by Henry VIII. in 1521: his wife being another Lord Stafford.

[a] That relating to the King's prayers for the recovery of sir John Cheke (cited hereafter), which was attested to sir Thomas Cheke, "by the old earl of Huntingdon, bred up in his childhood with King Edward."

[b] Being twenty-six years of age when he succeeded his father in 1561.

[c] The duke of Northumberland, in order to strengthen his alliances, procured lord Hastings for his daughter the lady Katharine Dudley, and they were married at the same time as lord Guilford Dudley espoused the lady Jane Grey. This led to the temporary imprisonment of lord Hastings and his father at the accession of Mary; but they were soon released, for the earl of Arundel, when he took Northumberland to the Tower, discharged Hastings, and brought him away with him. Subsequently, in Elizabeth's time, earl Henry's royal blood excited that jealousy which was its almost infallible reflection. With a natural alarm, he anxiously disavowed any ambitious views. See a remarkable letter of his addressed in 1563 to his brother-in-law lord Robert Dudley, printed in Nichols's History of Leicestershire, vol. iii. p. 583.

[d] "Henricus Stafforde, Edwardi illustrissimi Buckingamiæ ducis nobilissimus filius et dominus de Stafford dictus, vir multarum rerum ac disciplinarum noticiâ ornatus, e Latino in Anglicum sermonem eleganter vertit

*Utriusque potestatis differentiam.* Lib. 1.

Quem librum Edwardus Foxius, Herefordensis episcopus, edidisse fertur. Obiit anno Domini 1558, quo ista congessimus." (Bale's Scriptores, edit. 1557, pars ii. p. 112.)

The book here mentioned was entitled "The true dyfferens betwen the Regall Power and the Ecclesiasticall Power. Translated out of Latyn by Henry lord Stafforde." 12mo, printed by William Copland. In the dedication, which is addressed to the duke of Somerset when protector, occurs the following passage: "Yet lyke as the temple of God in Hierusalem was begon by Davyd, and fynyshed by Salamon, so many kindes of superstiticion wer abolished by the sayd good kyng [Henri the eyght], and no fewer left to be reformed by hys gracyous and most lauful sonne, oure new soveraygne lorde Kynge Edward the syxt, By whose happy and blyssyd procedynge hytherto, it is evydent to the world that God is his guyd, directyng his passage to the parfectyon of al vertue and godlynes. A notable experyment wherof we have by the holsom and holy lawes that proceede from his grace in thys hys mynoryte and chyldhed, to the advauncement of Goddes worde and extyrpatyon of al hypocrisy and fals religyon. For the whych benefyte howmoche the realme of Englande is bounden to hys magesty my pen cannot suffycyentlye set it furth: But thys must al men confesse, that as long as the memory therof shal remayne, so long shal the honorable fame and prayses of his grace be fresshe and grene in al true Englyshmens hartes."

EDUCATION. *Schoolfellows.* daughter of sir Richard Pole, lord Montagu, and granddaughter of George duke of Clarence. He must have been growing up to manhood whilst King Edward was yet a child; but he appears to have been sometimes at court, exhibiting, however, a studious turn of mind, and perhaps a depressed and retiring demeanour, to which the adverse fortunes of his house may well have disposed him.[a]

Lord Thomas Howard. Under the name of "the lord Thomas Howard" we meet with the grandson and heir of another attainted duke; for this was evidently not Thomas afterwards viscount Bindon, who was really "lord Thomas Howard" at this period, but his nephew the son and heir of the attainted earl of Surrey, and who was the brother-in-law of his companion lord Lumley, and the husband of the elder daughter of the earl of Arundel. At King Edward's funeral he received blacks for eight servants, whilst the three other "young lords" were each attended by two only. The duke of Norfolk, his grandfather, remained a prisoner in the Tower throughout this reign; but, upon his release, and before the act of his attainder had been made void by Mary's first parliament, "the lord Thomas" assumed his father's title, and at the coronation in 1553 appeared as earl of Surrey, being then made a knight of the Bath, and executing his grandfather's office of Marshal of England. At the death of his grandfather in 1554 he was only eighteen years of age. His subsequent history in the reign of Elizabeth is well known.

Lord Giles Poulet. The lord Giles Poulet was the fourth son of the lord treasurer. His age does not appear, nor do the peerages afford any other particulars of his history but such as are of a genealogical nature.

Lord Mountjoy. James fifth lord Mountjoy, the last of the "four young lords" who walked in the King's funeral procession, had succeeded his father in 1545. Very little is

[a] Roger Ascham, in a letter to William Ireland, fellow of St. John's college at Cambridge, written from Cheshunt on the 8th July, 15—, tells his friend: "I was lately in the court with the King's majesty; when I saw in the bedchamber of my lord of Somerset many noblemen, with whom my lord Stafford has much intercourse when at court. The conversation I overheard was on the most trifling matters. Oh these unhappy men! methought; and oh our most happy lord Stafford, who now at Cambridge is conversing with Cicero on the weightiest subjects, and such as are really worthy of a sensible man." Ascham in the same letter alludes to lord Stafford having served in the expedition to Boulogne. The year in which the letter was written is not stated, but it is while the rebellions were going on, probably in 1549. Bale, in the passage quoted in the preceding note, states that lord Stafford died in 1558: but he is supposed to have survived until 1562. Henry his eldest son and successor died in 1566, s. p.; Edward his younger son, and the next lord Stafford, lived until 1603. (Courthope's Historic Peerage of England, 1857, p. 443.) There is an article on lord Stafford in Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, edit. Park, vol. ii. p. 4.

known of his personal history; but it may here be mentioned that, during his father's lifetime, Roger Ascham was invited to become his tutor, (on the recommendation of John Redman, of Cambridge,) but declined from his being then engaged in the service of archbishop Lee.[a] EDUCATION. *Schoolfellows.*

A young Irish nobleman, of high rank, was classed among King Edward's comrades. This was James Butler, tenth earl of Ormonde, whom his father sent over from Ireland for this special object in May 1544;[b] and who, at the time of his father's death in October, 1546, was certainly resident in the Prince's court. Earl of Ormonde. .

But a second young nobleman of Ireland became the greatest favourite of all the King's companions. This was Barnaby Fitzpatrick, the son and heir of Barnaby lord of Upper Ossory, and a cousin of the earl of Ormonde. Several pages of the present volume[c] form the record of their friendship, in the affectionate and gracious letters addressed by Edward to Barnaby, and in the intelligent replies Barnaby Fitzpatrick.

[a] See Ascham's Epistolæ, XLVII. XLVIII.

[b] James earl of Ormonde and Ossory to King Henry, from Dublin, May 6, 1544: "Like a at my laste being with your Excellency, I made humble peticion to your Majestie that my son and heier might attende apon my lorde Prince's grace, and be brought up in his right noble courte, wherunto your Highnes moste graciously assented, so at this tyme I have sente him thither, comytting him with my self to your Majesties most noble disposition." (State Papers, iii. 496.) The father was poisoned in London, 17th Oct. 1546. In a codicil to his will then made he names his "sonne and heyre being in the Prince's grace's court." The young earl was then fourteen, and therefore five years older than the Prince. Edward mentions the family in one of his letters to Barnaby Fitzpatrick: see p. 65. The dowager countess was re-married to sir Francis Bryan, knight marshal of Ireland; and Richard Butler, brother to the murdered earl, was in 1550 created viscount Mountgarret.

In a letter written from Oxford on St. Martin's day (Nov. 11), 1550, by John ab Ulmis, and addressed to Henry Bullinger, he says, "The earl of Ireland, a youth of the same age with the King, is very fond of you, and salutes you, as do likewise Skinner and Wullock, men of exceeding learning and piety." (Zurich Letters, iii. 423.) And in a second letter written from London about April following, John ab Ulmis tells Bullinger: "The earl of Ireland ordered me to return to him this morning; but when I arrived at his lodgings he was said to have been summoned to the King: your salutation was indeed very gratifying to him." (Ibid. p. 429.) In the former page the editor, in his note, states that this *Comes Hiberniæ* was Barnaby Fitzpatrick, "afterwards made baron of Upper Ossory by queen Elizabeth," following an error of Bishop Burnet, whereas in fact Barnaby's father had been made a baron by Henry VIII.; but, as Barnaby himself was in 1550 not even a baron, it may be confidently presumed that the Irish earl in question was the earl of Ormonde.

[c] See pp. 63—93. For biographical notices of Barnaby see both the introduction and the close of the series.

EDUCATION. *Schoolfellows.*

which describe the adventures of the young Irishman in France,[a] whither he was sent "to learn fashions and manners, for the better serving of the King's majesty at his return."[b]

Fuller has asserted, with respect to Barnaby:—

He was Prince Edward's proxy for correction, though, we may presume, seldom suffering in that kind—such was the Prince's general innocency and ingenuity to learn his book. Yet when such execution was done, as Fitzpatrick was beaten for the Prince, the Prince was beaten in Fitzpatrick, so great an affection did he bear to his servant. (Church History of Britain, book vii. sect. 1, par. 47.)

*Breeching boy or Whipping boy.*

And this conducts us to a subject which is involved in some obscurity, as it rests rather upon traditional than historical evidence. It is stated in this presumptive or legendary way, that whenever the Prince deserved chastisement, he was not chastised in person, but another victim was substituted in his room: an

[a] The latter are now edited for the first time: see the Preface. Among the published Epistolæ of Roger Ascham is the following addressed to Barnaby, in which the place that *præ ceteris* he held in the King's regard is specially alluded to. This letter appears to have accompanied a book, of which other copies were sent to the King and to the rest of his most noble fellowship—*ad Regiam Majestatem, et reliquum illum nobilissimum chorum;* but Ascham is not recorded to have *printed* any book during Edward's reign.

*Clarissimo Juveni Barnabæ Fitzpatrike.*

Quanquam intelligo, quo ardore ad literarum cognitionem incensus es, clarissime Barnaba, te tamen etiam aliquid commovere meis literis institui, vel quia tu ita rogasti, et ego ipse præsens coram me sic facturum recepi. Et cum multæ res sunt, quæ te ad studium doctrinæ commovere multùm possunt, summa ingenii tui indoles, tempestivæ ætatis opportunitas, præclara industriæ spes, locus iste quem præ ceteris apud Regiam Majestatem tenes, et præceptorum tuorum excellens doctrina, cum hæc quidem singula plurimum possint, ne ea tamen universa tantum debent te excitare, quantum splendor ille ingenii, studii, virtutis, et literarum qui in illustrissimo principe nostro Edvardo, te indies inspectante, eminet et ellucet. Majorem industriam, perfectius exemplum, clariorem laudis spem, proponere tibi ipsi non potes. Sat dixi, omnia dixi, quæ vel tu ad laudem, vel ego ad imitationem tibi constituere queam. Pollicitus es te rescripturum mihi; quod facies, vel ut liberes fidem tuam, vel ut declares quàm bene scribis, et quàm diligenter studes. Tabellarium aptiorem, quàm qui has perfert literas, requirere non potes. Misi exemplaria ad Regiam Majestatem, et reliquum illum nobilissimum chorum. Faxit Christus ut divus Edvardus laude patrem, doctrinâ præceptores, annis et felicitate preces Anglorum suorum superet! Et Christus te novo indies virtutis, eruditionis, et nobilitatis cumulo adaugeat!

[b] Note of King Edward's letter introducing him to the French King in MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. fol. 157.

arrangement at first view ridiculous and absurd,[a] but which still appears to have been occasionally regarded as a "well-devised policie," and accordingly acted upon, at least to a partial extent.[b] Dr. Croke, in his expostulation with Wolsey

EDUCATION. *Breeching-boy.*

[a] At an earlier period of our history than the Tudor dynasty, it was not thought wise to exempt an infant monarch from salutary punishment. In a very curious document, the writ of privy seal, by which Richard earl of Warwick and Albemarle was in 1428 appointed tutor and governor of King Henry the Sixth, there is a special clause authorising reasonable restraint and chastisement, "in the same manner as it had been customary to restrain and chastise other princes of like age, as well in this kingdom as elsewhere." The words of the original are as follow: "Et si, quod futurum non speravimus (the King himself is supposed to be writing,) nos addiscere contempserimus, seu delictum vel offensam commiserimus contra traditionem seu præceptum consanguinei nostri supradicti, eo casu ad nos rationabiliter coercendum et castigandum, de tempore in tempus, secundum ipsius consanguinei nostri avisamentum et discretionem, modo (videlicet) quo alios similis ætatis principes, tam in hoc regno nostro quàm alibi, hactenus coerceri consuetum est aut castigari." (Rymeri Fœdera, &c. tom. x. p. 399.)

In ordinary schools, it will be recollected, the punishments rather inclined to severity and excess. In the sixteenth century Solomon's maxim, Qui parcit virgam odit filium, was religiously believed in; and it was the motto of many of the new Protestant grammar-schools. Nor was it much otherwise in the succeeding age: although our admirable friend Fuller, in his character of "The good schoolmaster," published in 1648, describes him as "moderate in inflicting deserved correction," but at the same time "he is, and will be known to be, an absolute monarch in his school. If cockering mothers proffer him money to purchase their sonnes an exemption from his rod—to live as it were in a peculiar out of their master's jurisdiction—with disdain he refuseth it, and scorns the late custome in some places of commuting whipping into money, and ransoming boyes from the rod at a set price." (The Holy State.) An anecdote is told of Louis XIV. that when in his intercourse with the accomplished society of France, he sometimes felt his own deficiencies, he would upbraid the foolish indulgence that had left his youth without discipline, and passionately exclaim, "Was there not birch enough in the forest of Fontainebleau when I was a boy?" King George the Third adopted a different system, and dr. Croly has described the discipline maintained in his numerous family as having been "almost that of a public school," when conducted under the superintendence of archbishop Markham and dr. Cyril Jackson. "How would your Majesty wish to have the princes treated?" was Markham's inquiry of the King. "Like the sons of any private English gentleman," was the manly and sensible answer; "if they deserve it, let them be flogged; do as you used to do at Westminster."

[b] In Samuell Rowly's historical play on Henry the Eighth, first printed in 1605, this vicarious system of punishment is exemplified in a long scene, and especially commended as a "well devised policie." As I have before mentioned in p. liv., the author is not accurate in the selection of his *dramatis personæ*, as he makes a marquesse of Dorset the playfellow of Prince Edward, Cranmer his schoolmaster, and doctor Tye his lecturer in music. Edward Browne, one of the children of the chapel, is the scape-goat or "breeching-boy." The scene commences thus—

EDUCATION. *Breeching-boy.*

respecting the insubordination that had arisen in his school at Sheriff-Hutton, complains that Cotton the duke of Richmond's gentleman-usher had carried his

*Enter Cranmer, doctor Tye, and young Browne meets them with the Prince's cloake and hat.*

*Cranmer.* How now, young Browne, what have you there?
*Browne.* The Prince's cloake and hat, my lord.
*Cranmer.* Where is his Grace?
*Browne.* At tennis, with the marquesse Dorset.
*Cranmer.* You and the marquesse draw the Prince's mind
To follow pleasure and neglect his booke,
For which the King blames us: but, credite me,
You shall be soundly paid immediately.
*Browne.* I pray ye, good my lord! Ile goe call the Prince away.
*Cranmer.* Nay, now you shall not. Who's within there, ho!
*Servant.* My lord?
*Cranmer.* Go bear this yongster to the chapel strait,
And bid the Maister of the Children whip him well.
The Prince will not learn, sir, and you shall smart for it.
*Browne.* Oh, good my lord! Ile make him ply his book to-morrow.
*Cranmer.* That shall not serve your turne. Away, I say!
So, sir, this policie was well devised;
Since he was whipt thus for the Prince's faults,
His Grace hath got more knowledge in a moneth,
Than he attained in a yere before;
For still the fearfull boy, to save his breech,
Dothe hourely haunte him wheresoere he goes.
*Tye.* 'Tis true, my lord, and now the Prince perceives it,
As loath to see him punisht for his faultes,
Plies it of purpose to redeeme the boy, &c.

Then succeeds some badinage between Browne and Will Somers, the King's fool; after which the Prince and the young Marquess enter with their rackets, and, on seeing Browne, the former says—

*Prince.* Why how now, Browne, what's the matter?

*Browne.* Your Grace loiters, and will not ply your book, and your tutors has whipt me for it.

*Prince.* Alas, poore Ned, I am sorry for it. I'll take the more pains, and intreat my tutors for thee: yet in truth the lectors they read me last night out of Virgil and Ovid I am perfect in, onelie I confesse I am something behind in my Greek authors.

*Will.* And for that speech they have declinde it uppon his breech.

*Prince.* And for my logick, thou shalt witnesse thyself I am perfect; for now will I prove that, though thou wert whipt for me, yet this whipping was good for thee.

interference so far as even to withdraw from the pedagogue's power those boys by whose punishment it was necessary to deter his princely pupil from the repetition of his faults.[a]

EDUCATION. *Breeching-boy.*

After chopping some logic on the virtues of the rod, the Prince again condoles with the boy:—

*Prince.* In truth, I pity thee, and inwardly I feel the stripes thou barest, and for thy sake, Ned, Ile plie my book the faster. In the meane time thou shalt not say but the Prince of Wales will honourably reward thy service. Come, Browne, kneele downe!

*Will.* What! wilt thou knight him, Ned?

*Prince.* I will; my father has knighted many a one that never shedde droppe of blood for him; but hee has often for me.

The King then comes in, and the scene is still prolonged, during which Will Somers declares that Browne had "been lasht for this two yeere," for the sake of the Prince's learning; and the King asserts that Browne's father "is a gallant knight as any these south parts of England holds:" which shows that the breeching-boy was supposed to be one of good birth. His Majesty confirms sir Edward Browne's knighthood, and grants him a thousand marks a year to support his new dignity.

Shakspere seems to allude to the distinction made between aristocratic and inferior scholars, both in the matter of punishment and in confinement to their tasks, when in his "Taming of the Shrew" he makes Bianca say—

> "I am no *breeching scholar* in the schools,
> I'll not be tied to hours, nor 'pointed times,
> But learn my lessons as I please myself."

—"where (as Mr. archdeacon Nares has remarked in his Glossary) with the license of the times, *breeching* is put for *breechable*, i. e. liable to be whipped."

The first earl of Dysart, who was nephew to Thomas Murray, first preceptor and afterwards secretary to Charles the First, and is therefore likely to have shared in the studies of that prince, is reputed to have also served in the function of his "Whipping-Boy," according to two passages of Burnet's History of his Own Times, in one of which he is introduced as "William Murray of the bed-chamber, that had been Whipping-Boy to King Chrles the First, and upon that had grown up to a degree of favour and consequence that was very particular;" and in the second he is thus characterised: "Mr. Murray of the bedchamber had been page and Whipping-Boy to King Charles I. and had great credit with him, not only in procuring private favours, but in all his counsels. He was well tuned for a court, very insinuating, but very false, and of so revengeful a temper," &c. In France, at a still later period, a Whipping-Boy is said to have been maintained at Court, for Madame du Deffand (i. 345) when speaking of Louis XV. states that "Le roi dans son enfance avoit un petit hussar qu'on fouettait quand le roi n'avait pas bien dit sa leçon."

[a] —— "pueros quorum metu domini errores coercere fuit necesse, non modo a me pro arbitrio abstraheret, sed illorum pariter atque principis negligentiæ patrocinaretur." On one occasion Cotton had sent a groom named Twyford to prevent the execution being done in the duke's presence, saying that it was improper to unbreech boys before so great a prince:

EDUCATION. *Breeching-boy.*

Conrad Heresbach, also, has preserved a remarkable anecdote bearing upon this point, which he heard when ambassador in England[a] from the duke of Cleves. It is to the following effect:[b] that King Edward, by the bad advice of one of his juvenile companions, was once induced to adopt the use of such thundering oaths as he was told were appropriate to his sovereign dignity. On this being observed, an inquiry was made as to the origin of such a change in his behaviour; whereupon he ingenuously confessed that one of his playfellows had given him instructions in the right-royal accomplishment. When this had been ascertained, his masters took care to give the guilty boy a sharp whipping in the King's view, and to admonish the latter that he witnessed the appropriate recompense of such presumption, bidding him to remember that he also had deserved the same punishment, and must therefore abstain from that excess for the future.

Dr. Thomas Fuller, and after him bishop Burnet,[c] and other historical writers, have asserted that Barnaby Fitzpatrick served as "Whipping-Boy" for King Edward: but, as I have already intimated, the whole matter is somewhat legendary, and though certain vicarious or rather minatory punishments may have been occasionally adopted, it does not seem likely that any one individual

—— "ubi a me castigandi veniunt, mihi e manibus eripi a gromis, non absque minis, et his coram principe expostulationibus, Quid tu nudaveris puerorum nates coram tanto principe? non facies: abduc ergo (si velis) in cubiculum flagellandum hunc." Memoir of Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset, pp. xxxviii. xxxix.

[a] This was in 1547. In the account of the treasurer of the chamber for April that year is an entry "To mouns[r] Conrard Herbach, who came from the duke of Cleves, by way of the Kinges reward, xlli." (MS. Trevelyan.)

[b] "Laudanda hoc loco pietas serenissimi adolescentis Edouardi Angliæ regis, pædia et gubernatorum prudens sedulitas, uti mihi, cùm legatione ad regem fungerer, in aulâ relatum. Rex jam tum adolescens naturâ et institutione castissimis moribus et pudore virgineo ac regiâ planè indole. Cùm è coætaneis nobilioribus quidam ad jurandum, et ad ferociora verba regem hortaretur, sic inquiens decere regiam majestatem denotare ac juramentis fulminare. Ille, ut sunt puerorum ingenia ad quidvis imitandum prona, suum hortatorem secutus, cùm à suis institutoribus deprehenderetur præter consuetudinem juramentis et blasphemiis uti, rogatus ecquid sic præter morem juraret atque insolenter loqueretur, ingenuè confessus est suum coætaneum docuisse sic decere loqui. *Puerum igitur illum, auctorem, in conspectu Regis virgis acriter castigarunt, Regemque monuerunt, hanc esse hujus insolentiæ mercedem, atque ut meminerit eâ se quoque commeruisse*, quare deinceps abstineat ab eâ insolentiâ." De Educandis Erudiendisque Principum Liberis, p. 56.

[c] History of the Reformation, vol. ii. p. 462. I have not found the term whipping-boy used except by Burnet, and those who have quoted from him, either in this passage or in those of his "History of his Own Times," extracted in a preceding note.

among the King's schoolfellows should have been uniformly selected, whether he were in fault or not, as the victim or scape-goat of the royal misdemeanours. EDUCATION. *Breeching-boy.*

It will here be not improper to notice, that besides "the young lords" who were brought to the court for the express purpose that they might be the King's companions, there was always a body of youths, of noble birth, who formed part of the ordinary establishment of the royal household, under the designation of the King's henchmen.[a] They were under the superintendence of a Master, which office was *The Henchmen*

[a] The derivation of the word *henchmen* has been very variously stated. Spelman in his Glossary derives it from the German *hengst*, a war-horse; and dean Milles, in a note in the Archæologia, vol. i. 373, explains it as "an old English name for a page, or rather an equerry, derived from the Saxon word *hengest*, which signifies a horse:" but Minshew says expressly that "it is used for a man *who goes on foot*, attending upon a man of honour or great worship." Mr. Douce, however, found mounted *henshmen* in Chaucer: see Illustrations of Shakspeare, i. 189. Blount, in his Glossographia, asserts that henchman is a German word signifying a domestic; and Skinner derives it from Sax. *hine*, a servant. Bishop Percy, in the Northumberland Household Book, conjectured that it was applied to one who followed the *haunch* of his master; the same etymology was adopted by judge Blackstone, and appeared to archdeacon Nares the most probable and simple. The manner in which the henchmen followed (like running footmen) about the King's horse, is represented in one of the large pictures of the time of Henry VIII. engraved by the Society of Antiquaries. They were discontinued by queen Elizabeth in 1565: "Her highnes hathe of late, wherat some doo much marvell, dissolved the auncient office of the henchmen." (Letter of Francis Alen to the earl of Shrewsbury in Lodge's Illustrations of British History, i. 358.) For many years after they appeared in the lord mayor's show, so long as the chief magistrate rode on horseback; and "my lord mayor's henchmen," or "henchboys," are named by several poets of the seventeenth century: see Nares's Glossary.

That the royal henchmen were usually youths of high birth is shown by the following list from the Wardrobe-book of 1483: "To seven of oure sayde souverain lorde the Kyngs hengemen, that is to wit, the lord Morley, Thomas Dacre, John Beaumont, John Barkley, Edward Welles, Thomas Paton, and John Croft." In the same record are mentioned "five hengemen of our lady the queen." In the college chapel at Eton is a memorial of Richard lord Grey of Wilton, henchman to Henry VIII. who died October 28, 1521 (see the Archæologia, vol. xxxii. p. 58); and sir Thomas Cheyne, K.G. who died in 1558, had also been a henchman to king Henry. These young courtiers were often in the way of promotion. Leland tells us that "Turwhit now being yn the courte, *alate a haunchman*, hath maried the heir generale of the eldest house of the Oxenbridges of Southsax, by whom he shaul have 140 li. landes by yere. This yonge Turwhit is sun and heir to olde Turwhites son of Lincolnshire." (Itinerary, iv. 19.) He was afterwards sir Robert Tyrwhitt. (See p. 60 of the present volume.)

When queen Elizabeth no longer maintained the corps of henchmen, a court education as

EDUCATION. *The Henchmen.*

filled in this reign by sir George Howard;[a] his deputy was called their Yeoman;[b] and they had also a Schoolmaster.[c] The names of those who walked as hench-

page to a nobleman was still esteemed highly desirable, and there is a passage in Ben Jonson's play of "The New Inn," in which its advantages are set forth:

——— which, by a line
Of institution from our ancestors
Hath been derived down to us, and received
In a succession, for the noblest way
Of brushing up our youth in letters, arms,
Fair mien, discourses civil, exercise,
And all the blazon of a gentleman!
Where can he learn to vault, to ride, to fence,
To move his body gracefully, to speak
The language pure, or to turn his mind
Or manners more to the harmony of nature,
Than in these nurseries of nobility?

——— do they not still
Learn thus the centaur's skill, the art of Thrace,
To ride? or, Pollux' mystery, to fence?
The Pyrrhic gestures, both to stand and spring
In armour, to be active for the wars?
To study figures, numbers, and proportions,
May yield them great in counsels and the arts?
To make their English sweet upon their tongue,
As reverend Chaucer says?

Another character in the same dialogue enumerates the less becoming accomplishments that were acquired in a court education during the reign of James the First. See a note upon this subject by Sir Walter Scott, in the cabinet edition of his "Fortunes of Nigel."

[a] Sir George Howard was in 1549-50 "appointed by the Kinges majestie to attend upon the young lords sent over the sea," as hostages to France; and on that occasion was paid in advance "his fee of his office of master of the henchmen for one whole year." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. fol. 69.) Mr. Richard Blount, however, eventually went as governor of the hostages: see pp. 252, 263.

[b] See Privy-purse Expenses of Henry VIII. p. 209. In 1532 the henxemen were lodged in a house of John Johnson, the maister of the King's barge, for which the King paid a yearly rent of xls. (Ibid. p. 230.) In 1 Edw. VI. William Armorer, yeoman of the henchmen, received from the treasurer of the chamber quarterly wages of xxxv s., besides his wages of x s. as an ordinary yeoman of the King's household. (MS. Trevelyan.)

[c] In Dec. 1523 (15 Hen. VIII.) Francis Philippe, the schoolmaster to the King's henchmen, was apprehended as a traitor in the city of Coventry. (Hall's Chronicle.) In 20—22 Hen. VIII. mr. Whittington, and in the early part of the reign of Edward VI. John Nowell, filled

men at the funeral of Henry VIII. were John Stourton, Edward Ychingham, Thomas Lestrange, George Dennys, Richard Brown, Roger Armour, Thomas Brown, Richard Cotton, and Patrick Barnaby;[a] they were attended by their master, then sir Francis Bryan.[b] The same number of henchmen walked at the funeral of king Edward, but their names are not mentioned.[c]

TESTIMONIES TO EDWARD'S SCHOLARSHIP.

To Edward's assiduity and diligence in the prosecution of his studies we have a long chain of testimony. Though not always assisted by dates, I shall endeavour to marshal these witnesses, as far as possible, in chronological order.

Doctor Coxe, at Hertford.

Foremost may be placed his earliest tutor, doctor Coxe, whose report[d] to archbishop Cranmer, at the beginning of the historical year 1546, represents the Prince, then in his ninth year, as a boy "of such towardness in learning, godliness, gentleness, and all honest qualities," that he was to be regarded as "a singular gift sent of God, and an imp worthy of such a father. He hath learned (he adds) almost four books of Cato, to construe, to parse, and say without book. And of his own courage now, in the latter book, he will needs have at one time fourteen verses, which he conneth pleasantly and perfectly, besides things of the Bible, the Satellitium of Vives, Æsop's fables, and Latin-making,—whereof he hath sent your grace a little taste," which was the letter addressed to Cranmer as his godfather. (Letter IV. in this volume.)

The Admiral of France.

On the conclusion of the peace with France, in August 1546, the Prince was called upon to take a prominent part in the reception of the French ambassador,

the office of "scholemaster and instructour of the Kinges henchemen," with the quarterly fee of C s., pursuant to a royal warrant dated 10 May 1 Edw. VI. as appears by the accounts of the treasurer of the chamber (MSS. Trevelyan); but possibly both those gentlemen received in addition the like sum from some other source, as on the 9th of July 1550, the King gave to William Bukley, M.A. "propter gravitatem morum et doctrinæ abundantiam, officium docendi, erudiendi atque instituendi adolescentulos nostros vocatos *henchemen*," with a salary of xl li. per annum. The letters patent granted to him are printed by Rymer, Fœdera, &c. xv. 242. On the 27 April, 1551, Clement Adams was appointed to the office of schoolmaster to the King's henchmen, for life, with the same fee of xl li. by year. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. fol. 204.)

[a] It appears not improbable that this was the same person as Barnaby Fitzpatrick, and that the above is the earliest evidence of his presence and position at court.

[b] "Some men being never so old, and spent by years, will still be full of youthful conditions: as was sir Francis Bryan, and evermore would have been." (Roger Ascham, in The Schoolmaster, Second book.) He was therefore well qualified for his post, in having acquired the art, recommended by Conrad Heresbach, (*antea*, p. xliii.) "cum pueris repuerascere."

[c] Archæologia, vol. xii. p. 388.

[d] See doctor Coxe's letter at length in p. 3 of the present volume.

Testimonies to Edward's Scholarship.

the admiral d'Annebaut ;[a] and shortly after the King received, through doctor Nicholas Wotton, his ambassador in Flanders, the following congratulation from one who then visited England: —

Mons. de Morette.

Monsr de Morette[b] desyerid me hartelye to doo his humble recommendations unto your Majeste, who, amonge other thinges, rejoysith verye much to have seen my lord Prynce's grace, of whose prayses he can not speake yn noughe. (Dr. N. Wotton to the King, 22 Sept. 1546.)

Dr. Coxe. The Prince at Hatfield.

During the autumn of 1546 the Prince was resident at Hatfield in Hertfordshire, and it appears from a letter[c] of his tutor Coxe to mr. secretary Paget, that some alterations in his household were then in agitation, and that he was then just commencing the study of the French language: —

Ye shall do very welle if ye travaile lyke as I understande ye have began for the honorable stay and establishment of the Prince's grace's howse; who this day begynneth to learne Frenche with a great facilité even at hys first entre.

*Feliciter valet Princeps, et te salutat.* (Hatfield, Oct. 12, 1546.)

On the 18th October Coxe writes: —

I trust the Prince's grace shall content hys father's expectation hereafter. We (have) suffered him hytherto *suo more puerascere.*

Walter Haddon, at Hertford.

Walter Haddon, a fellow of King's college in Cambridge (subsequently master of Magdalen college), and one of the most distinguished scholars of his time, has left an interesting notice of a hasty visit which he paid to the Prince's court at Hertford. He was on his return to Cambridge from London, where he had left Coxe, his correspondent. Coxe had given him a letter to the Prince, probably in commendation of the bearer, which letter — somewhat unwillingly, but from diffidence — he delivered to the hands of Cheke. The latter, with his wonted

[a] The particulars are given in p. 23 of this volume.

[b] Charles de Sotiers seigneur de Morette, one of the French hostages in England 1519, ambassador 1526, ambassador with the emperor 1530, and in Flanders 1545. See State Papers, index, xi. 637.

[c] This is one of three letters written about this time by Coxe to Paget that are preserved in the State-paper office. The writer uses the freedom of an intimate friend, and expresses a strong censure upon those courtiers (of whom Paget was one) whose rapacity in impropriations threatened even the universities with destruction. It is to be regretted that we have not more of Coxe's letters.

courtesy, presented the letter to the Prince, and placed Haddon[a] where he might enjoy an opportunity not only of observing, but also of addressing, his Highness.[b] TESTIMONIES TO EDWARD'S SCHOLARSHIP.

[a] Among Haddon's Latin poems (p. 55) are some acrostic lines upon Prince Edward, which were probably written at or about the same time:—

*De Edovardo principe.*

**E**xigit eximios, princeps clarissime, versus
**D**ebita virtutum meritis laus summa tuarum,
**O** puer excellens, patriæ flos, gloria patris,
**V**iribus ipse tuis ô princeps major et annis:
**A**lta Deus regni providit sceptra futuri,
**R**egis honorandi princeps ut nobilis esses.
**D**otibus egregiis tibi mens conferta relucet,
**V**t generi summo par sit natura beata.
**S**ic stirpem virtus, virtutem stirpsque sequetur.

**P**erge puer, patris divini gemmea proles,
**R**umpe moras, extolle tuos, puer auree, vultus.
**I**to per insignes, insignior ipse, triumphos.
**N**aturam patris, fortunam, pectus, et annos,
**C**lara dehinc tibi regna patris, sed sera, precamur.
**E**st pater, est regnum, par est insigne sororum.
**P**er multos annos, momentaque maxima rerum,
**S**it tua, sit generisque tui fortuna beata.

[b] "Postquam à te digressus sum, tædio jam affectus et urbis et aulæ, in quibus nihil penè videram eorum quæ volebam præter te, propemodum invitus ad Hertfordiam diverti, literas tuas ad Principem D. Checo dedi, contra sententiam fortasse tuam, certè contra voluntatem meam, sed aliter me facere pudor non sinit meus. Checus autem, ut semper ipse sui similis esset, Principi literas ostendit, et in certo me loco posuit, in quo facultas esset cùm videndi, cum affandi Principem, cui de te tribus verbis percontanti, suaviter tamen et perbenevolè, cum paucissimis satisfecisse, perfecta legatione, statim domum cogitabam. Pridie veneram, et summo rogatu Francisci cujusdam, indolem ducis Suffolciæ tentavi, meherculè sciti pueri imprimis, et dignissimi te præceptore. Quod supererat temporis illius diei, cum Aero et Tongo consumpsi, viris humanissimis, et ut videbantur peramicis meis. Cum Checo multum non fui, quoniam vehementer occupabatur, ut apparebat. Postridie cum princeps prætergressus fuisset, ut dicere cœperam, Checus ad me rediens mecum agere cœpit, ut illo die secum essem. Ego cùm viderim illum plenissimum esse negotiis, et nihil ibi præterea esse quod magnopere agerem, postpositis omnibus Cantabrigiam devolavi, latebram tum animi, tum fortunarum mearum angustiis convenientissimam. Et hujusmodi meum à te domum iter fuit, te, Principe, et Checo visis et salutatis fælix, cæteris in rebus non nimis opportunum." (Haddon's Epistolæ, p. 186.) The letter has no date.

Testimonies to Edward's Scholarship.

Edward, in a few words, yet sweetly and most kindly, inquired after Coxe, and then passed on. Haddon was evidently disinclined for a courtier's life; and, though Cheke shortly after returned to him, and begged him to pass the remainder of the day with him, he preferred, having fulfilled his commission, and perceiving that Cheke was overwhelmed with business, to fly away to his cell at Cambridge. He adds, however, that on his first arrival at Hertford, the day before, he had, by the particular desire of an attendant, carefully examined one of the King's comrades, the duke of Suffolk, and found him a boy of excellent talent, and most creditable to Coxe as his master. The remainder of that day Haddon had spent with Eyre[a] and Tonge,[b] who were two chaplains in the Prince's household.

John Leland, at Ampthill.

Another Latin poet, the antiquary John Leland, has also left a memorial of a visit paid to the Prince: but, as it is unaccompanied by any praise of Edward's acquirements,[c] we may conclude that Leland saw him in his early childhood,

[a] Giles Eyre, noticed hereafter as one of the preachers before King Edward.

[b] Roger Tonge. D.D. at Cambridge 1547. See Athenæ Cantabrigienses, i. 97.

[c] The lines describe very minutely the accomplishments of the lady Elizabeth, who was then at Ampthill with her brother. Leland went there on purpose to see the Prince. Cheke, then in attendance on his royal pupil (there is nothing in support of Strype's suggestion, Life of Cheke, edit. 1821, p. 31, that Cheke had then in addition the care of the lady Elizabeth's studies), introduced him to Elizabeth, and invited her to address the learned stranger in the Latin tongue. The princess displayed her acquirements not only in Latin and French, but also her skill upon the lute. Leland's lines are addressed to her; and the following are those that refer to the visit to Ampthill:—

Interea possum testis pius ista referre,
  Quæ te commendent perplaceantque mihi.
Ardenti studio conflagrans ipse videndi
  Illustrem Edwardum, qui decus omne meum,
Aunthullum petii felici sidere montem,
  Hîc vidi fratrem percoluique tuum.
Tempore quo Chæcus, Musarum cura, politus
  Me commendavit voce favente tibi,
Utque salutares me tunc sermone Latino
  Egit, ut hinc scirem quantus in ore lepos.
De te concepi certè vel maxima quæque,
  Candida judicium vincis at omne meum.
Quid referam hîc aures qua tu dulcedine nostras
  Explêris, clarè Gallica verba sonans?
Aut quid commemorem quos tu testudine sumpta
  Concentus referas mellifluosque modos?

shortly after the first appointment of Cheke to his tuition, and which is the more probable, as the only other notice that has occurred of Edward's being at the honour of Ampthill, is before he had attained his eighth year.[a]

Testimonies to Edward's Scholarship.

But one who speaks of Edward's early graces and excellences with peculiar enthusiasm is William Thomas, afterwards clerk of the council, who will again appear in a subsequent page as tendering political instruction to his royal master. His essay, entitled "Perygrine," is written in the form of a dialogue, in which political affairs are discussed, particularly those of England, and the character of Henry the Eighth is warmly defended. When the author has occasion to mention King Henry's youthful successor, he expresses himself as follows[b]:—

William Thomas.

If ye knew the towardnes of that yonge Prince, your hert wold melt to heare hym named, and your stomake abhorre the malyce of them that wold hym yll: the bewtisiest[c] creature that lyveth under sunne, the wittiest, the most amiable and the gentlest thinge of all the world. Such a spirit of capacitye, learnyng the thinge taught hym by his schoolemasters, that it is a wonder[d] to heare say. And finally he hath suche a grace of porte and gesture in gravitye[e] when he commeth in to any presence, that it shold seme he were all redy a father, and yett passeth he not the age of x. yeres. A thinge undoubtedly muche rather to be sene then beleved.

This will have been written very shortly after Edward's accession to the throne. There are many further testimonials to his diligence and other amiable qualities, which remain to be adduced hereafter in their proper sequence of time. Meanwhile we must now direct our attention to the progress of public events, so far as they influenced the position of the subject of this memoir.

Prince Edward was neither elected a Knight of the Garter,[f] nor formally created

The Garter.

Rectius insinuare tuum volo, Nympha, pudorem
Virgineum, mores ingenuosque tuos.
Ad cumulum accedet tua nota modestia laudis,
Fortunæ teres et circulus omnis erit.

[a] See p. 1.

[b] MS. Cotton. Vespasian D. xviii. f. 19. The following various readings are from MS. Harl. 353.

[c] beautifullest. [d] worlde. [e] suche a porte and grace of gesture and gravitie.

[f] At a chapter of the Garter, held on St. George's day, 1540, his name, by the style of "Prince of England," was placed, together with those of lord Audley of Walden and sir Anthony Browne, at the head of all the suffrages. "Recollecting the deference exacted by king Henry to the slightest expression of his wishes, we cannot consider this occurrence as accidental; but, from whatever motive in the breast of the sovereign, the two last-mentioned knights only were declared elected. The register is silent respecting the Prince: nevertheless, the third stall on the Prince's side, being that which the duke of Richmond, the king's

Principality of Wales.

Prince of Wales.[a] He has mentioned in his journal that preparations were in progress for the latter ceremony, when by his father's death he at once became King of England and Sovereign of the order of the Garter.

Death of King Henry.

King Henry died at Whitehall on Friday the 28th of January, 1546-7, about three o'clock in the morning. The whole of that and the two following days were allowed to elapse before the proclamation of his successor. The young King was at the castle of Hertford, no great distance from the metropolis, but sufficient in that age to occasion some delay in the ceremonies attendant on his accession. There were, however, more important causes for the delay that intervened between the demise of the old and the proclamation of the new monarch. The leading statesmen were occupied by negociations in which their personal interests were materially involved. They had to settle who should be the greatest.

This was contrary to the intention of their late arbitrary master. He, so long accustomed to absolute obedience, had vainly imagined that the ministers of his appointment might, without alteration, continue to govern the realm for some nine or ten years after he had personally quitted his throne, until the termination of his son's minority. The new King's uncles contemplated a much greater freedom of action, and their arguments or promises bent the other councillors to their views.

With regard to the motives—apart from personal influence—which determined the executors to depart so widely and so immediately from King Henry's directions, we have no positive information. It can only be supposed that they considered precedent and the former usages of the country on such occasions more authoritative than the will of a monarch, who, though recently so imperious and so potential, could now no longer resent their disobedience.

illegitimate son, who died in 1536, had occupied, was kept vacant for him during the remainder of the reign. (The higher stalls being filled by the Emperor Charles V., the French King, the King of the Romans, and the King of Scotland.) Edward, therefore, did not become a member of the order until his accession to the sovereignty." Beltz, Memorials of the Order of the Garter, p. xciii.

[a] Grafton and Stowe, in their Chronicles, state that Prince Edward was made Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester, on the 18th of October, 1537, that is, six days after his birth; on which day his uncle, Edward Seymour viscount Beauchamp, was created earl of Hertford, and his uncle Thomas, with others, received the honour of knighthood. Lord Herbert, in his History, speaks of the creation of the Prince of Wales at that date; and he is quoted, without contradiction, by Dugdale in his Baronage, ii. 376. It is certain that there was then no creation, and whether any declaration of his title may be doubted; else he would have been designated Prince of Wales in the Register of the Garter (quoted in the preceding note).

The last minority of an English sovereign had been that of king Edward the Fifth, whose uncle was his governor and regent, with what fatal result was notorious. The next in proximity of time was the minority of king Henry the Sixth, and that was the precedent which was now more especially regarded.

The most active minister of king Henry's latter days was secretary Paget; and it was by his advice[a] that the earl of Hertford acted, and probably influenced in succession the more powerful members of the council.

The will of Henry VIII.

King Henry had executed his last will on the 30th December, 1546, about a month before his decease. In pursuance of the provisions of an act of parliament, passed in his 28th year,[b] he designated his successor, and appointed the privy council who were to administer the government, in the following passages:—

Further, according to the lawes of Almighty God, and for the fatherly love which we beare to our sonne Prince Edward, and to this our realme, we declare him, according to justice, equitie, and conscyence, to be our lawfull heire, and doe give and bequeath to him the successyon of our realmes of England and Ireland, with our title of France, and all our dominions, both on this side the seas and beyonde, a convenyent portion for our will and testament to be reserved. Also, we give unto him all our plate, stuffe of household, artillery, ordnance, munytions, ships, cables, and all other things and implements to them belonging: and money also and jewels, saving such portions as shall satisfie this our last will and testament; charging and commanding him, on paine of our curse, (seeing he hath so loving a father of us, and that our cheife labour and studdie in this world is to establish him in the imperiall crowne of this realme after our decease, in such sorte as may be pleasing to God, and to the wealth of this realme, and to his owne honour and quyet,) that he be ruled and ordered, both in his marriage, and also in ordering of the affaires of the realme, as well outward as inward, and alsoe in all his own private affaires, and in giving of offices of charge, by the advise and counsell of our

[a] This is shown by Paget's letter to the lord protector, written on the 7th July, 1549, in which he writes, "Remember what you promised me in the gallery at Westminster before the breath was out of the body of the king that dead is. Remember what you promised immediately after, *devising with me concerning the place which you now occupy*, I trust in the end to good purpose, howsoever things thwart now. And that was to follow mine advice in all your proceedings, more than any other man's." This long and very important letter, of which the original is in MS. Cotton. Titus F. III. will be found in the Appendix to the second volume of Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials.

[b] Act 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7, "concerning the establishment of the King's Succession." (Statutes of the Realm, vol. iii. p. 661.) The 14th section provided that, upon the King's demise, his issue male under 18, and female unmarried under 16, should be under the guardianship of their mother and a council, or of a council only, as the King's last will should direct.

The will of Henry VIII.

right entirely beloved counsellors the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Wriothesley chancellour of England, the lord St. John great master of our house, the lord Russell lord privie seal, the earl of Hertford great chamberlain of England, the viscount Lisle high admirall of England, the bishop Tonstall of Duresme, sir Anthony Browne knight, master of our horses, sir William Pagett our chief secretary, sir Anthony Denny, sir William Herbert, justices Montague and Bromley, sir Edward Wotton, mr. doctor Wotton, and sir Edward North, whom we ordaine, name, and appointe, and by these presents, signed with our hand, doe make and constitute our Previe Counsell with our said sonne, and will that theie have the governement of our most deere sonne Prince Edward, and of all our realmes, dominyons, and subjects, and all the affaires publique and private, until he shall have accomplished the 18th yeare of his age.

In a subsequent passage, twelve other persons are directed to be Assistants to the Executors, namely, the Earls of Arundel and Essex, sir Thomas Cheney treasurer of the household, sir John Gage comptroller of the household, sir Anthony Wingfield vice-chamberlaine, sir William Petre one of our two principall secretaries, sir Richard Rich, sir John Baker, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Thomas Seymour, sir Richard Southwell, and sir Edmund Peckham, "they, and everie of them, shall be of counsell for the aiding and assisting of the forenamed counsellors, and our Executors, when theie or any of them shall be called by our said Executors, or the more parte of the same."

These twelve assistant councillors were not to act unless required by the executors,[a] whilst the eighteen executors were all placed upon an equality among themselves, and without any provision for electing a chief councillor, as the duke of Somerset afterwards styled himself, or other president than existed in the person of lord Saint John, who was already president of the council, though not so designated in the will.[b] Neither was there any provision for excluding any member, as was shortly after done in the case of Wriothesley, nor any for supplying vacancies that might be occasioned by death, and of course none for adding other members. The trust being created for a limited term of years, the number of executors seems to have been thought sufficient, even if it should become partially reduced during the lapse of that term. This is clearly expressed in the

[a] Rapin calls the executors "Regents" and the assistants "Councillors." The former title might perhaps be borne out by the terms of the will, but it was never assumed.

[b] The office of great master of the household conveyed the presidency of the council, the great master being supreme within the royal court. Lord St. John continued president of the council during Somerset's protectorship, and after, holding also the great seal for a time when it was taken from Wriothesley. With a supple and time-serving policy he contributed to pull down Somerset as he had helped to raise him, and, always adhering to the stronger party, died at a very advanced age marquess of Winchester and lord treasurer of England.

following clause—"That they all, or the more parte of them, being assembled in counsell together, or, if any of them fortune to die, the more parte of them which shall be for the time living, being assembled in counsell together, shall and maie make, devise, and ordaine," &c.

No account was made of the consanguinity of the earl of Hertford to the heir apparent:[a] he was named fifth among the executors, according to the precedence of his office of great chamberlain of England; as he is again among the King's bequests, when he was assigned the like sum as the lord Wryothesley, the lord Saint John, the lord Russell, and the viscount Lisle, namely five hundred pounds. Sir Thomas Seymour, his brother, was named only an assistant; his legacy was two hundred pounds.

Upon Henry's death, the first step taken, before the event was made known to the world, was to bring the young King from his residence at Hertford castle to within a shorter distance of the metropolis. For this purpose the earl of Hertford, accompanied by sir Anthony Browne the master of the horses, rode on the same Friday to Hertford; from whence, probably on the following day,[b] they

Accession of Edward VI.

[a] The only encouragement that king Henry had given to the earl of Hertford's views was perhaps in the year 1544, when, on going to France, he made the queen (Katharine Parr) Regent, and arranged that the earl of Hertford should be appointed to the military capacity of "Lieutenant" of the kingdom, "if nede so requyre." But no such need then arose. The council of the queen regent on that occasion were: the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer), the lord chancellor Wriothesley, the earl of Hertford, the bishop of Westminster (Thirlby), lord Parr of Horton, and secretary Petre. (State Papers, vol. i. p. 763.)

[b] Whether on the Saturday, or the Monday, is not clear. Edward's own account (p. 210), is confused: it was written two years after, and he perhaps had but an indistinct recollection of the particular days. It is certain, however, that the Proclamation of the new reign (for which see the Appendix) did not take place before Monday the 31st of January; on the afternoon of which day Edward was brought to London. There are preserved in the State-paper office two letters of the earl of Hertford: 1. to Paget, written at Hertford "the xxix of Januari betwene iij and fower in the mornyng;" 2. to the council "from Envild this sunday nyght att a xj of the clok." In the latter he writes, "We intend the Kyng's mate shalbe ahorsbak tomorrow bi xj of the clok, so that bi iij we trust his grace shalbe att the tower." The letter to Paget unveils very remarkably the secrecy and finesse which Hertford judged it necessary to pursue. He tells the secretary that he likes very well the first part of a letter he had just received from him, advising that the Will should not (*evidently, though the important word* not *is omitted,*) be opened until after a further consultation, and that it should be well considered how much of it were necessary to be published; because for divers respects he thought it not convenient to make it wholly known. "To satisfy the world in the meantime

conveyed the King to the palace of Enfield, where the lady Elizabeth was resident; and there both the royal children were at the same time informed of their father's decease.

The King conducted to the Tower.

On the following Monday the new King was conducted from Enfield to the Tower of London. By that time Paget had so effectually canvassed a majority of the council that Hertford was enabled at once to assert his claim to superiority. He received the title of Protector, which had been borne by the duke of Gloucester during the minority of his nephew King Henry the Sixth. No time was allowed to question the appointment, for it was arranged that its acknowledgment should immediately follow the homage paid to the King. The course of these proceedings is thus related in an official record at the College of Arms:—

[MS. Coll. Arm. I. 7, f. 29.]

*Memorandum*, That on Fryday the xxviijth day of January A° Dom$^{i}$ M$^{l}$ v$^{c}$ xlvj and the xxxviij$^{th}$ yere of his raigne, about iij of the cloke in the morning, departed the transeteriouse worlde the most victoriouse prince and our late soveraigne lorde and king of famosse memory Henry the Eight, &c. within his pallis of Westminster.

And the same day th'erle of Hertford, uncle to the noble prince Edward, accompayned with sir Anthony Browne master of the horsse and a great nombre of noble men of the realme, with knyghts, pencioners, squyers, and gentylmen, did ryde in theire best manner with all spede to the court of the said noble prince to attende upon his grace there, as on their soveraine lord, according to the wyll and testament of his said famosse father, which was that the trwe tyttill of his crowne of England should appartayne undoubtedly to his said most dere beloved sone and ryght heare apparent, then prince Edward, now of all most worthely named our soveraigne lord and King of England, Fraunce and Irlond, Defender of the fayth, and in earth under God of the cherch of England and Irlond supreme hed, Kinge Edward the vj$^{th}$.

Then upon Monday next folowing they accompanied his highnes in godly order from his place of Enfylde to his towre of London, to which he came aboute iij of the cloke in the afternone of the same day, where all the nobyletie of his realme were redy to receave hym, to theire great joy and comforte. And at his aproching nere unto the same was

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(he adds), I think it sufficient, when ye publish the King's death in the places and times as ye have appointed, to have the Will presently with you, and to show that *This is the Will*, naming them generally who be executors that the King did specially trust, and who be councillors;" with a promise, at the breaking-up of the assembly, that the contents of the Will should be further declared on Wednesday morning in the parliament house; "and in the mean time we to meet and agree therein, as there may be no controversy hereafter." Such is the purport of this dispatch, which in the original is so hastily and inaccurately worded, that it is not to be understood without some study.

great shot of ordenaunce in all places there abowte, as well owte of the Tower as out of the shippes, wherein his grace had great felicete; and so, there arryving, was welcomed and conducted by his said nobles to his lodging within the said Tower; which was richely honge and garnished with riche cloth of arres and clothes of estate as aperteneth unto such a royall Kinge. And so all his nobles lodged and plased, some within the Tower, and some in the cytie. His noble counsell were lodged most parte of them abowte his highnes: who (*i. e.* the council) every day kepte the counsell chamber, for determinacion of mayne (many?) cawses, as well about the interement of his grace's father as for the expedicion of his highnes' coronacion.

The morrowe after, being Tewsday, all the lordes aforesaid, and moste parte of the nobylitie of his realm, as well spirituall as temporall, there assembled about iij of the cloke in the afternone. They went into the Kinges chamber of presens; and, after that th'erle of Hertford, the lord admyrall, and other the Kinges executors had browght the Kinges majestie from his prevye chamber to his chere of estate prepared in the chamber, his highnes there standing, all the said lordes, accordinge to their degrees, procedid in order one after another, and there kneling kissed his majesties hand, saying every of them God save yowr grace! and after they had all so donē, the lord chauncelore made unto them a certayn proposicion, in most eloquent wyse declaringe unto them the effecte of the late noble Kinges testament and will, with the nomber of the executors therein contayned, being xvj. whosse names (are then stated), saying that it was condyssended and agreyed with the hole assent and consent of them all, that th'erle of Hertford should be Governour of the yonge Kinge and Protector of his realme and dominions, because yt was expediente for one to have the governance of the said yonge Kinge during his nounage. Whereupon all the said lordes made answare in one voyce, that there was none so meate for the same in all the realme as he; and said that they were well content withall. Then the said erle gave them harty thankes, and said he trusted in God so to use hymselff that it should be to their contentacion, and required them in generall of their ede (aid) and helpe in the ryght of the realme. Who made answare all in one voyce, that they wolde be redy at all tymes with all their might and powre both for the defence of the realme and of the Kinge. This ended, they cryed all together with a lowd voyce, God save the noble Kinge Edward! Then the Kinges majestie put off his cap, and said, We hartely thank yow, my lordes all; and hereafter in all that yow shall have to doo with us for any shewtes (suits) or causes yow shalbe hartely welcome to us.

Election of the Protector.

Then, ymmedyatly after, all the lordes temporall were warned to repare to the sterre chamber at Westminster uppon the next morowe to be sworne to the King; and soo they were.

Then on Thursday and Fryday next after there were also sworne at the said chamber the lordes spirituall, and the master of rolles with the clarkes of the chauncery in like manner sworne for to register the testament and last wyll of the said late noble Kinge

Election of the Protector.

In the register of the privy council is entered another and still more circumstantial account of the proceedings taken in reference to the execution of King Henry's will and the election of a Protector. It shows that after the arrival of the King at the Tower of London on the last day of January there were assembled in council thirteen of the executors, namely, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord chancellor Wriothesley, the lord St. John great master of the King's house, lord Russell privy seal, the earl of Hertford, John viscount Lisle, Cuthbert bishop of Durham, sir Anthony Browne, sir William Paget, sir Edward North, sir Edward Mountagu, sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert; who, after first declaring their resolutions "to stand to and mayntaine the said last will and testament of our said maister, and every part and article of the same, to the uttermost of our powers, witts, and connings," to be enforced by "a corporal othe upon a boke," proceeded at once to depart from it by the election of a Protector.[a] The

First letters patent.

[a] On the 12th of March the duke of Somerset was confirmed in the office of Protector by letters patent. This was done on the plea that the representatives of foreign states required some evidence of his due appointment and authority, especially the French ambassador, who was about to ratify a treaty with this country. These letters patent (which are printed in the Appendix to Burnet's History of the Reformation) were attested by the signatures of seven councillors only, besides the duke himself, namely, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord St. John, the lord Russell, the marquess of Northampton, sir Thomas Cheynie, sir Anthony Browne, and sir William Paget. They had the effect of remodelling the council, commingling the executors and assistants as a general body of councillors, reduced by the omission of the duke's name and that of the disgraced chancellor to the number of twenty-six; but the Protector was empowered to add to this number at his pleasure, and from the whole body of the councillors, whether original or added by him, he was authorised to choose such as he might think it meet and convenient to call to be privy councillors. He thus in effect discharged the privy council which had been appointed by the late king's will, and assumed the royal prerogative of forming a privy council of his own. This device was probably intended to meet the appointment of a new chancellor. Rich, who succeeded to the seals, had been nominated an assistant only by the will, but he was now, in virtue of his office, to take a prominent part in the privy council. He was not, however, confirmed in his post until the 30th of November.

It seems to have been still thought necessary that the Protector's authority should be ratified by act of parliament. The parliament met on the 4th of November; when by writ of privy seal it was ordained that the Protector should "sitt alone, and be placed at all tymes, as well in our presens at our saide courte of parliament as in our absens, upon the myddes of the bench or stole stonding next on the right hond of our siege reall in our parliament chamber;" and he was further declared to be entitled to "all such privileges, pre-emynences, prerogatives, and liberties in all respects as had been enjoyed by any the uncles by father or mother's side of any of our most noble progenitors, or that had been enjoyed by any former Protector;" (Rymer's Fœdera, xv. 162, and Lords' Journals, i. 293.) but the session had continued until the

immediate reason urged for this important step was a necessity for having some individual head to communicate with foreign princes and ambassadors, and it was also supported by some further arguments which will be found in the following passage:

And, forasmuch as in the consideracion and debating of the several poincts of the charge by the said wille committed unto us, and of the great accompte which we have to render to God, to our sovereigne lord that now is, and to the hole world for the same, it appeared unto us, as well upon the depeache of sundry letters which were thought mete to be sent to th'Emperour, the French King, the Regent of Flanders, and others, for the declaration of the decease of our said late maister, with request for the conservacion of their amities, as upon sundry other great and urgent things to be presently depeached within the realme, and other the King's majesties realmes and dominions, that, being a great nombre appoynted to be executors with like and equal charge, it shuld be more then necessarie, as well for th'onour, suretie, and good government of the most royall person of

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approach of the feast of Christmas rendered a prorogation necessary, before the new letters patent for the protectorate were executed. This was done on the 24th of December, the very last day of the session. This instrument was first published (with some remarks by the present writer) in the xxxth volume of the Archæologia, from the original in the possession of William Staunton, esq. which bears the autograph signatures of no less than sixty-two persons, including the peers, councillors, judges, and some other officers. This instrument recited the contents of the former patent of the 12th of March, and of other letters patent of the 11th August, whereby the duke of Somerset had been constituted lieutenant and capteyne-generall of the warres (see note in p. 216 of the present volume); and after declaring both those patents to be cancelled, reconferred the same functions, but with a very remarkable difference of tenure. By the former patent of the 12th of March the duke was to hold the Protector's office "until such time as we shall have, by the sufferance of God, accomplished the age of eighteen years," that was, for the whole period of minority fixed by the late king's will; but by the new patent his authority was to be terminable at the King's pleasure, expressed by writing under the great seal. This material limitation could not have been the work of the duke himself, but must rather be attributed to those of the council who were impatient of the duration of his supremacy. It seems indeed at once to start a prize for the competition of aspiring statesmen. Any one who could obtain the ear of the youthful King, and inflame into rebellion that repugnance which is too naturally entertained towards tutors and governors, might now hope to supplant the duke of Somerset. The course seems already planned and designed which Dudley subsequently pursued. The Protector's unwillingness to consent to such a condition may fairly be presumed, and it is not surprising to find that some doubt exists whether the instrument (which appears to have remained in the hands of the solicitor-general Gryffyn) ever received the great seal, and that it was not enrolled until the following year. It was revoked by other letters patent, dated the 13th Oct. 1549 (printed in the Archæologia, vol. xxx. p. 489), which finally terminated the protectorate.

Second letters patent.

the King our sovereigne lord that now is, as for the more certain and assured order and direction of his affaires, that some speciall man of the nombre and company aforesaid shulde be preferred in name and place before others, to whome as to the state and hedde of the rest all strangers and others might have accesse, and who for his virtue, wisdome, and experience in things were mete and hable to be a special remembrancer, and to kepe a most certaine accompte of all our proceedings, which otherwise could not chose within short time bak grow into much disordre and confusion.

Election of the Protector.

We, therefore, the archebushope and others whose names be hereunto subscribed, by oore hole assent, concorde, and agreement, upon mature consideration of the tendrenes and proximitie of bludde between our souvereigne lord that now is and the said erle of Hertforde, being his uncle, and of the grete experience which he hath in all the affayres of this realme, and all other the King's realmes, dominions, and cuntreys, have by vertue of th'autorritie given unto us by the saide wille and testamente of our saide late sovereigne lord and maister, for the doeing of any acte or actes that may tend to th'onour and suretie of our sovereigne lord that now is, or for th'advancement of his affayres, gevin unto him the first and cheif place amonge us, and also the name and title of the Protector of all the realmes and dominions of the King's majestie that now is, and of the Governor of his most royall persone, with this speciall and expresse condition, that he shall not doe any act but with th'advice and consent of the reste of th'executors in such maner, ordre, and forme as in the said wille of our said late sovereigne lorde and moste gracious maister is appoynted and prescribed, which the said erle hath promised to perform accordingly.

Lord chancellor Wriothesley.

It was also thought desirable that the lord chancellor should derive his authority immediately from the living sovereign[a]; wherefore he resigned his seal and office into the King's hands, and received the same again, with an order to make out new patents for all the judges and other officers whose authority had expired by the demise of the crown.

The election of the Protector was still kept a secret until the morrow (Tuesday,

[a] Wriothesley, who was the leader of the Romanist party, put himself in the wrong by assenting to the earl of Hertford's elevation. He received in return the dignity of earl of Southampton, but lost his superiority at the council-table. The step which he soon after took, on his own authority, to delegate the judicial functions of his office, in order that he might be more constantly present in council, was at once turned to his disadvantage; and when in his final struggle he maintained that he held the chancellorship from the King himself (meaning the late King), whereas Somerset had no such sanction for his office, it must have greatly invalidated his argument, that he had resigned king Henry's seal, and accepted it again from the hands of the royal minor, who also, together with the council, headed by Wriothesley himself, had elected and accepted the Protector. The great seal was taken from Southampton on the 6th of March.

the 1st of February,) when the same executors re-assembled, and after hearing the will deliberately read, from the beginning to its end, they first took their oaths to the King, and after immediately swore to the due and faithful observation of the said will; and then it was determined "that the whole number of executors present should repair to the King's majestie, and declare to him what they had done touching the nameing and placeing of the saide earle of Hertford his uncle to be Protector of his realmes and dominions and Governour of his person, and to require his consent to the same;" after which, it was to be declared to the council not being executors, and lastly to all the lords in the presence of the King's majesty. All which was done in every point as pre-determined, and as described in the document already inserted.

The Council sworn.

On Friday the 4th of February, the lord protector took, in Westminster hall, the oaths customary on assuming the office of Lord Treasurer, which had been rendered vacant by the disgrace of the duke of Norfolk. The duke's hereditary office of Earl Marshal was also taken by the new prime minister; who relinquished that of Lord Great Chamberlain[a] to the aspiring Dudley (presently created earl of Warwick); who in turn surrendered the post of Lord Admiral to the King's youngest uncle the lord Seymour of Sudeley. The other great offices of state remained in the hands in which king Henry had left them.

Duke of Somerset Lord Treasurer and Earl Marshal.

Earl of Warwick Lord Great Chamberlain.

Lord Seymour of Sudeley Lord Admiral.

On Sunday the 6th of February, the King, who still remained in the Tower of London, was made a Knight at the hands of his uncle the protector; and thereupon he conferred the same order on the lord mayor, sir Henry Hubblethorne, and on sir William Portman a justice of the King's bench. The ceremony is thus described:

The King receives the order of knighthood.

This day, also, according to th'order concluded upon by th'autorite aforesaid, and by virtue of the King's majesties letters patent under the great seale made forth unto the lord protector autorising him so to doe, our said sovereign lord and maister that now is received the high and noble order of knighthood by the said lord protector's hands, in the presence of the rest of the executors, and divers other noblemen, the justices and serjeants of the lawe, there specially apoincted to kisse his Grace's hands, and also the mayor and aldermen of London; to whom his highnes at that present, upon their humble and lowly intercession made in that behalf, did by the mouth of the lord chancellor ratifie and confirm unto them their ancient privileges to them graunted by his most noble progenitors Kings of England; and likewise autorised sir Henry Hublethorne, made at

[a] This was also an hereditary office, belonging to the Veres earls of Oxford. They had lost it by forfeiture, and the earl of Hertford had held it since 1543. On the present occasion the earl of Oxford made a remonstrance (noticed in p. 212 of the present volume), but in vain.

that instant the furste knight with his highnes' own hands, and mayor of the city, to exercise his said rome for the time limited, in like sorte as he exercised the same in the time of his most noble father our late sovereign lord King Henry the viij$^{th}$. (Register of the Privy Council.)

The Protector created Duke of Somerset.

The next step taken by the council was to raise the lord protector to the highest dignity of the peerage. At the same time, in order to gratify the other aspiring spirits in the court, the queen dowager's brother was made a marquis; the viscount Lisle and the lord chancellor were advanced to the dignity of earls; the King's youngest uncle sir Thomas Seymour, sir Richard Rich, sir William Willoughby, and sir Edward Sheffield were created barons. The same occasion was taken to confer on the new earl of Warwick the staff of great chamberlain, which had been relinquished by the duke of Somerset; and on the lord Seymour of Sudeley the office of lord admiral, resigned by the earl of Warwick; and to confirm in their former offices the great master, the treasurer, and the comptroller of the household. The following official record of the ceremonial is preserved—

(MS. Coll. Arm. I. 7, fol. 30 b.)

Then on Thursday next after the day of the buryall of the noble and late famous kinge, being the xviiith day of February, all the temporall lordes assembled at the said Tower of London in their robes of estate, where was created the noble men after folowinge, viz.

First. Edward Semore earl of Hertford and lord protector, and uncle to the Kinges majestie as aforesaid, aparelled in his kyrtell, was led from the counsell chamber and conducted to the Kinges majesties presens in manner and forme folowing:

Th'offycers of armes in their cottes of armes before, ij and ij.

The Garter, bering his lettres patentes.

The erll of Derby, bering his mantell.

Then on the right hande of him the erll of Shrosbury, bering the rode of golde; and on the lyfte hand the erll of Oxfforde, bering the cap of estate with the crowne.

The erll of Arundelle, bering the sworde, the pomell upwarde.

Then the said erll [of Hertford] led between the dewke of Suffolk and the marquis Dorsett.

—all thesse lordes aforesaid being also in theare robes of estate.

And thus in goodly order proceding, after they entered into the chambre of presens, they made iij reverent obacyens to the Kinges highnes, and when they came to the cloth of estate the saide lordes standing, and the said erle kneling, after that Garter had delyvered the lettres patentes to maister secretory Paget, he delyvered them to the King, the King gave them agayne to him to rede, and he red them openly.

And at the wordes of *investimus* the King put on his mantell, and at *gladii cincturam* the King put abowte him bawdryck-wise his sworde, and at *cappe et circuli imposicionem in capite* the King put on his cappe with the coronall, and at *tradicionem virge auree* the King delivered him his rode of golde. Then maister secretory rede forth the pattents, which contayned the creation of hym to be Duke of Somerset and Erl of Hertford, &c. with the gyfte of a thowsand poundes lande yerely; and, that done and ended, he delyvered the said lettres patents to the Kinges majestie, and his highnes gave them to the said duke, and the said duke, after thanckes geven to his highnes, stode on the one syde to assist the Kinges majestie to the creacion of other estates; and the rest of the lordes and the officers of armes returned to conducte the other estates in like manner. Creation of Peers.

Then came William lord Par, earl of Essex, in, led betwene the marquis Dorsete and the erle of Arundelle, in his robes of estate, as kertell and mantill with hoode, the erll of Oxfforde bering his sword, the pomell upwards, the erll of Shrosbury bering his capp with the syrclet, Garter bering his lettres patents, the which after they were delyvered to the duke of Somerset lord protector, he toke them to the King, and the Kinges highnes delyvered them to maister secretory Petre to rede, who rede them openly, and at the wordes of *gladii cincturam* the Kyng gyrd him with his sworde, and at *cappe et circuli imposicionem in capite* the King put on his cappe with the circlet. Then mr. secretory proceded in redeing the said pattent, the which conteyned the creacion of him to be Marquis of Northampton and Essex. This ended, and the pattent delyvered to the Kinges highnes, he gave them [to the] marquis, who stode on the other side of the cloth of estate, abiding there tyll all the other estates were created. Marquis of Northampton.

Then came in John Dudley viscount Lysley in his robes of estate, led betweene the erll of Derby and the erll of Oxfford, the erll of Huntingdon bering his sworde, the pommell upwardes, the erll of Sussex bering his cappe with the cyrcillet, Garter bering his lettres patents, which after they were delyvered as aforesaide and taken to maister secretory Paget he red them openly, and at *gladii cincturam* the King gyrde about hym his sword, and at *cappe et circuli imposicionem in capite*, &c. the King put on his cappe with the cerclet; and, his lettres patents ended, he received them of the Kinges highnes, which contayned his creation to be Earl of Warwick and Viscount Lisley, &c. and at the same tyme the Kinges highnes delyvered unto him also an other pattent, and a white stave for the office of the Great Chamberlin of Englonde, and then he taryed there in like manner as afore sayde. Earl of Warwick.

Then came the lord Wryotheley lord chauncelour of Englonde in like manner creat as was the aforesaid erle in every thing, and conducted thether as aforesayde; the sayd pattents conteyning the creation of him to be Erll of Sowthehamtone, &c. Earl of Southampton.

Then came in sir Thomas Semour knight in his kertell; led betwene ij barowns in their robes of estate, a barowne before him bering his mantell, Garter bering his lettres patents. At the wordes of *investimus*, the King put on him his robes, and at the delyvery Lord Seymour of Sudeley.

Creation of Peers. of his patents to the Kinges majestie in maner as aforesaid by the secrytory, after yt was red, then the Kinges majestie gave the said lord his lettres patents, which contayned the creation of him to be Lorde Semour of Sudley; and at the same tyme the Kinges majestie delyvered unto him an other patent for the office of High Admyrall of Englonde.

Lord Rich. Then came in sir Richard Riche, being creat in every thing lyke as was the aforesaide lorde, his patent contayneyng the creation of him to be a barown of the parlament.

Lord Willoughby. Then came in sir William Willoughby, creat in every thing like unto the lord Riche, his pattent conteyning the creation of him to be lord Willoughby of Parham.

Lord Sheffield. Then came in sir Edwarde Shefylde, creat in every thing like unto the other lordes, his pattent contayning the creation of him to be lord Shefylde.

After all this done, the Kinges majestie restored and delyvered unto the lorde Saint John Lord Great Master, sir Thomas Cheyne lord warden Treasurer [of the Household], and sir John Gage Comptroller, the stavis of their offyces.

Then proceded all in their robes of estate, and the dukes, marquises, and erles with their cappes of estate on their heddes, in lyke order as they were creat, to the counsell chambre to dynner, on this manner, viz.

The trompetes bloing.

Then the officers of armis, ij and ij.

Then the estates in order, and Garter going next afore the duke.

And when they came to the saide chamber, they put of their said mantelles and hoodes, and sate in their kyrtelles all the dynner tyme.

Then at the second course Somerset heralld, because at that time Garter was horrse, proclaymed their styles and tytles in maner folowing.

(Then follow the styles of the King in Latin, French, and English ; and the styles of all the peers newly created, with the fees given by them to the heralds.)

—and every of them gave to Garter his gowne, as of auntient coustome hertofore had.

And after dinner they chaunged them into other apparel, and some went to geve thanckes and to attend on the Kinges highnes, and the other at their pleasure.

Chapter of the Garter. And abowte iij of the cloke in the afternoune the same day the Soverayne and Knightes of the noble order of the Garter, in the habyt of the saide order, assembled in the Kinges closet, and there kept chapter; when the Soverayne and Knightes of the saide noble order then present with one assent at the tyme electe to be of the said noble order the lord marquis Dorsett, the erll of Darby, the lord Seymour of Sudley, and sir William Paget secretory, and delyvered unto eche of them the same tyme a George and a garter, and the same tyme the Kinges majestie wore his George abowte his necke and his Garter abowte his leg which had ben delyvered to him by the lord protector.

It was on the afternoon of Saturday the 19th of February that the King left the Tower, in order to pass in solemn procession through the city of London, on

the way to his Coronation at Westminster.[a] On this occasion he rode on horseback, having his uncle the lord protector on his left hand; a state canopy, borne by six knights, accompanied him, but he went a little before it in order that the people might the better see him. "His highness was richly apparelled with a gown of cloth of silver, all over embroidered with damask gold, with a girdle of white velvet wrought with Venice silver, garnished with precious stones, as rubies and diamonds, with true-lover's knotts of pearls; a doublet of white velvet according to the same, embroidered with Venice silver, garnished with like stones and pearls; a white velvet cap, garnished with like stones and pearls; and a pair of buskins of white velvet." On his horse was a caparison of crimson satin, embroidered with pearls and damask gold. At various stages of his progress pageants, with speeches and songs, were exhibited before him; and in St. Paul's churchyard he was detained for "a good space of time" in order to watch the performances of a rope-dancer, a native of Arragon, for whom a cable was stretched from the battlements of the steeple to a great anchor at the deanery gate. The King appears to have slept at the palace of Whitehall. Procession through London.

The Coronation was solemnised on the next day, being Shrove Sunday, the 20th day of February. The noblemen were summoned to be in attendance by the early hour of seven in the morning; the King landed at the privy stairs at nine; and between ten and eleven he had arrived in the abbey, and was enthroned in King Edward's chair. Having therein reposed for a short time, he was placed in a lighter chair, garnished with cloth of tissue, in which he was carried by four gentlemen ushers to the four sides of the mount or platform, in order to be shown to the assembled people, who accepted him as their sovereign in the words, *Yea, yea, yea, God save King Edward!* Three crowns, one after another, were set upon his head,—the first being King Edward's crown, the next the imperial crown of the realm of England, and the third a very rich crown which was purposely made for his grace. The act of coronation was performed by archbishop Cranmer, who, in lieu of a sermon, delivered a brief address[b] or charge, directly admonishing the King of his duty, especially in respect of religion, and in which, after plainly denying the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, or his special authority to confer unction upon kings, who are "God's anointed," he proceeded thus:— Coronation.

Therefore not from the bishop of Rome, but as a messenger from my Saviour Jesus

[a] The contemporary narrative of the King's passage through London, and his coronation, will be found in the Appendix to this memoir.

[b] Printed in Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, p. 144; Jenkyns's Remains of Cranmer, vol. ii. p. 118; and Cranmer's Works (Parker Soc.)

Archbishop Cranmer's address to the King at his coronation.

Christ, I shall most humbly admonish your royal majesty what things your highness is to perform. Your majesty is God's vicegerent and Christ's vicar within your own dominions, and to see, with your predecessor Josias,[a] God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed: the tyranny of the bishops of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed. These acts be signs of a second Josias, who reformed the Church of God in his days. You are to reward virtue, to revenge sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realms. For precedents on those kings who performed not these things the Old Law shows how the Lord revenged his quarrel; and on those kings who fulfilled these things he poured forth his blessings in abundance. For example, it is written of Josias, in the book of the Kings, thus, *Like unto him there was no king that turned to the Lord with all his heart, according to all the law of Moses, neither after him arose there any like him.* This was to that prince a perpetual fame or dignity, to remain to the end of days.

Justs.

On the two days next following the coronation there were "royal jousts" holden in the palace of Westminster, by six challengers against all comers.[b] These chivalric sports were witnessed by the King from a gallery.

The King's palaces.

When King, Edward's residence was divided chiefly between the palaces of Whitehall and Greenwich. Occasionally he was lodged at St. James's, and in the summer he usually removed to Hampton Court,[c] sometimes proceeding thence for short periods to Oatlands and to Windsor castle.[d] When his first parliament met in November, 1547, we find the palace of Westminster[e] specially furnished for

[a] This comparison became a favourite common-place with all the writers of the Protestant party. In a subsequent page various passages where it is employed will be found enumerated.

[b] See a passage at the close of the narrative of the coronation.

[c] The summer heat was tempered by green boughs placed in the windows by way of blinds. In August, 1547, we read:—

"Item, paied to Nicholas Foscue, the Kinges grome porter, for provision of grene bowes for the Kinges majesties pryvie chambre and galleries at Hampton courte, xxxijs."

"Item, to the same Nicholas Foscue, grome porter, for provision of grene bowes for the Kinges majesties privy chambre and galleries at Saint James, xlvjs. viijd."

[d] In Nov. 1547 occurs a payment of xxs. "for making redie at Nonesuche againste the Kingis majesties comyng."

[e] "Item, payed to Philipp Manwarynge, gentilman hussher of the Kinges majesties chambre, for himself, oone yeoman hussher, foure yeomen, and three gromes, for hanging the Kinges majesties halle at his palais of Westminster, with my lorde Protector's lodginges, and diverse other lodginges for the counsaille, for the space of three dayes, against the Kinges highnes repairing thither from Hampton courte, as apperithe by a bill signed with the lord Arrundell, lord chamberlayn, his hand, xlixs."

"Item, payed to syr William Rainsforde, gentilman hussher, for himself, one yeoman

the purpose, whilst the King's residence was fixed at St. James's palace,[a] where he remained for the space of nine weeks.

Religious observances.

The religious observances which were maintained about his person during the first year of his reign, as shown in the accounts of the treasurer of his chamber, are remarkable. He at first continued, like his predecessors,[b] to make an offering of a noble on every Sunday, and the same on the ordinary feasts. On the great feasts larger offerings were made. On Good Friday the King's offering was twenty shillings; on Easter day (1547) four offerings were made,—first a noble "at (the mass of) Resurrection in the morning," another at high mass, a third "at taking his rights," and lastly a mark at a second high mass. On the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in Easter week his offering was a noble; on saint George's day the same; and at requiem mass on the morrow of that feast another noble. These and other attendant expenses thus appear in the original record:—

Ordinary Payments in Aprell, Anno primo Regni Regis Edwardi Sexti.

*Palme Sonday at Westminster.*

First for the Kingis offring this Sondaye . . . . . vj s. viij d.
Item for the Kingis daily almes this weke . . . . . xxxvij s. xj d.
Item to the Bisshop of Rochester[c] for preaching before the Kingis majestie on Palme Sondaye . . . . . xx s.

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ussher, foure yeomen, and thre gromes, for making redy at the parliament howse and churche, by the space of vj days, agaynste the begynnyng of the parliament, as apperith by a bille signed with maister vitzchamberlain's hand, the somme of vj li." Account of the Treasurer of the Chamber, MS. Trevelyan.

[a] "Item, paid to John Ventrixe for howse hire, the Kinges majestie lying at saint James by the space of ix wekes, that is to say, the warderobe of beddes, the esquiers for the body, and the pottycaries lodginges, for every of them ij s. a weke, as apperith by a bill signed with maister vitzchamberlain's hand, the somme of liiij s." Ibid.

In January was "paied to Humfrey Orme, yeoman of the Kinges warderobe of beddes, for himself and his man going from Hampton courte to the Tower of London, for the delivery of stuff to make redy the Parliament howse and Westminster churche, by the space of vij dayes, every of them, and for boote-hire at soundry times from the Tower to Westminster churche, &c. xxx s." And in February, "to Richard Bethell, of the warderobe of beddes, for taking downe of warderobe stuffe at the parliament howse, remaining there by the space of iiij dayes, himself, his man, and twoo other to helpe to take doune and folde upp the said stuffe, discharging the same to soundry warderobes, &c. xx s." Ibid.

[b] The following charge also continued to be paid:—

Item for John Rudde, clercke of the Kingis closset, for certain preestes praying for the Kinges maieste and his progenitors . . . . . vij li. x s.

[c] Henry Holbeach, who was translated to Lincoln in the following August: he died 1551.

*Maundy Thursday at Grenewiche.*

Religious observances.

Item to twelve pore men at the King's Maundye the same day, every of theim x d. in a purse . . . . . x s.

Item more to the said xij pore men at the same Maundy, every of them xx s. in a purse, in stede of the King's Maundy gown . . . . . xij li.

Item paied for the said twoo dozen of purses . . . . . xx d.

Item for the King's offring on Good frydaye . . . . . xx s.

*Easter day at Grenewiche.*

Item for the King's offring at Resurrection in the mornyng . . . vj s. viij d.

Item for the King's offring this Sonday at high masse . . . . vj s. viij d.

Item for the King's offring at taking his rightes . . . . . vj s. viij d.

Item for the King's offring at high masse . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.

Item for the King's daily almes this weke . . . . . xxxvij s xj d.

Item to tharroldes at armes for their largess that day . . . . . C s.

Item to the cookes of the kychen in rewarde . . . . vj li. xiij s. iiij d.

Item to the officers in the pastry in rewarde . . . . . xx s.

Item to th'officers in the squlliery in rewarde . . . . . xx s.

Item to the porters of the gate in rewarde . . . . . liij s. iiij d.

Item to the King's henchmen for their houseling money . . . . xx s.

Item for the King's offring on Easter monday . . . . . vj s. viij d.

Item for the King's offring on Easter tewesday . . . . . vj s. viij d.

Item for the King's offring on Easter wedenesday . . . . . vj s. viij d.

*Sonday at Grenewiche.*

Item for the King's offring this sonday . . . . . vj s. viij d.

Item for the King's offring on saint Georgis day . . . . . vj s. viij d.

Item for the King's dayly almes this weke . . . . . xxxvij s. xj d.

Item for the King's offring on the morowe after saint George's day at requiem masse vj s. viij d.

And to tharroldes at armes for their largess on saint George's day . . . C s.

*Sonday at Grenewiche.*

Item for the King's offring this sonday . . . . . vj s. viij d.

Item for the King's offring on saint Markes day . . . . . vj s. viij d.

Item for the King's dayly almes this weke . . . . . xxxvij s. xj d.

On the 1st of May the feast of saint Philip and saint James was observed, the King offering a noble: on Ascension day his offering was a mark. At Whitsuntide there were various payments:

*Whitsonday at Westminster.*

Item for the King's offring this sonday . . . . . vj s. viij d. Religious observances.
Item for the King's offring at taking his rightes . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
Item for the King's daily almes this weke . . . . . xxxvij s. xj d.
Item to tharroldes at armes for their largess on Whitsondaie . . . . C s.
Item for the King's offring on Whitsonmonday . . . . . vj s. viij d.
Item for the King's offring on the tewesday following . . . . vj s. viij d.
Item for the King's offring on the wedenesday folowing . . . . vj s. viij d.

On the 3rd of June, being the feast of Corpus Christi, the King again took his rights, and offered on that account a second noble. The other feasts observed during the year 1547 were those of Midsummer day, St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Mary Magdalene, St. James the Apostle, the Assumption of our Lady, St. Bartholomew, the Nativity of our Lady, St. Matthew, St. Michael, St. Luke, St. Simon and St. Jude, Allhollonday (a mark in offering, and C s. to the heralds for their largess), All Souls, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, the Conception of our Lady, and St. Thomas the Apostle. When the parliament met in November, there was, according to ancient custom,[a] a mass of the Holy Ghost:—

Item for the King's offring at the masse of the Holy Ghost the first day of the parliament . . . . . x s.

On saint Nicholas day (Dec. 6) the King not only paid his customary offering, but the sum of vj li. xiij s. iiij d. "to the children of the Kingis chappell in rewarde, as hath been accustoumed," in order to enable them to enjoy the annual festivity which they expected on the feast of their patron.

With respect to the celebration of Christmas another extract shall be given:—

*Sonday at Hamptoncourte.*

Item for the King's offring this sonday . . . . . vj s. viij d.
Item for the Kingis offring on Cristmas day . . . . . xx s.
Item to the children of the King's chappell for singing *Gloria in excelsis* on Cristmas day . . . . . xl s.

[a] There was, however, a change made, (as we are informed in Stowe's Chronicle,) in having the mass in the English tongue. On the previous Easter monday the compline (being a part of the evening prayer) had been sung in English in the King's chapel. On the 18th September the litany was sung in English in St. Paul's, and the epistle and gospel read in English. (Stowe.) The mass of the Holy Ghost was sung at the opening of a new parliament, not at the commencement of every session. When Edward's second Parliament met in 1552, it was abandoned, as appears by the Domestic correspondence in the State-paper office.

Religious observances.

Item to tharroldes at armes for their largesse on xpenmas daye . . . C s.
Item for the King's offring on saint Stephan's day . . . . . vj s. viij d.
Item for the King's offring on saint John's day . . . . . vj s. viij d.
Item for the Kingis offring on Childermas day . . . . . vj s. viij d.
Item for the King's daily almes this weke . . . . . nil causa predicta.

*Newyeres day at Hamptoncourte.*

Item for the King's offring on new yeres day . . . . . vj s. viij d.

*Sonday at Hamptoncourte.*

Item for the Kingis offring this sonday . . . . . vj s. viij d.
Item for the Kingis offring on twelfe day . . . . . xxxiij s. iiij d.
Item for the Kingis daily almes this weke . . nil quia non solutum hoc mense.

* * * * * * *

Item to the King's maiesties harraldes at armes for their largesse on Twelfe day . C s.

The weekly charge of xxxvij s. xj d. for the King's daily alms was discontinued the first week in August, 1547, for which no other reason is assigned except that no such expense was incurred. It was resumed, at the same amount as before, at the beginning of the following February; and continued until the end of August, 1548, when it was suspended until the fourth week in October.

After Christmas occur the feast of Candlemas, when the King's offering amounted to xlvj s. viij d., and those of saint Matthew and the Annunciation; and so we again arrive at Easter (1548), when the payments were as in the preceding year.

The relinquishment of the observances prescribed by the ancient ritual takes place in the first week of June, 1548, after which the King made no further offerings either on Sundays or feasts[a]; but the weekly payment for daily alms is continued as before. The children of the chapel were no longer allowed their reward to keep the festival of saint Nicholas, but they still had their xl s. for singing *Gloria in excelsis* on Christmas day.

In 1549, when Maundy Thursday arrived, the royal maundy was again distributed,[b] and on Easter day we still read:—

Item for the Kinges offerings at Highmas . . . . xiij s. iiij d.

[a] The accountant still continued his entries both for Sundays and feast-days, but the item has always this addition, *nil quia non solutum hoc mense*, or *nil predicta causa*, or *nil causa ut supra.*

[b] The number of poor men relieved was twelve, in all the three years included in these

though the several other offerings before enumerated are all discontinued. The daily alms were regularly paid until the end of August, but not during the month of September, which is the last in the account, the book terminating at Michaelmas 1549.

Sermons at Court.

One of the chief characteristics of the new doctrines in religion was a preference of preaching to the mere repetition of formal services. The great engine for advancing the principles of the Reformation was the pulpit. Sermons had been infrequent in former times,[a] and confined to the great festivals, or to Lent; and this was the case even at court. In Edward's reign Lent continued to be the chief season for preaching, though in his later years the number of sermons at other times was much increased.[b]

Dr. Ridley on Ash Wednesday.

Of the Lent preachers before the King in the first year of his reign, the names of three may be recovered. One of them was doctor Nicholas Ridley,[c] after-

accounts. Was this in imitation of the number of the apostles? In Protestant times, down to our own days, it has been customary to regulate the number of recipients of the royal maundy in correspondence with the years of the sovereign's age.

[a] In the King's Injunctions issued in 1547 it was ordered that all ecclesiastical persons having cure should preach, or cause to be preached, within their several cures, one sermon in every quarter of a year; and the homilies every Sunday when there was no sermon. Upon the itinerant preachers see a note at p. 376, hereafter.

[b] An increase of the number of sermons at court was strongly urged by bishop Hooper in his sermons on Jonah, preached in Lent 1550. In the sixth sermon he said: "But your Majesty shall do best to follow the godly king of the Ninevites, and embrace continually the word of the living God, and thus shall your grace be the better able to do, *in case your highness wou'd have before you every Sunday one sermon*, which should bring much knowledge and grace into your highness' court" Again in the seventh and last sermon: "If it may please you to command more sundry times to have sermons before your Majesty, it will be not a little help to you, if they be well made, well borne away, and well practised. And, seeing there is in the year eight thousand seven hundred and thirty hours, it shall not be much for your highness, nor for all your household, to bestow of them fifty-two in the year to hear the sermon of God." Hooper's Early Writings, (Parker Society,) pp. 541, 558. This appears to have suggested the orders made immediately after, "that whosoever had benefices given them should preach before the King in or out of Lent, and that every Sunday there should be a sermon." King Edward's Journal, p. 257.

[c] This we gather from a letter of bishop Gardyner (printed in Foxe's Actes and Monuments, edit. 1838, vi. 61), which commences: "Maister Ridley, after right hearty commendations, it chaunced me, upon Wednesday last past, to be present at your sermon in the court, wherein I heard you confirm the doctrine in religion set forth by our late sovereigne lord and maister, whose soul God pardon! admonishing your audience that ye would specially travail in the confutation of the bishop of Rome's pretended authority in government and usurped power,

Lent Preachers in 1546-7.

wards bishop of Rochester and London, whose sermon was delivered on Ash Wednesday, when, according to the old custom[a] on that day, "ashes were administered," which the young King "reverently received," as is stated in a letter of bishop Gardyner.

A second letter of the same writer, addressed to the lord protector,[b] and dated "at my house in Sothworke the last of February," shows that another of

and in pardons, whereby he hath abused himself in heaven and earth." Though this letter is undated, another addressed by Gardyner to the lord protector (see above) shows when it was written. Gardyner defends or excuses the use of images, holy water, the ancient ceremonies of creeping to the cross on Good Friday, &c. Proceeding to speak of the efficacy of "the King's cramp rings," he asserts that "I think effectually therein the metal hath only an office, and the strength is in the name of God, wherein all is wrought. . . . . And yet, for such effect as they have wrought, when I was in France, I have been myself much honoured, and of all sorts intreated to have them, with offer of as much for them as they were double worth." He afterwards adds, "our late master continued all his life the exercise of that gift of God, and used silver and gold to doe that service, to carry abroad the invocation of the name of God by him; and he used it amongst us that served him in it, when he had thoroughly heard and seen what might be said in the matter, and yet he had no scripture especially for it, that spake of rings of silver or gold, *no more than is for the ashes ministred a little before ye last preached.* And as our young sovereign lord hath received them reverently, so I trust he shall be advertised *ne negligat gratiam Dei in dono curationum*, but follow his father therein, also not doubting but God will hear him as he hath heard his father and other his progenitors kings of this realm, to whose dignity God addeth this prerogative, as he doth also to inferior ministers of his church, in the effect of their prayer, when it pleaseth him."

The King's cramp rings.

Ashes distributed on Ash Wednesday.

[a] Notwithstanding Gardyner's arguments in its favour, or perhaps in consequence of the suggestion that they conveyed, the custom of distributing ashes on the first day of Lent was abandoned on the very next Ash Wednesday. This ancient practice is thus described in the religious manual entitled *The Festyvall*, fol. 1511, fol. 15, "Ye shall begyn your faste upon Ashe Wednesdaye. That daye must ye come to holy chirche, and take ashes of the preestes hondes, and thynke on the wordes well that he sayeth over your hedes (*Memento homo, quia cinis es, et in cinerem reverteris*), Have mynde, thou man, of asshes thou art comen, and to asshes thou shalte turne agayne." The ashes were distributed upon the heads of the recipients, being appointed to be carried upon their heads "after the manner of the Ninevites." This was one of the old usages retained by the royal proclamation respecting rites and ceremonies, dated the 26th Feb. 30 Hen. VIII. (1538-9); it was prohibited in 2 Edward VI. but again revived in 1554. See Brand's Popular Antiquities, (edit. Ellis, 1813,) i. 80, 81.

[b] This letter commences by stating that the writer had noted "some poyntes in my lord of S. David's sermon which I sende unto you herewith, whereby to declare unto you some part what I thinke, for the whole I cannot express. Somewhat I shall encomber you with my babling, but he hath encombered some frendes more with his tatling" Gardyner proceeds to advance many arguments against alterations at home, or wars abroad, during the King's

the Lent preachers at court was doctor Barlow,[a] bishop of St. David's, who broached projects of reform which greatly alarmed the bishop of Winchester. Bishop Barlow.

On the sixth and last sunday in Lent the preacher was doctor Holbeach, bishop of Rochester.[b] Dr. Holbeach, bishop of Rochester.

In the following Lent[c] we have the names of the preachers on all the six Sundays: LENT 1547-8.

[Feb. 19.] Sonday at Grenewiche.—Item to the bisshop of Rochester[d] for preaching this sonday . . . . . xx s. Dr. Ridley, bishop of Rochester.

minority. "Quiet, tranquillity, unity, and concord shall maintaine estimation; the contrary may animate the enemy to attempt that which was never thought on: which God forbid! There was never attemptate of alteration made in England but upon comfort of discord at home: and woe be to them that mindeth (*i. e.* intend) it! If my lord of S. David's, or such others, have their head combred with any new platforme, I would wish they were commanded between this and the King's majesties full age to draw the plat diligently, to hewe the stones, dig the sand, and chop the chalke in the unseasonable time of building, and when the King's majesty commeth to full age to present their labours to him; and in the meane time not to disturb the state of the realme, whereof your grace is Protectour, but that you may in every part of religion, lawes, landes, and decrees, (which four conteine the state,) deliver the same to our soverayne lord, according to the trust you be put in; which shall be much to your honour, and as all honest men wish and desire." Foxe, Actes and Monuments.

[a] William Barlow, originally a canon of St. Osyth's in Essex, and at this period a man of advanced years. He was made bishop of St. Asaph in 1535-6, translated to St. David's in 1536, and to Bath and Wells in 1548-9. He was committed to the Tower on the 15th Sept. 1553, two days after archbishop Cranmer, but effected his escape to Germany. On the accession of Elizabeth he became bishop of Chichester, and he died at a very great age in 1568. His domestic history presents the remarkable circumstance that the husbands of his five daughters were all eventually bishops: and that his widow survived until 1595. See his memoir in Athenæ Cantabrigienses, vol. i. p. 276.

[b] As appears before in p. xcvii. Had the account-book of the Treasurer of the Chamber commenced a few weeks earlier, it would probably have supplied the names of the preachers on all the previous Sundays in Lent, as it does in the two succeeding years.

[c] The chivalric exercises which were held at Greenwich, in the previous week, as customary at Shrovetide, are noticed in the King's Journal, at p. 221.

[d] Nicholas Ridley, promoted since the previous year to the see of Rochester. None of Ridley's sermons have been preserved. In his Piteous Lamentation on the State of the Church of England, written after Mary's accession, he thus spoke of the fearless preaching in the late reign, and of its results: "England, thy faults of all degrees and sorts of men, of the magistrates, of the ministers, and of the common people, were never more plainly told, since thou beardest that name, than thou didst hear them of late, even before the magistrates, in King Edward's days; but thou heardest them only, and didst amend never a whit. For even of thy greatest magistrates some (the King's highness then, that innocent, that godly hearted, and

LENT PREACHERS IN 1547-8.

[Feb. 26.] Sonday at Grenewiche.—Item to doctour Taillour[a] for preaching before the King this sonday . . . . . xx s.

[March 4.] Sonday at Westminster.—Item to doctor Reddeman[b] for preaching before the Kinges majestie this sonday . . . . . xx s.

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peerless young Christian prince excepted,) evermore unkindly and ungently, against those that went about most busily and most wholesomely to cure their sore backs, spurned privily, and would not spare to speak evil of them, even unto the prince himself, and yet would they towards the same preacher outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face. I have heard that Cranmer and another whom I will not name (he meaneth himself), were both in high displeasure, the one for shewing his conscience secretly, but plainly and fully, in the duke of Somerset's cause, and both of late, but specially Cranmer, for repugning as they might against the late spoil of the church goods, (see pp. 320, 409, present work,) taken away only by commandment of the higher powers, without any law or order of justice, and without any request of consent of them to whom they did belong. As for Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knox, their tongues were so sharp, they ripped in so deep in their galled backs, to have purged them no doubt of that filthy matter that was festered in their hearts, of insatiable covetousness, of filthy carnality and voluptuousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes, and to hear God's word, that these men of all other these magistrates then could never abide. Other there were, very godly men and well learned, that went about by the wholesome plasters of God's word, howbeit after a more soft manner of handling the matter: but all sped in like. For all that could be done of all hands, their disease did not minish, but daily did increase, which no doubt is no small occasion, in that state, of the heavy plague of God that is poured upon England at this day." Ridley's Works, (Parker Soc.) p. 59.

John Taylor.

[a] John Taylor, master of St. John's college, Cambridge, 1538; dean of Lincoln, 1544; bishop of Lincoln 1552 (see p. 414 of the present work). He and John Harley, bishop of Hereford, being present in the house of lords on the first day of queen Mary's parliament in 1553, withdrew at the commencement of the mass of the Holy Ghost, and were consequently committed to the Tower. Taylor died in December, 1554, at Ankerwick, co. Buckingham, in the house of his friend sir Thomas Smith. (See his memoir in Athenæ Cantabrigienses, i. 121.)

John Redman.

[b] John Redman, D.D. at Cambridge 1537, public orator in the same year, Margaret professor of divinity 1538-1544, and again 1549; the first master of Trinity college by the charter of foundation, 1546; archdeacon of Stafford and of Taunton. He died Nov. 4, 1551. (See the Athenæ Cantabrigienses, i. 107. He is also noticed at p. 305 of the present work.) Of his present sermon we have the following memorandum from the hand of bishop Gardyner:—"That dr. Redman, in a sermon which he preached before the King's majesty in Lent the second year of his majesty's reign, did preach and teach to be believed for the true catholic faith, that the true presence of Christ's body and blood was in the sacrament of the altar." (Additional articles exhibited by Gardyner, 21 Jan. 1551, printed in Foxe's Actes and Monuments, first edit. 1563, p. 794; edit. 1838, vi. 126.) Redman was a divine who, though he died before he had attained high preferment, was much esteemed by his contemporaries, and his opinion greatly respected: one, says Foxe, "who, for his singular life and profound knowledge,

[March 11.] Sonday at Westminster.—Item to Theodory Basill[a] for preaching before the Kinges majestie this sonday . . . . . xx s.

[March 18.] Sonday at Westminster.—Item to mr. Ayer[b] for preaching before the King this sonday . . . . . xx s.

[March 25.] Palme sonday[c] at Westminster.—Item to maister Latymer for preaching before the Kinges majestie this sonday . . . . . xx s.

(Account of the Treasurer of the Chamber, MS. Trevelyan.)

Hugh Latimer.

Of all these preachers the last was the general favourite. His ready eloquence and his homely illustrations at once aroused and amused his auditors. His popularity in the city, especially at Paul's cross, accompanied him to the court; and a

being inferior in no respect to the said Gardyner, shall stand as great a friend in promoting the Gospel's cause, as the other seemeth an enemy by all manners of ways to impair and deface the same;" and on this account Foxe has inserted in his great work some testimonials to the death-bed declarations of doctor Redman, made by master Richard Wilkes, master Alexander Nowel, doctor John Young, and others; among which are several passages relative to the presence of Christ in the sacrament. He repeated his belief that Christ was present with his sacrament, and in those that received it as they ought; but being asked whether we received the very body of Christ with our mouths, and into our bodies, or no? he answered, I will not say so. I cannot tell: it is a hard question; but surely we receive Christ in our soul by faith. When you speak of it otherways, it soundeth grossly, and savoureth of the Capernaites." His opinion on this engrossing topic of religious controversy had evidently advanced with Cranmer, not remained stationary with Gardyner.

Thomas Becon.

[a] This was Thomas Becon, the very prolific writer of Protestant manuals. He was born about 1511; and assumed the name of Theodore Basille after escaping from his first persecution in 1540. Cranmer appointed him one of his chaplains, and one of the six preachers of Canterbury cathedral; and he became chaplain to the lord protector, and resident in his household at Sheen. He also was instituted to the rectory of St. Stephen Walbrook March 24, 1547-8. Among his numerous printed works none are in the form of sermons; they constitute a large volume in three parts, 1563-64, and were republished by the Parker Society in 1843-44. (See the memoir of Becon in Athenæ Cantabrigienses, i. 246.)

Giles Eyre.

[b] Giles Eyre, elected from Eton to King's college in 1523, became vice-provost of King's, and D.D. 1547. He had various livings and prebends, and was elected dean of Chichester in 1549. He died in 1551. (See the Athenæ Cantabrigienses, i. 106.) His name and that of Roger Tonge have occurred in p. lxxx, as chaplains in the household of Edward when prince. At the commencement of the new reign, having been appointed prebendaries of Winchester, they were both together sent thither to preach; and amongst the misdemeanors charged against bishop Gardyner was a sermon he made in his cathedral to counteract their efforts. (See the deposition of dr. Coxe against Gardyner.)

[c] "And this yeere the ceremony of bearing of palmes on Palme sunday was left off, and not used as afore."—Stowe's Chronicle.

new preaching-place or pulpit was erected in the privy garden at Whitehall, in order to afford space in proportion to the multitude of his congregation. There, as Stowe tells us, "he might be heard of more than foure times so many people as could have stood in the King's chappell;" for the generality of people then *stood* when receiving instruction. The women and aged sat at the feet of the preacher. King Edward with his uncle the protector was seated at a window of the gallery which faced the pulpit; and behind the King stood his tutor Cheke. These and some other interesting particulars of the customary disposition of the congregation will be found in the ensuing account of Gardyner's sermon. Doctor Latimer preached the first sermon in the new preaching-place at Whitehall on Wednesday the 14th of March.[a]

Gardyner's sermon.

On the 29th of June, being St. Peter's day, the King with most of the leading statesmen were again assembled there, in order to hear a sermon from doctor Gardyner bishop of Winchester, in which he was expected either to shew a conformity with the King's proceedings in religious matters, or else to commit himself so far as to justify those measures against him which were commenced immediately after, and ultimately resulted in his deprivation. Cecill and Smith, the two secretaries of state, had previously several interviews with the bishop; during one of which, on the Monday before the sermon, "master Cecill brought me papers of the King's majesty's hand, showing me how the King's highness used to note every notable sentence, and specially if it touched a king." This interesting statement we receive from Gardyner's[b] own relation.

The King's notes of sermons.

[a] In Stowe's Chronicle this date is stated as "The 17 of March, being Wednesday:" but the 17th was a Saturday. Heylyn, in his History of the Reformation, in a passage derived from Stowe, (and which will be found at p. 62 of the present work,) has altered the same date to "the first Friday in Lent." This erroneous statement appears to be borrowed from the following year, when Latimer preached seven sermons upon Fridays in Lent. His two sermons of 1547-8 noticed in the text are not preserved.

[b] Gardyner came to London from Winchester in the preceding month, having been summoned by letter from the council, "to come and declare before them his willing obedience in all points," and to testify the same by preaching a sermon in conformity with certain articles which were prepared by the secretaries of state under the council's direction. The effect of these articles "was touching the usurped power and authority of the bishop of Rome, that the same was justly and godly taken away in this realm, and other the King's majesties dominions; touching the just suppression and taking away of monasteries, religious houses, pilgrimages, relics, shrines, and images; the superstitious going-about of St. Nicholas bishop, of St. Edmund, St. Katharine, St. Clement, and such like; and just taking away of chauntries, abbeys, and colleges; hallowing of candles, water, ashes, palms, holy bread, beads, creeping to the cross, and such like. Also, touching the setting forth of the King's majesties authority in his young

Gardyner's bidding prayer on this occasion is remarkable, particularly for its acknowledgment of the King's title of Supreme Head of the Church:—

—in which prayer I commend to Almighty God your most excellent majesty our sovereign lord, King of England, France, and Ireland, and of the Church of England and Irelande, next and immediately under God, here on earth the Supreme Head; queen Katherine dowager; my lady Mary's grace, my lady Elizabeth's grace, your majesties most dear sisters; my lord Protector's grace, with all others of your most honourable Council; the spiritualty and temporalty. And I shall desire you to commend unto God, with your prayer, the souls departed unto God in Christ's faith; and among these most specially, for our late sovereign lord king Henry the Eighth, your majesty's most noble father. For these, and for grace necessary, I shall desire you to say a *Paternoster*—and so forth.

And the following statements gathered from the depositions made in the proceedings against the bishop conjure up a striking picture of the audience assembled on this occasion, particularly if placed in connection with Foxe's engraving of the preaching-place at Whitehall, which accompanies his account of Latimer's sermon, already mentioned:—

Sir Anthony Wingfield, K.G. comptroller of the household, and privy councillor—was at the bishop's sermon from beginning to end.

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years to be as great as if his highness were of many more years. That auricular confession is indifferent, and of no necessity by the law of God: touching the procession (*i. e.* the litany) and common prayer in English; and that things done in general councils against the word of God may be justly revoked in particular councils." Gardyner would not agree to follow these articles implicitly, nor would he show his sermon before its delivery; but he consented to preach, and chose for the purpose the approaching feast of St. Peter, "because (as Gardyner himself stated) methought the gospel served well for that purpose. And in process of communication, master Cecill told me that he liked gaily well a word that I had said in another communication, how a king was as much a king at one year of age as at a hundred years of age, and if I touched it he thought it would be well taken." To this (according to Cecill's report) "the bishop made answer that he was very glad to be desired to speak in that matter, because he could speak as well, and as much in it, as any one in this realm; declaring that he had treated, in the king's days that dead is, upon that matter for the defence of the young queen of Scots' authority, to make a pact of marriage with the King's majesty now our soveraigne, in her young years." The secretary further enjoined the bishop not to meddle with the controversy of the mass or sacrament; but this injunction Gardyner had secretly resolved to disobey. The substance of his sermon was taken by master Nicholas Udall, who was stationed within the pulpit for that purpose, and it is printed, at considerable length, from Udall's notes in Foxe's Actes and Monuments: where also will be found the statement of Gardyner and the depositions of Cecill and Smith, from which the preceding particulars have been derived.

Bishop Gardyner's sermon.

Master William Cecill, esquire, one of the two principal secretaries to the King's majesty, (aged 27)—armed with a copy of the articles prescribed to the bishop by the council, gave good heed to conceive the said sermon from beginning to end, and how therein the bishop accomplished his promise and duty ; he omitted divers things that he was commanded to set forth, and divers other things he handled in such doubtful sort, as at that time this examinate thought it had been better he had never spoken of them, and namely of the King's supremacy, and of the bishop of Rome's authority.

Sir Ralph Sadler, privy councillor, (age 43)—present at the sermon from the beginning to the end.

Sir Thomas Chaloner, one of the clerks of the council, (age 30)—was not present at the whole sermon.

Sir Thomas Wrothe, one of the King's privy chamber, (age 32)—present from beginning to end, in a place where he might, and as he thinketh did, hear all that the bishop said.

Master John Cheke, esquire, (aged 36)—was present at the sermon, standing beside the King's majesties person, where he might and did perfectly hear the said bishop from the beginning to the end of the sermon ; in which he spoke nothing of the King's majesties authority to be of like force now in his young years as when his grace is of more years.

Sir Thomas Smith, (aged 33)—deposed to the previous proceedings, but at the time of the sermon had taken his journey towards Flanders

Master Richard Coxe, doctor of divinity, almoner to the King's majesty, (aged 51)—gives a fuller report of the sermon than any other witness except Udall.

Thomas Watson, batchelor of divinity, chaplain to the bishop of Winchester, (aged 33) —was present at the sermon-time among the throng, so that conveniently he could not hear the sermon.

Master Giles Ayre, doctor of divinity, dean of Chichester, (aged 42)—stood in a convenient place where he heard the bishop very well, and noted certain things which he entreated of.

Master Robert Record, doctor of physic, (age 38)—was present at the said sermon from the beginning to the ending, in such place as he might well hear and understand the said bishop, and gave attentive ear unto his preaching.

Sir George Blage, knight, (age 38)—heard the said bishop preach upon the sacrament and the mass, wherewith this deponent and divers others were then offended.

Nicholas Udall, master of arts, (aged 44)—at the request of a noble personage of this realm, was in the pulpit diligently noting, in writing, the said sermon. He was in fact the official reporter, and wrote the long report which is printed by Foxe.

Sir Edward North, privy councillor, (age 47)—was not present at all his sermon, but a part thereof.

Edward duke of Somerset,—was there present, and heard the sermon.

William earl of Wiltshire,—remembereth well that as well the King's majesty and all others of the council that were present at the said sermon, as all the rest of the audience that he could talk withal, were much offended with his said sermon, insomuch as in the next session after in council order was given that for his evil-behaviour in the said sermon he should be committed to the Tower; as indeed he was.

William lord marquis of Northampton,—the bishop used himself in his sermon in such cold and doubtful sort as both his lordship, and as many others that stood by him, were much offended withal; insomuch that, immediately after the said sermon, as many as his lordship spake withal thought him worthy to be committed to ward for the same.

The right honourable John earl of Bedford, lord privy seal,—that the bishop used himself, in his said sermon, very evil, in the hearing of the King's majestie, the council, and a great many besides; and so evil that, if the King's majesty and the council had not been present, his lordship thinketh that the people would have pulled him out of the pulpit, they were so much offended with him.

The lord Paget,—that he spoke not of the King's majesties authority in his young years, neither, as he remembreth, of any ceremonies by name ; but handled the King's majesties authority in such sort, as he seemed rather to take away authority from his council, than to set forth the authority of a King in young age.

Master William Bell, clerk, parson of St. Mildred's in Bread Street, (age 52)—was present all the time of the bishop's sermon, and testifies in his favour.

Master William Medowe, clerk, chaplain to the bishop of Winchester, and master of the hospital of the Holy Crosses beside Winchester, (age 60)—was also present; and immediately after the sermon came home with the bishop in his barge, at which time it appeared the same bishop was merry and quiet, and said that he trusted he had satisfied what was commanded him; and the next day following he sat at dinner with the bishop, the same being then merry, and suspecting that no trouble should ensue for his sermon-making, or any other thing, until the time he saw master Wingfield come with the guard.

Robert Willanton, master of arts, vicar of Haddenham in the county of Bucks, (aged 37) —went purposely to hear the said bishop preach, and intended to note his sermon; howbeit he could not note as he did intend, because of the throng.

Edmund Bricket, doctor of divinity, and parson of Hadham in the county of Hertford, (age 56)—was at part of the bishop of Winchester's sermon, to some of the contents of which he deposes.

John Young, clerk, bachelor of divinity, one of the fellows of Trinity college Cambridge, (age 35)—was at the sermon, and also deposes to what he heard.

George Bullocke, master of arts, and one of St. John's college Cambridge, (age 30)—the like. As concerning the King's dignity the bishop brought in a certain Greek verse of Homer (Iliad, ii. 204), the effect of which in Latin is this: Plures nam regnare malum: Rex unicus esto. (This is confirmed by Gardyner's own account, that "to the effect

to have our sovereign lord now obeyed, of which mind I was ever, I pointed to our sovereign lord there in presence, and said, 'He was only to be obeyed; and I would have but one King;' and other words to that purpose." But such doctrine was correctly appreciated in Paget's remark above quoted.)

Christopher Malton, master of arts, and one of Baliol college in Oxford, (age 33)—also gave report of what he had heard. (These latter witnesses are important for the contents of the bishop's sermon: they were examined in his favour.)

The King's summer progress in 1548.

In the summer of 1548 the King remained at St. James's palace[a] until the end of June, and on the 2nd of the following month[b] he commenced his summer progress, but which was limited to his own houses of Hampton Court, Oatlands, and Windsor.[c] At the first he spent the month of July; by the second Sunday in August he had arrived at Oatlands; and by the third Sunday in September at Windsor castle. His stay at the last was not long; for on the first Sunday in

[a] "Item, paied to Nicholas Foskewe and Edward Cornelis, the Kinges majesties grome porters, for somuche money by them disbursed about the provision of greene bowes for the Kinges majesties prevei chambre and galleries, and for the lorde protectour and the lady Somerset grace's lodginges, aswelle at the Kinges palace of Westminster as also at St. James, sondry and dyvers tymes within the moneths of Maye and June, amounting to xx$^{ti}$ loodes at ij s. iiij d. for every lode cariage, and for cutting of every lode iiij d., as apperith by a bill signed by the lorde chamberlain's hande, the some of liij s. iiij d." Account of the Treasurer of the Chamber, MS. Trevelyan.

[b] On the King's removes it was customary for the bells of the parish churches to be rung, and if this was neglected the officers of the almonry were impowered to inforce a fine. In 1548 the churchwardens of St. Margaret's, Westminster, "paid to the King's amner, when he would have sealed up the church-doors, at the departure of the King's majesty, the 2d day of July, because the bells were not rung, ij s. iiij d." Nichols's Illustrations of the Manners and Customs of Antient Times, 1797, 4to. p. 13.

[c] Strype has stated of Edward's movements this summer that "in the beginning of September he was at Hatfield, and at Leghes the month after: occasioned as it seems by the plague, which now afflicted the city and other places," (Eccl. Memorials, ii. 118.) resting upon the authority of two proclamations, one of which, for the adjournment of Michaelmas term on account of the plague, is dated from Hatfield on the 6th of September, and the other from Leighs on the 8th of October. These do not however show the *habitat* of the King, but merely the position of the great seal, which it was customary to attach to proclamations. On the former occasion the lord chancellor (Rich) was probably with others of the council at the palace of Hatfield: on the second he was at his own mansion of Leighs or Leez in Essex. Mr. Sharon Turner has fallen into a similar error at an earlier period of our history: see Grants of Edward the Fifth, (printed for the Camden Society, 1854.) p. xxix. See also my Memoir of the Duke of Richmond (in the Camden Miscellany, vol. iii.) p. xciv. as to his *teste* as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

October he was again at Oatlands, and on the first Sunday in November again at Hampton Court.[a] He was accompanied everywhere by the lord protector, for whose accommodation "the quenes syde" of the several palaces was usually furnished.[b]

During the summer, Edward had visited his largest ship, called the Great Harry,[c] then lying in the river Thames off Woolwich; and on that occasion he was entertained at Deptford, probably by his uncle the lord admiral.[d] Visit to Woolwich and Deptford.

The parliament reassembled on the 23rd of November for its second session, which is memorable for the establishment of the Book of Common Prayer; and it was doubtless in connection with that business that "there was a notable disputation Parliament.

[a] Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, MS. Trevelyan. [b] Ibid.

[c] The *Harry Grace a Dieu*, commonly called the Great Harry, was built by Henry the Eighth at Woolwich, early in his reign. It was commenced in 1512, shortly after the loss of the Regent (which had been burnt in that year in action with the French), and launched in 1515. The expenses of its construction, which amounted to nearly 6,500*l.* besides large free-gifts of timber, are preserved in a book in the Public Record-office, of which an abstract is given in Cruden's History of Gravesend and the Port of London, 1843, pp. 143—147. In a return of the royal navy made in 1521, it is stated that "First, the Great Henry Grace a Dieu, being of the portage of 1,500 tons, rideth at Northfleet, between Gravesend and Erith, being in good reparation, caulking except." (Charnock's History of Naval Architecture, ii. 103, from MS. Cotton. Otho E. IX, fol. 67.) In 1 Edw. VI. its equipment was thus returned: "The Henry Grace a Dieu, 1,000 tons. Souldiers 349. Marryners 301. Gonners 50. Brass pieces 19. Iron pieces 102." (See Archæologia, vi. 218, and at p. 216 a fuller account of its "furniture" and amunition.) The Great Harry was destroyed by an accidental fire, whilst still lying off Woolwich, in the first year of queen Mary, August 25, 1553. A view of this ship, made in 1546 by Anthony Anthony, is preserved in the Pepysian library, and engraved in the Archæologia, vol. vi. pl. XXII., also one of the ships represented in the picture of the embarkation of Henry VIII. at Dover, May 31, 1520, now at Hampton Court, engraved in a large size by the Society of Antiquaries in 1781, and in small in Nicolas's History of the Royal Navy, vol. ii. There are other prints that pretend to represent the Great Harry, but are taken from some great ship of later date.

[d] "Item paied to Phelip Manwaring, gentleman ussher of the Kinges majestie chamber, for him self, two gromes of the same chamber; one grome of the wardrobe, and a grome porter, for making ready in Great Henry at Woolwiche, and also for making ready at Detforde for the Kinges majesties being there at dynner and souper, and for the hier of too botes to and froo, and other chardges, by the space of one daie, as apperith by a bill signed by the erle of Arrundell lord chamberlein, the somme of xiij s iiij d." (Account of Treasurer of the Chamber, MS. Trevelyan.) This payment was made in August, 1548, but it does not show how long before the expense was incurred. Two subsequent visits of the King to Deptford in 1550 and 1551 are noticed in pp. 279, 328, hereafter.

of the sacrament[a] in the parliament house," as the King has recorded in his Journal.[b] He would scarcely be present at this debate, but the following anecdote, whether credit-worthy or no,[c] is a further proof that he was known to take a lively interest in the discussion :—

I will not omit this truly sagacious reply which our young King made to the protector. When the disputation was ended, the protector accosted the King with an expression of his surprise, saying, How very much the bishop of Westminster (Thirlby) has deceived my expectation! "Your expectation (the King replied) he might deceive, but not mine." When the protector further inquired the reason, "I expected (said the King) nothing else but that he, who has been so long time with the emperor as ambassador, should smell of the Interim." A reply truly characteristic of the young King, and which I did not think right to omit. (Letter of John Burcher to Henry Bullinger, from Strasburgh, Jan. 22, 1549.)

The King's domestic life.

If we could follow the King into the routine of his daily life we should probably find it to have consisted, for the most part, of a strange mixture of scholastic discipline and state ceremony, with little room for the growth of social sympathies,

[a] Our ecclesiastical historians appear to have met with no report of this discussion. There are two brief accounts of it in the Zurich Letters both addressed to Bullinger,—by Bartholomew Traheron and by John Burcher. The former (writing from London on the 31st Dec. 1548) states "that the disputation was held on the 14th of that month (if he mistakes not), in the presence of almost all the nobility of England. The archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer), he tells Bullinger, "maintained your opinion upon this subject, most openly, firmly, and learnedly,—contrary to all expectation. Next followed the bishop of Rochester (Ridley), who handled the subject with so much elegance, perspicuity, erudition, and power, as to stop the mouth of that most zealous papist the bishop of Worcester (Heath)." Altogether, Traheron regarded the result of the debate to be a complete triumph over Lutheranism. John Burcher (in the same letter from which the passage in the text above is taken) does not name Ridley, but states that the discussion lasted for three days between four bishops, namely, the archbishop of Canterbury and another called doctor Farrer (the bishop of St. David's) on the part of the gospel, and the bishops of Worcester (Heath) and Westminster (Thirlby) on the part of popery. Burcher had already sent a fuller account of the discussion in a former letter, but which seems to have miscarried. (Zurich Letters, vol. iii. pp. 322, 64[illegible]. In a letter of Peter Martyr to Bucer, written on the 26th December, there is also an allusion to the unprecedented "disputing of the bishops" upon matters of religion which was daily going forward in "the supreme council of the state." (Ibid. p. 469.) A disputation which shortly after took place at Oxford on the doctrine of the eucharist, was published by Peter Martyr, who conducted it on the part of the Reformers: see Strype's Cranmer, p. 283.

[b] Page 224.

[c] The letters of its writer, John Burcher, who, though an Englishman by birth, was resident far from home, are full of many extravagant rumours on the course of public events in England.

or the exercise of the domestic affections. The only persons to whom we hear of his being warmly attached are his schoolmaster Cheke, his playfellow Barnaby Fitzpatrick, and one or two others of his personal attendants. From the few relations by consanguinity which this royal orphan possessed he was estranged either by separation or by circumstances. This had not been so much the case in his early childhood, when he was occasionally associated with his sisters, and when all the royal children were sometimes assembled in their father's court; whilst the amiable queen Katherine exercised a genial influence over the whole royal circle. Immediately after king Henry's death that lady sacrificed herself to the headstrong and imperious lord Seymour of Sudeley, and thus lost some of that influence which she could probably have sustained with a more dignified sense of her position as queen dowager. From that event a continual jealousy existed between the King's two uncles, and between their wives the queen dowager and the duchess of Somerset. Queen Katherine was in consequence debarred from the intercourse she had previously held with her royal stepson, and his loss of that intercourse was not compensated by any marked kindness on the part of his uncle and aunt of Somerset. The protector, oppressed with the cares of state, had little leisure to bestow in personal attendance upon his nephew the King, except upon public occasions: and the duchess of Somerset was not expected to do so, for Edward, after he had attained the age of six, ceased to be "brought up among the women."[a] From that early age he was surrounded by males only, and, as it were, sent to school. Nor did the King any longer derive the advantages of female society from the company of his sisters, the lady Mary and the lady Elizabeth, except at rare and unfrequent intervals; for they had each distinct households at a distance from his court, and the former, in consequence of her jealous adherence to her own faith, was soon placed in that position of partial rebellion and consequent disgrace in which she remained throughout this reign.

The lord Sudeley, meanwhile, was instigated by his devouring passion, that of personal ambition, to catch at every opportunity of ingratiating himself with the King; and, unhappily, he was not contented to practise this policy without at the same time undermining his brother the protector. Hence ensued, in a few short years, the total ruin of the Seymours.

Sir Thomas had been left, as we have seen, an assistant only to the execution of king Henry's will, but immediately on his nephew's accession he was advanced to the dignity of a baron, to the office of lord admiral, and the order of the garter; and by the first patent of the protectorate he became a privy councillor.[b] His

[a] See his Journal, p. 209.

[b] See p. lxxxviii.

The Seymours.

ambition was far from satisfied. His head was filled with the precedents which our history afforded him of the importance and preeminence accorded to the Hollands and Beauforts, and other "uncles of kings." He thought that the duke of Somerset and he ought in some way to share their power: that if one was protector of the realm, the other might be governor of the royal person[a]; and he grudged that one of the royal uncles should sit in a preeminent seat in parliament, whilst the other was only ranked as a junior baron.[b] However excessive his expectations may have been, the protector might better in some degree have humoured than denied them: for a mutual confidence would have provided mutual support and protection.[c] There were cooler and more artful politicians at work, pursuing the destructive maxim of *Divide et impera.*

[a] See the evidence stated in the present work, at pp. 53, 54. It is remarkable that in the Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London (printed for the Camden Society,) we find an intimation contemporary with the King's accession of such an arrangement having been contemplated: for the writer of that chronicle (p. 54) at first made an entry that the earl of Hertford was made "protector and defender of the realme, and sir Thomas Semer hys brother lorde governor unto the kyng," which latter statement he corrected in his margin by the word "amrelle" (admiral).

[b] "He sayd he mislyked that he was not placed in the parliament house as woone of the King his unkills." (Sharington's evidence, in Haynes's Burghley Papers, p. 91.) The preeminence assigned to the protector has been already stated in p. lxxxviii.

[c] The characters of the two brothers are forcibly, and with probable truth, contrasted by Heylyn. "The Admiral was fierce in courage, courtly in fashion, in personage stately, in voice magnificent: the Duke mild, affable, free, and open; more easy to be wrought on, but no way malicious, and honoured by the common people, as the Admiral was more generally esteemed among the nobles. The Protector was more to be desired for a friend, and the other more to be feared as an enemy. The defects of each being taken away, their virtues united would have made one excellent man." (History of the Reformation, p. 72.)

There was yet another brother, named Henry, the second son of sir John Seymour, who, whether merely from choice, or from any disqualification now unknown, preferred to live away from court. According to the same old historian, he "was not found to be of so fine metal as to make a courtier, and was therefore left unto the life of a country gentleman." (Heylyn then goes on to relate how an estate was carved for him out of the lands of the see of Winchester.) We do not find the least intimation of his royal nephew ever having held any communication with him. Though his younger brother, the aspiring Thomas, was knighted when the eldest was made a peer, Henry Seymour remained a plain esquire until his royal nephew's coronation, when he was one of the knights of the Bath made in its honour: but neither before nor after the death of his brothers do we hear of him again at court. It is very remarkable that a brother intervening between the self-aggrandising duke of Somerset and the equally, if not more, ambitious lord Seymour of Sudeley, should have been a man of so opposite a temperament.

The protector's absence in the Scotish campaign of 1547 afforded the lord admiral his first opportunities to instil a disparagement of his brother into the King's mind. Edward's own account of these circumstances will be found in another part of the present work.[a] It reveals a melancholy view of the total absence of natural affection in the royal breast: for, when the lord Seymour remarked that the protector was growing old, and might not live long, the King admits that he replied, "*It were better that he should dye.*"

There are some other remarkable replies uttered by the boy-King in the following statement, which was made by his servant John Fowler[b]:—

The sayinges of THOMAS LORD SEYMOUR of SUDELEY, in sundry his conferences and communications with me JOHN FOWLER.

[MS. Harl. 249, fol. 26.]

First, the said lord Seymour the of at St. James, the Kinges ma^te^ lyeng there, called me into his chamber, and after I had byn there a whyle with him, commaunding his servauntes to go out, sayd unto me thies woordes or moche lyke: "Now, mr. Fowler, how does the Kinges ma^te^?" I sayd, "Well, thankes be to God." Then he asked me if his highnes lacked any thing, and I said no. Then he asked me if his grace woold not in his absence aske for him, or move my question of him. I answered his ma^te^ woold aske somtyme for him, but nothing elles; and then I demaunded of him, "What question shuld his ma^te^ aske of you?" "Nay, nothing (said he), onles somtyme his highnes woold aske why I maried not." "I never hard him aske any suche questions," quoth I. Then my lorde paused a whyle, and after said to me, "Mr. Fowler, I pray you, if you have any communication with the Kinges ma^te^ soone, or to-morrow, aske his highnes whether he woold be content I shuld mary or not; and if he saye he will be content, I pray you aske his grace whom he woold have to be my wief?" I said I woold; and that night, his highnes being alone, I said to his ma^te^, "And please your grace, I marvell my lord admirall marieth not." His highnes saying nothing to it, I said agayn, "Could your grace be contented he shuld mary?" His grace said, *Ye, very well.* Then I asked his ma^te^ whom his grace woold he shuld mary? His highness said, *My lady Anne of Cleves;* and so, pawsing a whyle, said after, *Nay, nay, wot you what? I woold he maried*

[a] See p. 57.

[b] John Fowler was sent prisoner to the Tower at the time of Seymour's disgrace. Two of his letters to the lord admiral are printed at pp. 59, 61, of this work. The depositions against Seymour are preserved partly at Hatfield, printed in Haynes's Burghley Papers, partly in the State-paper office, printed in Tytler's Edward VI. and Queen Mary; whilst the present document, which has found its way into the Harleian collection, has never hitherto been published. So far as the King is concerned, it is the most important of the whole, next to his own depositions.

Sayings of lord Seymour of Sudeley.

*my sister Mary, to turn her opinions.* His highnes went his wayes, and said no more at that tyme.

The next day my lord admirall came agayn to St. James, and meting me in the gallery, called me to him, and asked me whither I had don as he bad me or not? I say yee, and told him all as the King had sayd to me; and he laughed and said nothing. Within a litle space after he said to me, "I pray you, mr. Fowler, if you may sone, aske his grace if he could be contented I shuld mary the Quene; and in case I be a sutar to his highnes for his lettre to the Quene, whether his ma^te^ woold write for me or not." I sayd I woold, and so at night I dyd my lordes message to the Kinges ma^te^, and the next day my lord admirall came to the King himself. What communicacion passed betwene his ma^te^ and him I can not tell; but sure I am the Kinges ma^te^ wrote a lettre to the Quene,[a] wherof I was not of counsell, and my lord admirall himself brought one other from the Quene agayn.

Also the of , the Kinges ma^te^ lyeng still at St. James, my lord admirall came thither, and meting me in the gallery, went into the ynner gallery, and there talked with mr. Wrothe, the King being at stoole; and, after he had talked a while there, he came forth, and I followed him into his chamber, from whence bydding his men to go out, he asked me whither my lord his brother had byn there or not syns his last being there, and as I remember I said no. Then he told me that my lordes grace was fallen out with him concerning th'admiraltie, and how his grace tooke their parte[b] before his; and theis wer my woordes unto him, "I pray you pacifie yourself, and beare with my lordes grace; considering he is the Protector of the realme, and your elder brother, for Goddes love let ther be no unkindnes betwene you." Hering me say so he answered, "Nay, my lord will have my hed under his girdell." I sayd agayn, "Yet pacifie yourself, for the love of God, and bere with my lordes grace." Then he paused awhile, and said, "I trust we shall do well inough for all this; but I pray you (quoth he) tell the Kinges ma^te^ of it, lest my lord shuld tell him, and that his highnes shuld be ignorant of the matter;" and eyther he willed me to tell mr. Cheke of it, or elles he said, "I will tell mr. Cheke myself." I am in doubt whither of the two. When he prayed me to tell the King, I asked him, "Why, what woold your lordship that the King shuld say if my lordes grace told him?" He said "Nothing, but that his grace woold be indifferent betwene us, and to consider we be bothe brethren, and that we must agree as brethern." "God forbydde elles!" quoth I, and promised him I woold breke with the King in it: and so I did. My lord admirall told me he woold pray mr. Cheke to breke with the King also, and so I thinke he did; and I think mr. Wrothe to; and for my parte what I said to the King I trust his grace can witness.

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[a] The letter printed at p. 46 of the present work.

[b] *i. e.* the part of the inferior officers of the admiralty.

Sayings of lord Seymour of Sudeley.

The said lord admirall after this at (*blank*) the of prayed me, as he dyd at sundry other tymes, to put mr. Cheke in remembraunce to the Kinges ma^te^ of him, and as I remember I brought mr. Cheke a writing from my lord admirall about that tyme, but I can not surely tell whither I brought him any suche writing or no.

Also about this tyme the Kinges ma^te^ sent a recommendacion in writing by me to my lord admirall, and this was the effect, or moche like: *My lord, bycause you ar busied in your affaires that you can not come to see me, I recommend me to you by this berer*, and so wrote his own name under; and this mr. Cheke saw.[a]

Also dyvers and sundry tymes (the certaynte wherof I can not call to my remembraunce) at Grenewich, Westminster, and Hampton court, my lord admirall willed me in his absence to put the King in remembraunce of him, and not to forget him, as in all his talkes with me one thing was to put the Kinges ma^te^ in remembraunce of him, and if his highnes lacked any money to send to hym for it and nobody els; and if I lacked any thing I shuld have it.

Also a little before his going in to the countrey with the quene my lord admirall came to the court, being then at Westminster, and sending for me into his chamber [asked me how the Kinges ma^te^ dyd. I said, "Very well, thankes be to God." Then said my lord, "I must go to supper to the Quene, or elles I woold tarry and speke with his highnes myself;" and[b]] said to me that, "forasmoche as I woold do nothing but that I woold his ma^te^ shuld be privie of it, I pray you tell his grace I wil be a sutar to my lord my brother for certain jewelles which the King that ded is gave the Quene, thincking the law woold she shuld have them; wherof one is hir wedding ring." Wherunto I said, "Alas! my lord, that ever jewelles or muck of this world shuld make you begyn a nue matter betwene my lordes grace and you." "Nay (said he), ther wil be no busines for this matter, for I trust my lord my brother wilbe content;" and so calling for his bootes to go to Hanworth,[c] he bad me farewell. This matter I never durst tell the King, nor dyd not.

Also sundry tymes syns his last coming to the court he woold come in to the privie buttrey and drynke there alone, and aske me whither the King woold say any thing of him? I have answered, "Nay, in good faith;" and then he woold wysshe that the Kinges ma^te^ wer v. or vj. yeres elder.

He woold also many tymes desire me to bring him worde when the King was rysing; and so I dyd.

Also at that parliament that the busines was for patentes[d] he willed me to put the Kinges ma^te^ (as moche as in me lay) in mynde if my lord protector woold tell his highnes any thing against my lord admirall, in that case that his ma^te^ woold take his parte,

[a] Lines are drawn across this passage in the MS.

[b] These lines are erased in the MS.

[c] Hanworth in Middlesex was a manor settled on queen Katharine.

[d] The patent for the protectorate? (see note in p. cxx.)

Sayings of lord Seymour of Sudeley.

bycause the matter touched his highnes; and also willed me to put mr. Cheke in remembraunce, and mr. Wrothe to; and so I dyd.

And at his going in to the countrey he prayed me to breake with the Kinges ma^te^ that it woold please him somtyme, when his grace could, to writ some litle recommendacion with his own hand; for, said he, it will comfort the Quene much; and so I dyd. Wherupon at his ma^tes^ last being at St. James the of his highnes wrote a recommendacion to the Quene and to him, wherof the woordes wer thies as I remember: *My lord, I recommend (me) unto you and to the Quene, praying you to send me suche money as ye thinke good, to give away to them as Fowler doth write in his lettre;* and as nere as I can declare this was th'effect of my lettre: "After my humble commendacions to your good lordship, the Kinges ma^te^ hath sent you hereinclosed recommendacions to the Quene and to your lordship with his own hand, praying your lordship also to send him some money as you shall thinke good, for his ma^te^ will give mr. Haward some, bycause he is going into Scotland," &c. An answer of this lettre I had agayn brought me by one West, who kepeth my lord admiralles house in London, which conteyned in effect only thankes for my good remembraunce of him to his highnes in his absence, and for the money he wrote underneth my lettre sent unto him, two or thre woordes to Anthony Boucher, the Quenes receyvour, to delyver me xl li., which he sent me by my man to Hamptoncourt accordingly.

Within a fourtnight or iij weekes after, West came to Hampton court agayn with lettres (as he said) to my lord protector's grace, and he asked me whither I woold any thing to my lord admirall. I demanded of him when he went, and he said he went not, but my lord had a post of his own wayting upon my lord privie seale to carry lettres from tyme to tyme. I sayd I woold write within ij or thre dayes; and within iij dayes after that I asked the Kinges ma^te^. if he woold any thing to my lord admirall; his highness said "Nothing," whereupon I said, "If it were your grace's pleasure to write some recommendacions, with thankes for his gentilnes, it wer well don;" and went my way, thinking his ma^te^ woold have writ nothing; and when I came agayn his highnes bad me go into the litle house within where he dyned, and to take the writing that lay underneth the carpet in the window there, and recommend his highnes to my lord admirall. The writing was but ij lynes, and in effect was thus, as I remember: *My lord, I recommend me unto you and to the Quene, thanking you always for your remembraunce.* I enclosed this in my lettre, whereof the effect was thankes to his lordship for his remembraunce, and that the Kinges ma^te^ was in helth, and had him the said lord admirall in memory, as moche as he had any nobleman in England, with suche like woordes. Within a fortnight after he sent me an answer moche like the first, conteyning thankes to me, and his humble commendacions to his ma^te^, and in the end of the lettre he wrote, if I lacke any money I shuld send to mr. Locke of London, for he had caused Antony Boucher, being with him in the countrey, to write his lettre to Locke for xl. li. for me if I sent for it.

A note of suche money as I have receyved of the lord admirall, as followeth:

Money given by lord Seymour of Sudeley.

First receyved of himself at Westminster within a litle after the coronacion . . x. li.
Item, after that at Westminster, Hampton court, St. James, and Grenewiche, by v. li., xx^ti nobles, and x. li. at a tyme, I am uncertayn of the somme .
Item, of Sturton from my lord admirall in Lent last past at Westminster, I am in doubt whither xx. li. or xl. li . . . . . xl. li.
Item, my lord admirall gave me at his own house at London, the of . . x. li.
Item, by a lettre from him to the Quenes receyvour at Hampton court in the begynning of the progresse . . . . . xl. li.
Item, my lord sent me an other lettre, being at Hampton court, wherein was inclosed a lettre from the Quenes receyvour to mr. Lock of London for a . xl. li.
Item, receyved of mr. Sharington for my lord admirall a sevennight before Christmas was xij. monethes . . . . . xx. li.
Item, my lord a littell before the parliament gave me at Hampton court . . x. li.
Item, syns the Kinges coming to London, of Sturton by my lordes commandement xx. li.
Item, at Newyerestyde was xij. monethes, he gave me at Hampton court . . v. li.
Item, on Newyeresday last past he gave me after brekefast in the privie buttrye at Westminster . . . . . iii. li.
Item, my lord admirall gave me a litle before he married the Quene a cap with agglettes, and a brouche.

A note of suche sommes of money as I Fowler have disbursed by the Kinges ma^ties commaundement.

First delivered to his highness to give to mr. Cheke, at sundry tymes . . . xx. li.
Item, to his ma^te to give to John Aysshley at sundry tymes when he taught his grace to play on the virgynalles . . . . . v. li
Item, to Belmayn [a] by the Kinges commandement at ij sundry tymes . . . v. li.
To mr. Barnabe [b] by his ma^tes commaundement at ij tymes . . . . xx. s.
To Worley at ij. tymes . . . . . iij. li.
Item, delivered to the Kinges ma^te at sundry tymes by xl. s., and xx. s., and x. s. at a time, I remember not the somme . . . . . .
Item, to Garrat of the gard for a booke which he gave the King at St. James . xl. s.
Item, to my lord privie seales trompet at Hampton court, when his highnes skirmisshed in the garden, at iiij. sundry tymes . . . . . xl. s.
Item, at Grenewiche to certayn tumblers that played, his grace loking out upon them . . . . . xl. s.
Item, to a trompet which sometyme was my lord Bray's servant, for playing on the Thames against Grenewiche . . . . . xx. s.

[a] The King's French master. [b] Barnaby FitzPatrick.

Prosecution of lord Seymour of Sudeley.

In addition to his constant tampering with the authority of the lord protector,[a] Lord Seymour had given offence by secretly marrying the queen dowager, and had been forgiven. He had lost her by death, and he ventured to aspire to the hand of lady Elizabeth: when the possible accomplishment of this project was contemplated as so dangerous, that it was judged necessary to put a decisive stop to his presumptuous career. On the 17th January, 1548–9, he was committed to the Tower by the lord protector and eighteen councillors, and on the 23rd of February the council went in a body to the Tower to examine him upon thirty-three articles;[b] but he refused to answer, except on arraignment. The day after, it was deemed expedient to require the King's personal authority for further proceedings, and the result is thus recorded in the council register:—

This day, the xxiiij$^{th}$ of Feb$^{ry}$, the lord chauncellor and the rest of the lords and others of the counsell making reaport to the lord protector of their proceedings the day before in the Tower with the lord admirall, upon consultation herein taken, it was thought convenient that the said lord chauncellor and the rest of the counsell should at after dinner make reaport to the King's majestie, both of such heynous and trayterous attempts and doeings as the lord admirall had done and entended, and also of his obstinate refusall to answer to the same or to excuse himself, if, peradventure, there might be any hope for him either to be proved giltless or to receive pardon: and it was further apointed that the said lord chauncellor should demand and know the King's majesties mynd, whether he would be content that for his majesties surety, and for avoyding of further inconvenience towards his royall person and crown, his highnes wold be content that his majesties lawes should procede upon him according to th'order of justice and th'accustome of the realme in like cases: and specially, for so much as thies things have chanced to be revealed in the

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[a] In one of the depositions there are passages which apparently allude to the lord admiral having taken a busy part in the alteration of the patent of the protectorate. "I did hear him say that he would never consent or agree that the King should be kept as warde till he come to the yeres of 18; whereby he misliked my lord his grace's [first] patent." Again, "After my lord his grace had surrendered up his patent in the parliament house unto the King his majesty and toke another during his highnes' pleasure, his highnes when he met with my lord admiral did thank him for *his* patent, as my lord admiral said unto me." (Depositions of sir William Sherington, in Haynes's Burghley Papers, pp. 90, 91.) From this it would seem that the remarkable alteration of the term of the protectorate (noticed in p. lxxxix.) was promoted especially by the lord Seymour of Sudeley. The two brothers, pursuing their internecine struggle, were watched and no doubt instigated by the bystander Warwick, into whose hands they were actually playing.

[b] They are printed from the Council-book in the Appendix to Burnet's History of the Reformation.

time of his majesties high court of parliament, that the parliament should have the determinacion and ordre thereof.

According as it was determined in the counsell, so, immediately after the King's majesty had dined, it was put in execucion. The lord chauncellor declared forth the heynous facts and treasons of th'admirall and the obstinate refusall, and made the demand and request aforesaid. Every one of the lords and the rest of the counsell in order briefly declared their mindes and sentences to that effect. Lastly, the lord protector, declaring how sorrowfull a case this was unto him, said, that he did yet rather regard his bounden dewtie to the King's majestie and the crown of England then his own son or brother, and did wey more his allegiance then his bloode; and therefore he could not resist nor wolde not be against the lordes' request, but as his majesty wolde he wolde most obediently be content; and if himself should committ suche offences against his highnes, he could not think himself worthy lief, and so muche the more as he was of all men most bounde to his majestie, and therefore he could not refuse justice.

Upon all this the King's majestie answered theis words, "We do perceive that there is great things which be objected and layd to my lord admirall myn uncle; and they tend to treason: and we perceive that you require but justice to be done. We think it reasonable, and we will well that you procede according to your request." The King consents to his prosecution.

With theis words, coming so sudenly from his grace's mouth of his own motion, as the lordes might well perceive, the said lordes and the rest of the counsell were merveilously rejoyced, and gave his highnes most hearty praise and thanks.

Subsequently, on the 25th of February, a deputation from both houses of parliament went to the Tower to make another attempt to extract from the prisoner an answer to those articles objected against him: he replied to three only,[a] and refused to answer to the rest. His haughty spirit would not bend to supplication, nor had he any party of influential friends. In the house of peers, when "the judges and all the King's majesties learned counsell had declared playnly the case to be manifest treason," the bill of attainder was passed "with one whole voice of all and singular the lords being there, the lord protectour onely for naturall pities sake desiring license to be away." In the nether house it was passed on the 5th of March, "the house being merveilously full, almost to the nomber of iiij$^{c}$ persons, not x or xij at the most giving their nays thereunto." The protector's personal fears were excited[b] to the exclusion alike of mercy, fraternal affection, or true

[a] These replies are printed with the articles in Burnet's History of the Reformation.

[b] That such evil influences were in action, and that Somerset was subsequently aware of the mischief they had effected, is affirmed by a witness of no less authority than the lady Elizabeth, who in a letter addressed in the period of her own distress to her sister queen Mary, wrote thus:—"In late days I heard my lord of Somerset say that, if his brother had been suffered to

Prosecution of lord Seymour of Sudeley.

policy: and it was determined to push the prosecution to capital punishment. Once more the King must be made to take a share in this bloody work.

This day, the x^th^ of Marche, the lord protector and the rest of the counsell meting in the King's majesties palace at Westminster to consult and deliberate of the affaires of the realm, emongs other things it was thought good that for so much as both the lords of the upper house, and also the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the lower house of parliament had passed and assented unto the bill of the attainder of the lord admirall, that the same should be signified and declared to the King's majestie, with further openyng of his heynous offences, conspiracies, and treasons; how that the said treasons were so heynous and fearfull, and so daungerous, tending both to the extreme peryll of his most royall person, and the subversion of the state of the realme, that of necessite it behovid not to pass them over, but seriously to consider them, especially now after by both the houses of his highness' court of parliament it had been so adjudged. Therefore thei should require his highness that they might procede further for the suretie of his person according to justice. And forasmuch as they did perceive that the case was so hevy and lamentable to the lord protector, his majesties uncle, yf his highness were so pleased, and so commanded them, (altho the thing itself, but onely that for his majesties surety it could not be omitted, were also to them sorrowfull,) yet they wold further procede to justice herein as apperteigned, without further troubling or molesting, in this hevy case, either his highness or the lord protector.

According as it was in the counsell determined, so after dyner the lord chauncellor and the rest of the counsell repayred to the King's majestie, to whom the said matters and requests were declared in the name of the counsell by the mouth of the lord chauncellor, the lord protector being also there present.

The King leaves him to his fate.

To the which his highness answered, that he had well perceived their proceedings herein, and gave them his hartie thanks for their pains and travaile, and the great care his highness perceived that they had for his suretie, willing and commanding them that they should proceed as they requested, without further molestation of his highness or the lord protector. And at th'end said, "And I pray you, my lords, so do." With the which answer they toke their leave and departed. (Register of the Privy Council.)

Such was the fashion in which the son of that sanguinary Henry who had committed so many judicial murders was tutored into the condemnation of one of his nearest kinsmen. All that can be urged in his excuse is, that he was a child of little more than eleven years of age, and surrounded by those to whom

speak with him, he had never suffered; but the persuasions were made to him were so great that he was brought in belief that he could not live safely if the admiral lived, and that made him give his consent to his death." (Ellis's Letters, II. ii. 257.)

such terminations of political strife were too familiar. Still it must be regretted that throughout the affair, instead of any childish bursts of passion or of pity in Edward's behaviour, we find rather the utmost heartlessness, and a precocious alacrity to sacrifice to the supposed demands of justice an uncle who had ever endeavoured to gratify his boyish fancies, and one of whose most frequent misdemeanors had been that of secretly supplying him with pocket-money.

The tragedy was soon completed. On the 15th of March the bishop of Ely (Goodrich) was sent to attend the prisoner, and prepare him for death. On Sunday the 17th, his execution was ordered for the Wednesday following, the council-book being on that occasion signed as well by the protector as by thirteen other councillors; and on the 20th, in pursuance of that fiat, the lord Seymour of Sudeley was beheaded on Tower hill. He appears to have surrendered his life in an indignant and defiant mood,[a] without that acknowledgment of the justice of

[a] Two days after the execution bishop Latimer preached before the King and court at Westminster one of his series of Lent sermons, which will be presently described. At its close he introduced the story of a man executed at Oxford, who had persevered in asserting his innocence until he was hung; but after his hanging, and before he was drawn and quartered, reviving at the fire, he then confessed his fault. Latimer related this as a proof that the wicked are with difficulty brought to confess their crimes; and then added, "I will leave here, for I think you know what I mean well enough. I shall not need to apply this example any further." In his next sermon (preached on the 29th March) Latimer remarked that he knew that he had given offence to some folks by this allusion, for they said, "Oh, the man died very boldly: he would not have done so had he not been in a just quarrel." In reply to such observations, Latimer declared that he could have said more than he did, and was now enabled to say still more from what he had since learned. "This I will say, if they ask me what I think of his death, that he died very dangerously, irksomely, horribly. The man, being in the Tower, wrote certain papers which I saw myself. There were two little ones; one to my lady Mary's grace, and another to my lady Elizabeth's grace, tending to this end, that they should conspire against the lord protector's grace: surely, so seditiously as could be. Now what a kind of death was this, that when he was ready to lay his head on the block, he turns me to the lieutenant's servant, and saith, 'Bid my servant speed the thing that he wots of.' Well, the word was overheard. His servant confessed these two papers, and they were found in a shoe of his: they were sewed within the soles of a velvet shoe. He made his ink so craftily, and with such workmanship, as the like hath not been seen. . . . He made his pen of the aglet of a point that he plucked from his hose, and thus wrote those letters so seditiously as ye have heard, enforcing many matters against my lord protector's grace, and so forth. God had left him to himself: he had clean forsaken him. . . . . Surely he was a wicked man: the realm is well rid of him." This passage, printed in 1549, was suppressed in the subsequent editions of Latimer's Sermons, but the whole of it will be found in that printed for the Parker Society. Dr. Lingard has animadverted in strong terms upon Latimer for his condemnation of the lord admiral; but

his sentence which was usually exacted from state criminals: endeavouring at the last, as was said, to avenge his quarrel through his interest with the King's sisters the ladies Mary and Elizabeth.

LENT SERMONS, 1548-9.

The sermons on the Sundays in the Lent of 1548-9 are thus recorded in the accounts already quoted:

[March 10.] Sondaye at Westminster. Item to mr. Josephe[a] for preachinge before the Kinges majestie this Sondaye . . . . . xx s.

[March 17.] Sondaye at Westminster. Item, to master Ayer,[b] for preaching before the Kinges majestie this Sondaye . . . . . xx s.

[March 24.] Sondaye at Westminster. Item, to doctor Parker[c] for preachinge before the Kinges majestie this Sondaye . . . . . xx s.

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Mr. Tytler (England under the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, i. 152) considers that, as the life of lord Seymour is shown by history to have been "that of a fierce, ambitious, proud, and revengeful man," so Latimer was justified by the particulars which he made known.

Latimer on the King's education.

In his fifth sermon (preached on the 5th April) Latimer again returned to the subject, and stated that "he confessed one fact: he would have had the governance of the King's majesty. And wot you why? He said he would not in his minority have him brought up like a ward. I am sure he hath been brought up so godly, with such schoolmasters, as never king was in England, and so hath prospered under them as never none did. I wot not what he meant by his bringing up like a ward, unless he would have him not go to his book, and learn as he doth. Now, wo worth him! yet I will not say so neither, but I pray God amend him [*i.e.* any one], or else send him short life, that would have my sovereign not to be brought up in learning, and would pluck him from his book."

In his seventh sermon (preached on the 19th April) Latimer still could not forbear speaking of the vanquished traitor. Treating of prayer, he remarked, "I have heard saye, when that the good quene that is gone had ordeyned in her house dayly prayer both before none and after none; the admirall getteth hym out of the waye, lyke a moule diggyng in the earth. He shalbe Lottes wyfe to me as long as I lyve. He was I heard say a covetous man, a covetous man in deede (a horrible covetous man, edit. 1549): I woulde there were no moe in Englande. He was I heard say an ambitious man: I would there were no moe in England. He was I heard say a seditious man, a contemner of common prayer: I would there were no moe in England. Well, he is gone: I would he had left none behinde him!" (Edit. 1571, p. 86.)

[a] John Joseph, D.D. was chaplain to archbishop Cranmer, (see Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 62,) by whom he was collated to the rectory of St. Mary-le-Bow in 1546.

[b] See before, p. cv.

[c] Matthew Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. He had for many years been one of the King's chaplains, and previously chaplain to queen Anne Boleyne; the following being items in his autobiographical summary:

"1535. 30 Mar. vocatus in aulam Annæ reginæ.

"1537. 1° Martij, vocatus ad aulam Regis et factus capellanus Henrici VIII.

[March 31.] Sondaye at Westminster. Item, to maister Curtoppe[a] for preachinge before the Kinges majestie this Sondaye . . . . . xx s.

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but he does not seem to have preached before king Henry more than once, since the following list apparently contains all his sermons before the royal family until his elevation to the see of Canterbury:

*Conciones.*

Anno 1534. Coram episcopo Eliensi in sua visitatione Balsamiæ.
1535. Coram domina Elizabetha apud Hundeston (Hunsdon).
—— Coram rege Henrico VIIIº. in aula, dominica tertia in quadragesima. [Ex] Epistolâ.
1539. Coram Edwardo principe.
1540. Coram domina Elizabetha apud Hatefeld.
1548. Coram Edwardo rege in aula Westmonast. in quadragesima, dominica tertia. De Evangelio.
1551. Coram illustr. rege Edwardo in quadragesima, scil. alternis diebus Mercurij, viz. 9 et 23 diebus Martij, collega meo magistro Harlæo episcopo Herfordiæ.
1559. Coram domina Elizabetha regina, bis in quadragesima.

(Strype's Life of Parker, fol. 1711, Appendix, pp. 14, 15.)

On the present occasion he was summoned to his task by the two following letters of archbishop Cranmer and bishop Thirleby:

I commend me heartily unto you; signifying that my lord Protector's grace, having good opinion of your learned knowledge and godly zeal in the advancement of God's word, hath, by the advice of the council, specially appointed you to preach one sermon before the King's majesty's person the third Sunday of Lent now coming. Wherefore I pray you in the mean season to prepare yourself in areadiness for the purpose, and to repair unto the court against the day appointed, to satisfy the office whereunto you are called accordingly. Thus heartily fare ye well. From my manor at Lambhith this 17th of Februarij anno 1548. Your loving friend, T. CANT.

To my loving friend doctor Parker, master of Benet college in Cambridge.

After my right hearty commendations to you. Where my lord of Canterbury his grace hath appointed you to preach before the King's majesty the third Sunday of this Lent, and hath written to you for the same purpose, and yet hath received no answer from you again, this shall be to desire you both to prepare yourself to accomplish his request, and also to advertise his grace by your letters of your determination herein. And thus I bid you heartily farewell. From Westminster the fourth day of March 1548. Your assured friend, THOMAS WESTM.

To the right worshipful and my very loving friend master doctor Parker, master of Benet college in Cambridge.

Correspondence of Archbishop Parker (Parker Soc.), pp. 40, 41, (the spelling modernised,) from MS. C. C. C. C. CXIV. art. 130 and art. 123.

[a] James Curthop, M.A. Oxon. 1538, a canon of Christ-church 1546, dean of Peterborough 1549. He complied with the changes of the times, and died holding his preferments in

[April 7.] Sondaye at Westminster. Item, to (*blank*) for preachinge before the Kinges majestie this Sondaye . . . . . xx s.

[April 14.] Palme Sondaye at Westminster. Item, to docter Coxe[a] for preachinge before the Kinges majestie this Sonday . . . . . xx s.

On the Fridays in this Lent Latimer preached before the King his celebrated series of seven sermons,[b] which have been repeatedly printed, and continually quoted for their graphic anecdotes and homely but effective oratory.[c] They were commenced on Friday the 8th of March, and continued until Friday the 19th of April inclusive.

In the first Latimer spoke at some length in contemplation of the King's future marriage, and at last addressed Edward personally:

Let the Kyng therefore chuse unto hym a godly wyfe, whereby he shall the better lyve chast, and in so lyving all godlynes shall encrease and rightwisenes be mainteyned. Notwithstanding, I know hereafter some will come and move your grace towards wantonnes, and to the inclination of the flesh and vain affections. But I would your grace should beare in memory an history of a good king Lewes, that travled towardes the holy land—(which he then proceeds to relate).

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1557. See Wood's Fasti Oxon. (edit. Bliss,) i. 107; and his epitaph at Christ-church, printed Willis's Cathedrals, ii. 458.

[a] The King's almoner, doctor Richard Coxe.

[b] In the sixth of these sermons is a further illustration of the aspect of "the preaching-place at Westminster" during sermon-time. Whilst most of the auditors stood (as already noticed in p. cvi.) others were usually "walking up and down." In reference to such persons Latimer exclaims: "Surely it is an ill misorder that folke shalbe walking up and downe in the sermon-tyme (as I have sene in this place this Lent), and there shalbe such hussyng and bussyng in the preacher's eare that it maketh him oftentymes to forget his matter. O let us consider the Kynges majesties goodnes! This place was prepared for bankettyng of the body: and his majestie hath made it a place for the comfort of the soule, and to have the word of God preached in it, shewing hereby that he would have all his subjectes at it, if it might be possible. Consider what the Kynges majestie hath done for you; he alloweth you all to heare with him. Consider where ye be. First ye ought to have a reverence of God's word; and, though it be preached by poore men, yet it is the same word that our Saviour spake. Consider also the presence of the Kinges majestie, God's hygh Vicare in earth. Havyng a respect to his personage, ye ought to have reverence to it, and consider that he is God's high minister, and yet alloweth you all to be partakers with him of the hearyng of God's word." (Edit. 1571, fol. 73 v.)

[c] They were printed in 1549, soon after their delivery; the first sermon by itself, and the six others with a preface which is dated 21 June 1549. There is no copy of the first edition in the British Museum, and I therefore quote partly that of 1571, and for the cancelled passages that of the Parker Society.

In the second sermon occur the following very remarkable passages:

Young kinges, though they be children, yet are they kinges notwithstanding, and though it be written in scripture *Ve tibi O terra ubi puer est Rex*, "Woe to thee, O land, where the king is a child," it followeth in another place, *Beata terra ubi rex nobilis*, "Blessed is the land where there is a noble king:" where kinges be no banketters, no players, and where they spend not their time in hauking and hunting. And when had the Kinges majestie a counsell that toke more paine both day and night for the setting forth of God's word, and profite of the common wealth? And yet there be some wicked people that will say, "Tushe! this geare will not tary; it is but my lord Protector's and my lord of Canterburies doing. The Kinge is a childe, and he knoweth not of it." Jesu mercy! how like are we Englishmen to the Jewes, ever stubborne, stifnecked, and walking in byewayes. Yea, I thinke no Jew would at any time say, "This geare will not tary." I never heard nor read at any time that they sayd, "These lawes were made in such a kinges dayes, when he was but a childe. Let us alter them." O Lorde! what pitie is this that we should be worsse then the Jewes!

"Blessed be the land (sayth the worde of God,) where the King is noble." What people are they that say, "The King is but a childe"? Have not we a noble King? Was there ever King so noble, so godly, brought up with so noble counsellors, so excellent and well-learned scholemaisters? I will tell you this, and I speke it even as I thinke, His majesty hath more godly wit and understanding, more learning and knowledge at this age, then xx of his progenitors that I could name had at any time of theyr life.

Presently after, Latimer administered the following incentive to the King's love of study.

He must be a student. He must write God's booke himselfe: not thinking, because he is a king, he hath license to do what he will, as these worldly flatterers are wont to say, yea, "Trouble not yourselfe, sir, ye may hauke and hunt, and take your pleasure. As for the guiding of your kingdom and people, let us alone with it." These flattering claw-backes are originall rootes of all mischiefe.

And yet a king may take his pastime in hauking or hunting, or such lyke pleasures. But he must use them for recreation, when he is weery of waightye affayers, that he may returne to them the more hartye: and thys is called pastime with good company. He must write out a booke himself. He speketh of writing, because printing was not used at that time. And shall the Kinge write it out himselfe? He meaneth, he shall see it written, and, rather then he should be wythout it, write it him selfe. Jesus mercy! is God so charie with a king, to have him well broughte up and instructed? Yea, forsooth, for if the Kyng be well ordered, the realme is well ordered.

The King must write the booke of Deuteronomye hymselfe. Deut. 16.

Then, after some remarks upon the way in which God's book had been miraculously preserved—

It followeth in the text: *Habebit secum, &c.* He shall have it with him in hys progresse; he must have a man to carrye it, that when he is hauking and huntinge, or in any pastime, he may alwayes commune with them of it. He shall read in it, not once a yeare, for a time, or for his recreation when he is weery of haukyng or huntyng, but *cunctis diebus vitæ suæ*, all the dayes of his life.

One extraordinary result of these sermons was the restoration of certain defalcations of which some of the King's officers had been guilty.[a] The money was brought to old Latimer, and by him returned to the state, on the condition of his being allowed to conceal the names of the penitents. The amount of the "conscience money" thus recovered was 373*l.*, from which fifty pounds were bestowed upon master Latimer "in respect of his attendance at court this Lent."

Rumour that the King was dead.

Whilst the King was at Hampton Court in the summer of 1549, a rumour was circulated in London that he was dead: and it was consequently judged necessary that he should publicly show himself to the people, which he did by passing through the city, "with a goodly company," from Suffolk place in Southwark to Whitehall, on the 23rd of July.[b] The false report was traced to the astronomical calculations of one Robert Allen, a conjurer, who was said to be instigated by the papists.[c]

Rebellions.

The continuance of rebellions in various parts of the country during this summer greatly harassed the government, and much weakened the authority of the protector; particularly with the nobility, for they attributed the destruction of their property to the countenance he had shewn to common rights in the tenure of land, and his proclamations for the removal of unauthorised inclosures. It is, however, unnecessary to say much in this place of the circumstances attendant upon the deposition of the duke of Somerset from the Protectorate, because the leading par-

Deposition of the Protector.

[a] "xxviij. Martij.—This day sir Michael Stanhope knt. by commandment and order of the lorde protector's grace and counsaile, received of mr. Latymer of such the King's money as came of concelement, and now delivered by th'exhortacion of the said mr. Latymer, the summe of iij$^{c}$lxxiij li., whereof they appointed presently L li. by way of the King's reward to be given to the said mr. Latymer in respect of his attendance at court this Lent, and the rest to be used for payments in his charge." (Privy-council Register, MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 14,024, fol. 107.) See other particulars in Strype, Eccles. Memorials, ii. 451.

[b] See the entry in the King's Journal, p. 228, and the passage in the Grey Friars' Chronicle annexed.

[c] See also the extract from the narrative of Edward Underhill in p. 578. In a list of prisoners in the Tower, 11 Feb. 1551-2, occurs the name of "Robert Allen, who hath bene there xij monethes and more for matters of astronomie and suspicion of calculation." MS. Harl. 419.

ticulars are to be found in the body of this work.[a] Nor have they much relation to Edward's personal history, being more connected with strictly political causes,—the unsettled obedience of the people, Somerset's alleged misgovernment, and the struggle of statesmen for power. The young King was altogether far less affected by it, either in mind or in his ordinary habits of life, than might be supposed. He was separated from an uncle who, though generally near him, had really given him but little companionship; and if he had parted without regret from his uncle Thomas, who courted him, he could scarcely grieve for his uncle Edward, who perhaps had rather awed and intimidated him. The event, however, must have come upon him as a thunderstorm. Edward and the protector were at Hampton Court, when on Sunday the 6th of October tidings were brought of the hostile proceedings of the councillors in London, who had countermanded the protector's letters to the citizens, and altered the custody of the Tower. The duke had already sent out letters to assemble an armed force, but it had not yet arrived in any numbers; so, for more security, he determined to remove to Windsor Castle. This was done "in the night of the same day, with a great number of horsemen and footemen" (as described in Stowe's Chronicle). Other circumstances immediately connected with the King are thus stated in the articles charged against the duke:

Item, you declared and published untruly, as well to the King's majestie and other the young lords attendant upon his majesties person, and to the King's subjects at divers and sundry times and places, that the said lords at London minded to destroy the King; and you required the King never to forget it, but to revenge it, and likewise required the said young lords to put the King in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make sedition and discord between the King's majestie and the lords.

Item, you said in the moneth of October last at Hampton court, and the 8. of the same moneth at Windsor, or at one of the same places, these words: "The lords of the councell at London doe intend to kill me: but if I dye, the King shall dye: and if they famish me, they shall famish the King."[b]

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[a] See pp. 232 et seq.

[b] In the autobiographical anecdotes of Thomas Hancock a more popular version of this incident is as follows: "Att his fyrst apprehension the reportt was thatt the duke of Somerset, (whatt time he was fett owtt of Wynsor castell,) having King Edward the 6th by his hand, shold say: "Hytt ys nott I thatt they shote att; thys ys the marke thatt they shote att"—meaning the King, whych by the seqwel proved too trew; for thatt good, godly, and verteuus Kyng leved nott long after the deathe of thatt good dewke." Narratives of the Reformation, (printed for the Camden Society,) p. 80.

Item, the 6 of October last, you did of your owne head sodainly remove the King's majesties person late in the night from Hampton court to Windsor, without any provision there made for his grace, whereby his highness was not onely in great feare, but tooke also such disease as was to his great perill.

Item, you caused at Windsor your owne person in the night time to be guarded in harness by many persons, leaving the King's majesties person unguarded, and would not suffer his own guard or servants to be next the King's person, but appointed your own servants and friends to keepe the gates.

Another account of the protector's conduct, emanating from the same quarter, and addressed (on the 9th of October) to the King's sisters, is as follows:—

When he had thus gathered the puple (people) and comons togither at Hampton Court, then he brought his majestie into the basse courte there, and so after to the gate to them that were without; and after he had caused his highnes, good prince, to saye *I pray you be good to us and our uncle*, then began he his oration; and amonges many his untrue and yvel[a] sayenges, declared that oone special cause of our displeasure to him was for that we wold have hym removed from his office, and that we mynded to have your grace[b] to be Regent of the realme, and also to have the rule and governance of the Kinges ma^tes person, dilating what daunger it shuld be to his ma^te to have your grace, next in succession and title to the crown, to be in that place, and that therein was ment a greate treason; which, as God knoweth, we never entended, considering well the lawes touching government to provide to the contrary, neither any of us all at any time, by worde or writing, hath opened any such matier to your grace, as your honour knoweth; concluding in th' ende, like an irreverent and unkinde subject—

This last passage is, on a rider, re-written thus:

—concluded, like a most irreverent and unkinde subject, that if we shuld attempt any thing against him the said duke, "Here he is," quoth he, pointing to the King's ma^te, "that shall dye before me!" which was the most abhominable sayeng that ever passed the mouth [of] a subject toward his prince and soveraign lorde.

After some days had been spent in mutual expostulation and negociation,[c] the protector found himself deserted by all the council, except archbishop Cranmer and the secretary sir Thomas Smith, and at the last his arrest was effected by sir Anthony Wyngfeld, the vice-chamberlain and captain of the guard. The

[a] In modernising this document (which is a draft in the State-paper Office), Mr. Tytler has changed this word from *evil* to *idle*. England under Edward VI. and Mary, i. 249.

[b] The letter was addressed alike "to my lady Maries grace and my lady Elizabeth's grace," but it may be presumed that a great part of this passage was written only to the former.

[c] See hereafter, in pp. 235—243, a catalogue of the numerous documents still extant relative to this crisis and revolution.

following dispatch, which was thereupon sent to the council, was written partly by Wyngfeld and partly by Paget; it is signed also by Cranmer. Both the writers give an account of the King's behaviour:

(State-paper Office, Domestic Edw. VI.)

After our most hartie commendations to your good lordship. These may be to signifie unto you that I the vice-chamberlayn arryved here this mornyng, and according to your instructions have the person of the duke in my kepyng: and, forbycause his chamber was herd adjoynyng to the Kinges bedchamber, he is removed to the tower which is called the Lieutenaunt's, which is the high towre next adjoynyng to the gate of the myddle warde, a very high towre; and a strong and good watch shalbe had about the same.

The rest also be forthcoming, conteyned in your billet delyvered to me, saving Whalley, who yesterday, uppon the hope conceyved by the duke of mr. Hobbie's reaport, was sent by him to the duchesse his wief, to reconfort her. She is at Bedington.

Here was with the duke his soone th'erle and his yong brother. We have appointed them to be conveyd to the duke's house, to remayn there with his[a] other children till your further pleasures knowen.

The Kinges ma^te^ is moche troubled with a great rewme, taken partly with ryding hither in the night, and partly encresed by the subtilte of this ayer, as the gentlemen of his chamber say, and moche desyryth to be hense, saying that *Methinkes I am in prison; here be no galleries nor no gardens to walke in.* Your lordships may consider it, and give order as you shall think convenient. The King's dislike of Windsor castle.

After having written so far at the dictation of Wyngfeld, Paget thus continues on his own part:—

I the comptroller have spoken for provision to be made at Richemond, where there is alredy v. tonne of beare and v. tonnes of wyne. But the physician dispraiseth the house, and wisheth us rather to Hampton Courte or London. The Kinges ma^tie^, thanks be to the lyving God, is in good helth and mery: and this day after brekefast came furth to mr. vice-chamberlayn and all the rest of the gentlemen, whom I promise your lordships he bad welcum with a mery countenance and a lowde voyce; askyng how your lordships did, when he shuld se you, and that you shuld be welcum whensoever you cum. The gentlemen kissed his highnes' hande,[b] every one, moche to theyr confortes. And thus we byd your good lordships most hartily well to fare. From Wyndsore the ijth of October, 1549.

Your lordships' assured loving ffreendes,

T. Cant. Wm. Paget. A. Wyngfeld.

To the right honorable and our very good lordes and othere of the Kinges ma^tes^ counsayle presently at London.

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[a] *Misprinted* the *by Tytler*, Edward VI. and Mary. [b] *Misprinted* hands *by Tytler*.

On the following day, being Saturday,[a] the 12th of October, the lords repaired in a body to Windsor, in order to explain their conduct personally to the King. They presented themselves to his majesty "most humbly upon their knees," and declared to him "the occasion and order of their doings; the which his majesty did accept in most gracious part, giving their lordships his most hearty thanks."[b] With boyish confidence Edward appears to have readily credited all that was suggested to him, and he complacently enters in his Journal[c] the catalogue of his uncle's faults,—"ambition, vainglory, entering into rash wars in my youth, negligent looking on (or after) Newhaven,[d] enriching himself of my treasure, following his own opinion, and doing all by his own authority, &c."

On the following Monday the duke, with his principal adherents, was sent prisoner to the Tower of London;[e] and the King was carried back to the palace of Hampton Court, accompanied by the greater part of the council.

Fresh arrangements were now made for the King's guardianship. With the duke of Somerset was sent to the Tower sir Michael Stanhope, the duchess's brother, who had hitherto been the chief of Edward's personal attendants. The places of both were supplied by the nomination of six great lords and four knights, of whom two lords and two knights were to be constantly in attendance.

At Hampton Court, Tuesday the xiiijth [15th] of October, 1549.

(Present,) Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer), lord chancellor (Rich), lord privy seal (Russell), marquess of Northampton, lord great chamberlayn (Warwick), lord chamberlain (Arundel), earl of Shrewsbury, earl of Southampton, lord Wentworth, mr. treasurer (Cheyne), mr. comptroller (Paget), master of the horse (Herbert), mr. vice-chamberlain (Wyngfeld), mr. secretary Petre, mr. Sadler, mr. doctor Wotton, mr. North.[f]

The lords considering that, the duke being committed to the Tower, it should be requi-

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Mis-stated as Sunday in the note at p. 234. The register of the privy council (according to Gregory King's transcript in MS. Addit. 14,025) is itself inaccurate as to Friday, which is there called the xth; Saturday and Sunday are correctly called the 12th and 13th; but Monday is also called the 13th, and, what is very extraordinary, the error is carried on until the beginning of the following month. Tuesday the 5th November is the first day on which the reckoning is readjusted.

[b] Register of the privy council.

[c] Page 240.

[d] *i. e.* Ambleteuse, which the French had recaptured; see note in p. 227.

[e] See p. 235, note.

[f] At Windsor the day before, besides these seventeen councillors, there had been present seven others—the lord great master (St. John), sir John Gage, the lord chief justice (Mountague), sir John Baker, sir Edward Wotton, sir Richard Southwell, and sir Edmund Peckham.

site to have some noblemen appointed to be ordinarily attendant about his majesties person in his privy chamber, to give order for the good government of his most royall person, and for the honourable education of his highness in these his tender yeares in learning and vertue, did chuse for that purpose one marquess, two earles, and three barons, that is to say, the marquess of Northampton, the earles of Arundell and Warwick, and the lord Wentworth, the lord St. John and lord Russell,—the same six, or at the least two of them, to be alwayes attendant on his majesties person. There were also appointed four principall gentlemen of his highness' privy chamber, whereof two at the least should be continually attendants, that is, sir Edward Rogers, sir Thomas Darcy, sir Andrew Dudley, and sir Thomas Wroth, knights; to whom was advanced above their accustomed fees of L li. by the yeare, the yearly fee of L li. more, in consideration of the singular care and travell that they should have about his majesties person. (Privy Council register.)

The lords governors.

The lords governors were the marquess of Northampton, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, the lords Wentworth, St. John, and Russell: all of whom were shortly elevated to fresh dignities or offices, with the exception of Arundel, who, on the contrary, was soon after dismissed from his post of lord chamberlain and his place in the council. The Romanist party, of which he was a leading member, had taken an active part in effecting the revolution; and not only Southampton, the late chancellor, but even bishop Gardyner, then a state prisoner, was cajoled into anticipations of returning to political power. The earl of Warwick could not afford to play the secondary part he must have occupied in their company. He, therefore, at once, on frivolous charges, turned round on Arundel,[a] and not only effectually intimidated him, but also drove Southampton, Southwell,[b] and Gage away from the council, whilst the duke of Norfolk and Gardyner were still detained in the Tower.

The Romanist party.

Distribution of titles an offices.

Meanwhile, the dominant councillors arranged a fresh distribution of preferment. The veteran statesman Russell, and the wily Paulet lord St. John, were raised to earldoms by the titles of Bedford and Wiltshire; whilst sir William Paget, by whom the protector had been deserted and betrayed, was made a baron. Warwick at once resumed the office of lord admiral, which, on the King's accession, he had been required to surrender to the lord Seymour of Sudeley; and soon after he took in addition that of lord great master of the household. The last was vacated by Wiltshire, who now obtained the high office of lord treasurer, lost by the duke of Somerset. The marquess of Northampton was made lord great chamberlain in succession to Warwick. Lord Wentworth, though a cousin of the duke of Somerset,[c] was induced to take the office of lord chamberlain, lost by the earl of Arundel. Sir Anthony Wyngfeld, before vice-chamberlain, was made

[a] See p. 245. [b] See p. 246. [c] See p. 306 of this work.

comptroller of the household, in succession to Paget. Sir Thomas Darcy was made vice-chamberlain.

Gentlemen of the privy chamber.

The knights that in the first instance[a] were appointed to be the "four principal gentlemen of his highness's privy chamber,"[b] were sir Andrew Dudley the earl of Warwick's brother, sir Edward Rogers, sir Thomas Darcy, and sir Thomas Wroth. In the following April mr. Sidney, the earl of Warwick's brother-in-law, (afterwards sir Henry Sidney, K.G.), and mr. Neville (afterwards sir Henry), were placed in the same position of high and confidential trust,[c] which introduced them to familiar intercourse with the King. The names of Wroth and Sidney are on record as having especially won his affections. The former had been about him[d] before the period at which we are now arrived. Both were present at his death-bed; and in the arms of the latter he died.

Passage through London.

On the 17th October, the King was again conducted in state through London,[e] evidently in order that the termination of the protectorate[f] might receive some degree of popular approbation.

Lent Sermons, 1549-50.

During the Lent of 1549-50 there were sermons at court on Wednesdays by John Hooper and on Fridays by John Ponet,[g] who were shortly after appointed to the bishoprics of Gloucester and Rochester. In Hooper's letters to Bullinger these sermons are more than once mentioned;[h] and all of Hooper's are ex-

[a] See the King's Journal, p. 243.

[b] See p. 244, note.

[c] See p. 257.

[d] See p. cxvi.

[e] See the note in p. 244.

[f] In the MS. Cotton. Titus B. II. f. 104, is preserved a document indorsed, "The forme of a commission by the King to his counsaill," drawn at this period ("having butt nowe lately accomplished the age of xij. yeres.") It names no parties, but seems to have been intended merely to renew the powers of the surviving executors of the late King's will, to continue during pleasure, and to be discharged by letters patent under the great seal. Strype has printed this document in the Appendix to the second volume of his Ecclesiastical Memorials, under the letters PP. p. 139; but in the notice he has taken of it (Book I. chap. xxxiii. p. 278), he has totally failed to perceive the circumstances that suggested it. Whether any such commission was executed does not appear; but it is more probable that the privy council carried on the government without it.

[g] One of Ponet's sermons, being on the all-engrossing subject of the eucharist, was soon after published, under this title: "A notable Sermon concerninge the ryght use of the Lordes supper and other thynges very profitable for all men to knowe, preached before the Kynges most excellent Mayestye and hys most honorable counsel in hys courte at Westmynster, the 14. daye of Marche, by Mayster John Ponet, Doctor of Divinity, 1550." 8vo.

[h] In a letter of Hooper to Bullinger occurs this passage:—"While I was writing this, namely on the fifth of February, on which day I received your last, the archbishop of Canterbury sent for me, and ordered me in the name of the King and council to preach before his majesty (who is now at London, and will not go anywhere else before Easter,) once a week during the ensuing Lent. May the Lord open my heart and mouth, and may I think and speak those things which

tant. They were immediately published,[a] with a dedication to the King, one extract from which may here be given to show how earnestly this preacher followed up the exhortations of Latimer that Edward should proceed in the great work of ecclesiastical reformation, notwithstanding the exceptions taken to such changes being made during his minority:

Advice of bishop Hooper.

Let these diabolycall soundes and speakynges of evel menne nothyng trouble your highnes, nor your wise and godly councellours, "As long as the Kynge is in hys tender age, hys councell shulde do nothinge in matters of religyon." For those men's folishenes, rather I shuld say malice, is condemned by the worde of God, that teacheth howe a kynge in hys younge age, wyth hys wyse and godlye counsell, should abolyshe idolatrye and sette forthe the true and godly religyon of the living God. Thus declareth the notable and godlie facte of Josias, that folowed the relygyon of hys father, not Ammon the idolater, but of David, nor declynynge to the right hand, neyther to the left hand; and destroyed not onlie the images of his father, but also of Jeroboam and of Solomon. iiii Reg. xxii. xxiii. This fruit of Josias holp his godly councellers and vertuous priestes.

On Sunday the 30th of March there was a sermon "on thanksgiving" for the peace lately concluded with France,[b] but the preacher's name does not appear.

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may advance his kingdom! I shall make choice, I think, of a very suitable subject, namely, the prophet Jonas, which will enable me freely to touch upon the duties of individuals. Do you, my reverend friend, write back as soon as possible, and diligently instruct me as to what you think may be appropriately said in so crowded an auditory. It must necessarily be great when before the King, for even in the city there is such a concourse of people at my lectures that very often the church will not hold them." (Zurich Letters, iii. 75.)

In another letter, Hooper first describes his recent sermons in London, where he lectured on the gospel of St. John, and "freely held forth upon the sixth chapter respecting the Lord's supper, for the space of three months, and lectured once or twice every day. And it pleased God to bless my exertions. A wonderful and most numerous concourse of people attended me, and God was with them: for he opened their hearts to understand the things that were spoken by me. But I have incurred great odium and not less danger from the sixth chapter. The better cause, however, prevails; and during this Lent I have plainly and openly handled the same subject before the King and the nobility of the realm." (Ibid. p. 80.)

Again, "At Easter, after the sermons were ended which master Ponet and myself preached before the King and council, he on the Friday and I on the Wednesday during Lent, it pleased his majesty and the council to offer the bishopric of Rochester to Ponet, and that of Gloucester to myself." (Ibid. p. 86.) Hooper proceeds to state some of the difficulties that arose regarding his consecration, which will be noticed presently.

[a] "An oversight and deliberacion upon the holy Prophete Jonas: made and uttered before the kynges maiestie, and his most honorable councell, by Jhon Hoper in lent last past. Comprehended in seven Sermons. Anno. MD.L. Excepte ye repente ye shall al peryshe. Luke xiii."

[b] See the King's Journal, p. 255.

Thomas Lever.

On the fourth Sunday in this Lent, a sermon was preached before the King by Thomas Lever,[a] a divine afterwards distinguished by his extreme puritanism.

Latimer.

Latimer also preached this Lent, but apparently only once. It was a sermon against covetousness,[b] in which he boldly arraigned that prevalent vice. He called this sermon his *Ultimum Vale*, for, having now preached at court three Lents, he did not expect to appear there again.

Bishop Day.

On Good Friday, April 4, doctor George Day, bishop of Chichester,[d] was summoned to the preaching-place at Westminster: where he declared his rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation, of which (as the King says) he had before been "a vehement affirmer."[e]

Peace with France.

The ratification of peace between England and France, in the spring of this year, gave occasion for that interchange of visits made by the young nobility of both countries, in the character of hostages,[f] of which large particulars will be

[a] This was immediately published under this title: "A sermon preached y^e^ fourthe Sūdaye in Lente, before the Kynges majestie, and his honourable counsell. A. D. 1550. London, by John Day." 8vo. Strype, who has given some extracts from this sermon, in his Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. p. (261), and again p. (272), has in both places erroneously stated that it was preached on the *third* instead of the fourth Sunday in Lent.

[b] "A moste faithfull Sermō preached before the Kynges most excellēte Maiestye and hys most honorable Councel in his courte at Westminster by the reverende Father Master Latymer. Anno Domi. M.D.L."

[c] "And here I would be a suter unto your majestie, for I come now rather to be a suter and a petitioner then a preacher; for I come now to take my leave, and to take my *ultimum vale*, at least-wise in this place, for I have not long to live, so that I thinke I shall never come here into this place agayne, and therefore I will aske a petition of your highness." (This petition was,) "For the love of God, take an order for mariages here in England;" and he proceeded to ask for a law that adultery might be punished by death.

[d] In his letter to Bullinger of the 27th March, Hooper writes: "The bishop of Westchester (but this clearly should be Chichester) will preach on Good Friday, and will deliver his sentiments upon the (Lord's) supper, the invocation of saints, and the authority of the scriptures. God grant that he may teach the truth! We all piously agreed in the same opinion respecting all the articles [these were certain articles or topics dictated to Day, as had been done to Gardyner; see p. cvi. and p. cxl.], in the presence of the King, this Lent. I will let you know the result immediately after Easter." (Zurich Letters, edit. 1846, iii. 80, and Errata, p. xi.) Day was thus put to the like test as Gardyner had been, and was more accommodating in his doctrines. However, he opposed other proceedings of the Reformers, and was subsequently deprived, as is stated in the biographical note at p. 37 of this work. The King's letter to him there printed probably originated from the circumstance of Cheke the King's schoolmaster having been once his pupil.

[e] See the Journal, p. 255. The date "5." of the month is there a misprint for "4."

[f] In addition to the earlier examples of this custom, given in the note at p. 251, it may be

found in the King's Journal and the accompanying notes. It was at this period that Roger Ascham, in a Latin letter to Johannes Sturmius, wrote a passage to the following effect:

The nobility of England was never more devoted to literature than at present. Our most illustrious King Edward, alike in ability, in industry, perseverance, and acquirements, far exceeds what is usually expected from his years. It is from no fond reports, but from my own frequent observation, which I regard as the sweetest incident of my good fortune, that I have contemplated the whole band of virtues taking up their residence in his breast. And France, I doubt not, will recognise the highest praise of learning in the most illustrious duke of Suffolk, and in the rest of that company of noble youths, which, hitherto educated in Greek and Latin literature together with our King, set out, on this very day that I write to you, on their journey to that country.

Creation of Garter King of Arms.

Whilst the King was at Greenwich in April, he crowned a new Garter King of Arms, according to the ancient ceremonies, of which the very curious detail is as follows:

(MS. Coll. Arm. R. 37, fol. 113.)

To be provided for Garter principall Kinge of Armes at the tyme he shall be crowned.

1. First, a booke } to be sworn uppon.
2. Item, a sworde }
3. Item, a crowne guylte.
4. Item, a coller of SS.
5. Item, a boule of wyne.
6. Item, a coate of armes richly imbrodered.

The manner of the creation or crowning of Garter principall Kinge of Armes.

Anno 4 Regis Edwarde the v. [at] Greenwich. Gilbert Dethicke alias Derick esquire, al's Norrey kinge of armes, was created Garter principall king of armes on sondaye the 20 of Aprill, which was the sondaye before saynt George's daye anno 1550, after this manner: First, the said Garter kneeled downe before the Kinges maistye and the Kinges sworde was holden on a booke, and the said Garter layd his hand uppon the booke and also upon the sworde whiles Clarencieulx kinge of arms rede his othe, and when the othe was rede and the said Garter had kissed the booke and the sworde, then the saide

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here noticed that on the conclusion of peace with Scotland in 1559, "The 4. of April five young gentlemen were appointed to passe into England for pledges; their names were lord Claude Hamilton, fourth son to the duke Chateau le Reault; Robert Douglas; Archebald Cambel, lord of Longhennel; George Gream, second son to the earl of Mintithe; James Coningham, son to the earl of Glencarne." (Stowe's Chronicle.) At the peace made with France in 1519 the French hostages sent to England were monsieur de Montmorancie, monsieur de Montperac, monsieur de Moie and monsieur de Morrat. (Holinshed.)

Clarencieulx rede the letters patentes of his office, which were dated the 29. of Aprill in the yeare aforsaide; in the reading wherof, as the wordes doe followe in order, so did the Kinges ma^tie first take the cup of wine and powering it on his head named him Garter; after that, his ma^tie put on him his coate of armes and the coller of SS. about his necke, and lastly the crowne; and so finished the seremony.

Summer progress.

The royal progress this season was somewhat more extended than in previous years. It was arranged that the King should ride the whole distance from Westminster to Windsor in a single day, dining on the way at the late nunnery of Syon,[a] then belonging to his uncle the duke of Somerset. This long journey was made on the 23rd of July.[b] At Windsor the King received the French ambassador; and on the 12th of August he removed to Guilford, where also was a royal manor-house.[c] On the 20th he went from Guilford to Oking;[d] and thence on the 26th[e] to Oatlands. On the 8th of September he removed to Nonesuch;[f] on the 15th again to Oatlands;[g] on the 4th of October to Richmond;[h] and on the 16th to Westminster. So that throughout this progress the King kept to his own houses, and did not visit those of the nobility, except by his passing call at Syon on first starting.

To the retired manor of Oking the lady Mary was summoned,[i] either to meet her brother, or to be subjected to the gentle admonitions of his councillors; but she thought herself more secure in her own household.

[a] Journal, p. 285. [b] Page 286.

[c] See note in p. 424. The King was again there in 1552.

[d] Oking, or Woking, was a royal palace, Henry VIII. having become possessed of it by the death of his grandmother. "In the middle of September, 1515, he came to his maner of Okyng, and thether came to him the archebishop of Yorke, whom he hartily welcommed, and shewed him great pleasures;" and it was during that meeting that a letter was brought to Wolsey from Rome, "certifying him howe he was elected to be a cardinall." (Holinshed.) Oking subsequently became a favourite hunting-seat of James the First; see his Progresses, vol. ii. pp. 37, 758; vol. iii. pp. 77, 470, 967, 1004.

[e] For "20. Removing to Oteland," in p. 292, read 26.

[f] Page 293. [g] Ibid. [h] Page 295.

[i] On the 22nd July the lord chancellor and secretary Petre were sent to the lady Mary to cause her to come to Oking or to the court (Journal, p. 286); but she "utterly denied," *i.e.* resolutely refused, to do either at that time (p. 288). Whilst the council were in daily fear of her being carried off by the emissaries of the emperor, she, on her part, was afraid to trust herself to her pretended friends at home. As Fuller quaintly observes: "She loved to deale with the King her brother *eminus* by *letters*, but in no wise *cominus* by *discourse*. Besides, she hated coming to the court, suspecting some harsh usage to her person, and jealous of being put into restraint." (Church History, fol. 1655, book v. p. 399.)

Testimonies to the King's qualities.

We will now resume the series of testimonies to the mental qualities manifested by the King,—his docility, love of study, and earnestness in matters of religion, which, in a former page,[a] were brought down to the period of his accession. We receive them, as might be expected, chiefly at the hands of the advocates of Reformation. After the ruin of the protector Somerset, who had cordially favoured the ecclesiastical changes, quietly but steadily promoted by Cranmer and the more moderate Protestants, the Reformers were naturally anxious as to their future prospects. For a time, they dreaded a reversal of all that had been effected; but the earl of Warwick, after making his use of the chiefs of the Romanist party, chose to set them aside, and held on in the career of change. He consequently became, very undeservedly, one of the favourites of the Reformers, for they did not yet perceive how entirely he was actuated by worldly and personal motives. It was too obvious, however, to be disregarded that most of the ruling lords were running a race of self-aggrandisement, and busily engaged in building up colossal estates from the spoils of the prostrate Church. Meanwhile, the majority of the old nobility, together with the next heir to the throne, did not conceal their preference for the former state of things. The Reformers had, therefore, many discouragements in view; but they had unequivocal proofs that the King coincided in their sentiments, and evidently with sincerity and zeal. Whether the strong determination he thus early displayed has been deservedly exalted to the praise of true piety, may be reasonably doubted. It seems to have arisen from constitutional impulses, very nearly akin to those which we are accustomed to regard as arbitrary dogmatism in Henry, cruel bigotry in Mary, and haughty obstinacy in Elizabeth; but it was only natural that the Protestant party should interpret this genuine Tudor quality in the way most favourable to their own hopes: and we cannot, therefore, be surprised in receiving from their hands the highest encomiums upon Edward's pregnant virtues, and the most sanguine presages of his future career.

Bartholomew Traheron.

It is in the correspondence of Henry Bullinger, the pastor of Zurich, that these extravagant eulogies on the subject of this biography are most abundant, written partly by the English correspondents of that divine, and partly by those Germans who came to England as missionaries of the Protestant doctrines. The first is from a letter of Bartholomew Traheron[b] to Bullinger, dated "London, Sept. 28," and supposed to have been written in the year 1548.

[a] See p. lxxxi.

[b] See p. 1 and p. 399. There is a memoir of him in the Athenæ Cantabrigienses, vol. i. p. 180.

We have a King who is firm, learned, and pious beyond his age. If there has ever existed a Josiah since the first of that name, this is certainly he. And do you also beseech our common Father in your public prayers to preserve him to us in safety. Believe me, my Bullinger, a more holy disposition has no where existed in our time. He also seems to sustain the Gospel by his incredible piety, most holy manners, prudence altogether that of an old man, with a firmness at this age altogether unheard of. So great a work of God ought not to be unknown to the godly. (Zurich Letters, iii. 321.)

John Hooper. John Hooper, afterwards the bishop and martyr, writing to Bullinger on the 7th November, 1549, shortly after the duke of Somerset's fall, tells him that—

The face of things is now changed, and the state of English affairs in some respects altered. My patron, who was first minister and protector, is now imprisoned, with many others, in the Tower of London. We are greatly apprehensive of a change in religion: but as yet no alteration has taken place. Help us in Christ by your prayers! The young King by the mercy of God is alive and well, and is a prince of great learning and wisdom. The papists are hoping and earnestly struggling for their kingdom. . . . . I lectured upon the Psalms at the King's court as long as the situation of the duke permitted me to do so; but that lecture is now laid aside. (Zurich Letters, iii. 69.)

On the 5th February, 1549–50, the same writer gives the following report of the state of religion in England:—

The bishops of Canterbury,[a] Rochester,[b] Ely,[c] St David's,[d] Lincoln,[e] and Bath,[f] are all favourable to the cause of Christ; and, as far as I know, entertain right opinions in the matter of the eucharist. I have freely conversed with all of them upon this subject, and have discovered nothing but what is pure and holy. The archbishop of Canterbury, who is at the head of the King's council, gives to all lecturers and preachers their licence to read and preach: every one of them, however, must previously subscribe to certain articles, which, if possible, I will send you. One of them respecting the eucharist is plainly the true one, and that which you maintain in Switzerland. The marquis of Dorset, the earl of Warwick, and the greater part of the King's council favour the cause of Christ as much as they can.

Our King is such an one for his age as the world has never seen. May the Lord preserve him! His sister [Elizabeth] the daughter of the late King by queen Anne is inflamed with the same zeal for the religion of Christ. She not only knows what the true religion is, but has acquired such proficiency in Greek and Latin, that she is able to defend it by the most just arguments and the most happy talent; so that she encounters few adversaries whom she does not overcome. The people, however, that many-headed monster, is still wincing, partly through ignorance and partly fascinated by the inveigle-

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[a] Cranmer. [b] Ridley. [c] Goodrich. [d] Farrer. [e] Holbeach. [f] Barlow.

ments of the bishops, and the malice and impiety of the mass-priests. Such then is the present state of things in England. (Zurich Letters, iii. 76.)

Hooper's next letter, that of the 27th March, 1550, has been already quoted in regard to the Lent sermons. It also contains the following passages:—

The day before I write the emperor sent two most beautiful Spanish horses as a present to our King. On the same day a German Lutheran sent to Cheke, the King's tutor, a book which has lately come forth against the anabaptists and sacramentaries; he gave the book to the King to read, but it noways pleased either the King or his tutors, namely Cooke and Cheke, both of whom, as well as the King, have a pious understanding of the doctrine of the eucharist.

I shall probably in a few days meet the King upon business. Believe me, my much esteemed friend, you have never seen in the world for these thousand years so much erudition united with piety and sweetness of disposition. Should he live and grow up with these virtues he will be a terror to all the sovereigns of the earth. He receives with his own hand a copy of every sermon that he hears, and most diligently requires an account of them after dinner from those who study with him. Many of the boys and youths who are his companions in study are well and faithfully instructed in the fear of God, and in good learning. Master Cox is no longer the King's tutor. He still remains almoner. (Zurich Letters, iii. pp. 81, 82.)

The King's attention to sermons.

Bullinger was now induced to dedicate one of his decades of sermons to King Edward, which he did in a long Latin epistle.[a] The volume arrived to the hands of Hooper on the 22nd April, and was presented to the King, splendidly bound, on the 25th.[b] Hooper thus describes to its author its reception:—

The marquis of Northampton, a man active in the cause of Christ, laid before the King's majesty, in my presence, your book that was intended for him, together with your letter. I should have presented it myself, had it not been forbidden by our laws for any one to lay before the King either a letter or anything else brought from foreign parts,

[a] Dated March 1550; and eight other sermons in a second dedication, dated in the following August. See Bullinger's Works (Parker Society), vol. iii. p. 3, vol. iv. p. 115. The second address was written in consequence of Hooper's report of the favourable reception of the former. Bullinger declares his sole object to be "to help forward and advance the state of Christian religion, now again happily springing up in the famous realm of England, by your Majesty's good beginnings and counsels of your worthy nobles." He assured him that for this new-birth of the gospel all the faithful throughout the Christian world congratulated him and his kingdom, beseeching Christ to bring to a happy conclusion what had been so happily begun in his fear. He acknowledged that this work, by the King undertaken, was great, and full of labour and trouble; but He who said "I will be with you always to the end of the world," would not be wanting to his godly endeavours.

[b] Letter of Martin Micronius, in Zurich Letters, iii. 560.

without previously making it known to the council; and this law no one may dare to violate, until the King shall have arrived at the steadiness of mature age. But as far as relates to your letter and your book, he received them with the greatest courtesy and kindness, and not without many thanks; for he most earnestly inquired both respecting yourself and the welfare of your church. He moreover ordered the marquis to send you a royal present in token of his good-will. As soon as I understood this I desired the marquis to thank his Majesty in your name, and that you would esteem it a sufficient token of his gratitude if he would himself actively and piously bestow his exertions on the vineyard of Christ, besides that you were not in the habit of receiving presents from any one, and lastly, that it was forbidden by your municipal laws to receive gifts from princes or any other persons whatsoever; but if he wished to testify his approbation either by a letter from himself or through me, that an act of this kind would be most gratifying to you. The King then ordered me to salute you on every account in his name and present his thanks, entreating you to remember him in your prayers and to commend to God both himself and his kingdom.

Master Cox also received your present in the same spirit. I have dutifully saluted all the earls and marquises in your name. They all salute you in return. The earl of Warwick has had a long illness, but by the blessing of God is now recovered, and will be present at the council on Wednesday. To tell the truth, England cannot do without him. He is a most holy and fearless instrument of the word of God. May the Lord strengthen him! We have many other excellent councillors, the duke of Somerset, the marquises of Northampton and Dorset. The archbishop of Canterbury has relaxed much of his Lutheranism—whether all of it I cannot say: he is not so decided as I could wish, and does not, I fear, assert his opinion in all respects. As to your advice in your letter, that I should make friends of the bishops, I should be much to blame if I did not endeavour by all means to do so, provided it can be done with a safe and pure conscience; and, to say the truth, there are six or seven who altogether desire and wish to promote the glory of God. These I venerate and reverence from my heart. (Zurich Letters, iii. 88.)

Hooper had himself been recently invited to join this episcopal band. In the earlier part of the same letter he relates how, after considerable difficulty, he had consented; and mentions the interest taken by the King in the discussion:—

After the (Lent) sermons were ended,[a] it pleased his majesty and the council to offer

[a] See before, p. cxxxiv. "His Lent sermons before the King were preached with the greatest freedom, and attended with great advantage. Only he stirred up some lazy noblemen and bishops against himself, especially because he exhorted the King and council to a more complete reformation of the church. But the King took every thing most kindly, as he showed afterwards; for on the 7th of April he by the chancellor offered him the bishopric of Gloucester. Hooper however refused to accept it, unless the bishopric were granted him without any superstitious ceremonies. He had some difficulty in obtaining this, owing to the great opposition

the bishopric of Rochester to Ponet, and that of Gloucester to myself. For many reasons I declined, both on account of the shameful and impious form of the oath[a] which all who agree to undertake the function of a bishop must comply with, and also on account of those Aaronic habits which they retain in that calling, and are accustomed to wear not only at the administration of the sacraments, but also at public prayers. All these things came to the ears of the King, and he wished to know the reason of my having refused to serve God in so pious and holy a calling. He was informed that the reasons which I have mentioned altogether withheld me from it.[b] (Zurich Letters, iii. 87.)

Martin Bucer.

The next extract is from a letter of Martin Bucer, now resident as a professor at Cambridge,[c] from which university he dates on the 15th May, 1550, addressing Johannes Brentius, or Brentzen:—

Affairs in this country are in a very feeble state: the people are in want of teachers. Things are for the most part carried on by the means of ordinances,[d] which the majority

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of the bishops, who sought to defend the vestments and the oath by created beings; but, contrary to all expectation, on the 15th of May he gained the victory. He is at this time, therefore, bishop of Gloucester." Martin Micronius to Bullinger, May 20, 1550. Zurich Letters, iii. 559.

[a] The oath of supremacy, in the prayer-book of 1549, ended with the words, "So help me God, all saints, and the holy evangelists." This was altered in 1552 to "So help me God through Jesus Christ." Hooper had not waited to make the form of the oath merely a personal difficulty; but, as he told Bullinger in his previous letter of the 27th of March, he had publicly brought forward many objections to it in one of his lectures "before the King and the nobility of the realm, on which account I have incurred no small hostility. On the fourth day after the lecture an accusation was brought against me before the council by the archbishop of Canterbury. I appeared before them. The archbishop spoke against me with great severity on account of my having censured the form of the oath. I entreated the judges (*i.e.* the council) to hear with impartiality upon what authority I had done so. The question was long and sharply agitated between the bishops and myself; but at length the end and issue was for the glory of God." (Zurich Letters, iii. 81.) Calvin, in his letter to King Edward, to which the date of Jan. 1, 1551 (April 1551?) has been conjecturally assigned, reminds him that "God does not allow any one to sport with his name, mingling frivolities among his holy and sacred ordinances. There are manifest abuses which are not to be endured; as, for instance, prayer for the dead, placing before God in our prayers the intercession of saints, and *adding their names to his in taking an oath.* I doubt not, sire, but that you have been informed of these things. I implore you in the name of God to persevere." (Ibid. p. 709.)

[b] See further on this subject in p. cxlvi.

[c] See note at p. 304 hereafter.

[d] The word in the original is "edictis," which may be more properly translated "proclamations." (Epistolæ Tigurinæ, 1848, 8vo. p. 354.) It would be difficult to suggest any other improvement in these excellent translations, which were made for the Parker Society by the Rev. Hastings Robinson, D.D. F.A.S.

TESTIMONIES TO THE KING'S QUALITIES AND SCHOLARSHIP.

obey very grudgingly, and by the removal of the instruments of the ancient superstition: and some persons have been, and still continue to be, very docile pupils of our countrymen, with carnal liberty and spiritual bondage.

The King, however, is godly and learned to a miracle; he is well acquainted with Latin, and has a fair knowledge of Greek. He speaks Italian,[a] and is learning French. He is now studying moral philosophy from Cicero and Aristotle, but no study delights him more than that of the Holy Scriptures, of which he daily reads about ten chapters with the greatest attention. Some youths from among the principal nobility follow his example in these studies, and with good success. (Zurich Letters, vol. iii. p. 543.)

Micronius.

Martin Micronius, one of the ministers of the German church in London,[b] wrote as follows to Bullinger on the 20th of the same month:—

Our King is a youth of such godliness as to be a wonder to the whole world. He orders all things for the advancement of God's glory. He has on every Lord's day a sermon such as he used to have during Lent. I wish the bishops and nobility were inflamed with the like zeal. (Zurich Letters, vol. iii. p. 561.)

Bucer.

On the 25th of the same month, being Whitsunday, Bucer is again writing at Cambridge, and to no less memorable a person than John Calvin:—

Redouble your prayers (he intreats him) for the most serene King, who is making wonderful progress both in piety and learning. For you may easily perceive the danger in which he is placed, humanly speaking, when the papists are every where so furious, and when they see and know that the King is exerting all his power for the restoration of Christ's kingdom. But they see his elder sister most pertinaciously maintain and defend popery, either because her disposition leads her to do so, or because she places so much reliance on her cousin (the emperor Charles V.) (Zurich Letters, iii. 548.)

Peter Martyr.

Peter Martyr, who was regius professor of divinity at Oxford (as Bucer was at Cambridge), wrote thus to Bullinger on the 1st of June:—

Satan is very subtle in his attacks on all godly efforts: for he would have the most numerous relics of popery remain undisturbed, partly that men might not readily forget it, and partly that the return to it might be made more easy. But on the other hand we derive no little comfort from having a King who is truly holy, and who is inflamed with so much zeal for godliness. He is endued with so much erudition for his age, and already expresses himself with so much prudence and gravity, as to fill all his hearers with admiration and astonishment: wherefore we must entreat God with most fervent prayers very long to preserve him to the kingdom and to the church.

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[a] See the doubts on this point stated in p. lii.

[b] He was the person styled Martinus Flandrus in the letters patent noticed at p. 281, hereafter.

There are also very many of the nobility and men of rank who entertain right views, and we have some bishops who are not ill-inclined, among whom the archbishop of Canterbury is as a standard-bearer. And then Hooper is enrolled among them, to the exceeding joy of all good men. . . . . There is likewise another excellent man, Miles Coverdale. . . . . He is to be made bishop of Exeter; and nothing can be more conducive to the reformation of religion than the advancement of such men to the government of the church. (Zurich Letters, iii. 482.)

Trahero

On the 12th of the same month Bartholomew Traheron again writes from Oxford to Bullinger:—

If you desire to know the state of our affairs, religion is indeed prospering, but the wickedness of those who profess the gospel is wonderfully on the increase. The people have made no disturbance this year; but there is reason to fear, lest, roused partly by their own unquiet temper, and partly by the avarice of the higher orders, they should occasion some confusion, unless the Lord himself should think fit to avert it for the sake of our sovereign, who is making wonderful progress in learning, piety, and judgment. Be pleased to commend to God in your prayers this prince of the greatest hope, who is even now a defender of the Christian religion almost to a miracle. For unless God, offended by our sins, should take him away from us before he is grown up to manhood, we doubt not but that England will produce another Constantine, or a character yet more excellent. I intreat you therefore, for Christ's sake, that you supplicate for him every happiness. For, although you are so far distant, even you may hence derive some advantage. For he both loves you and acknowledges the religion of Christ to be exceedingly well established among you, and would have it ever to remain sound and unimpaired. (Zurich Letters, iii. 324.)

John ab Ulmis.

Another frequent correspondent of Bullinger was John ab Ulmis, a German student at Oxford, but whose statements must often be regarded as reflecting rather opinions than facts. He thus wrote from Oxford on the 22nd of August, 1550:—

Coxe, who most highly esteems you, was here a few days since; I waited upon him, and asked whether he had any message for you. He replied that he would write to you at the same time with the King: I suppose they have both of them written by this time. The King himself, as you must have long since learned from Hooper, is exceedingly well disposed toward your church. Last week, when he confirmed Hooper in his bishoprick, and demanded from him the oath [of supremacy], he chanced to notice that the saints were mentioned by the bishops in such sort, as though they were to swear and be confirmed by them. His majesty became much excited, and said, *What wickedness is here, Hooper? are these offices ordained in the name of the saints, or of God?* As soon as Hooper

had declared his opinion, the King immediately erased with his own hand the error of the bishops. This I had from Peter Martyr as an undoubted fact. (Zurich Letters, iii. 415.)

This German Oxonian, it would seem, was somewhat in arrear as to news, for he attributes to the sudden inspiration of the royal boy a scruple which had for months occupied the attention of the leading controversialists in England, and of which Bullinger had been long before informed from the relation of Hooper himself.[a] However, it appears that there was some foundation for the anecdote he tells of the King; and the particulars are probably more accurately stated in the following passage of a letter of Micronius to Bullinger, dated at London on the 28th of August:—

The King alters the oath of supremacy.

The King, as you know, has nominated Hooper to the bishopric of Gloucester, which, however, he refuses to accept unless he could be altogether relieved from all appearance of popish superstition. Here then a question immediately arises as to the form of the oath which the bishops have ordered to be taken in the name of God, the saints, and the gospels, which impious oath Hooper positively refused to take. So, when he appeared before the King in the presence of the council, Hooper convinced the King by many arguments that the oath should be taken in the name of God alone, who knoweth the heart. This took place on the 20th of July. It was so agreeable to the godly King, that with his own pen he erased the clause of the oath which sanctioned swearing by any creatures. Nothing could be more godly than this act, or more worthy of a christian King. (Zurich Letters, iii. 567.)

The accuracy of this account is confirmed by a brief entry which the King made in his Journal under the 20th of July: "Hooper was made bishop of Gloucester:" which was evidently after he had taken part in the proceedings of the council on that day. The offence of the vestments, to which Hooper also objected, was still unremoved: but the earl of Warwick sent him to Cranmer three days after, with a letter begging the archbishop's forbearance, "which thing partly I have taken in hand by the Kynges majesties own motion:" and on the 5th of August letters under the King's signet were sent to Cranmer, desiring the omission of certain rites and ceremonies offensive to the conscience of the bishop elect.[b] The bishops however did not choose to yield in this respect, and after a long struggle and a period of imprisonment, Hooper was finally consecrated according to the established form. "In conclusion (says Foxe), this theologicall contention came to this end, that, the bishops having the upper hand, M. Hooper was faine to agree to this condition, that sometimes he should in his sermon showe himself apparelled as

[a] See p. cxliii.

[b] Both these documents were published by Foxe in his Actes and Monuments.

the other bishops were: wherefor, appoynted to preach before the King, as a new player in a strange apparel, he commeth forth on the stage. His upper garment was a long scarlet chymere downe to the foote, and under that a white linnen rochet that covered all his shoulders. Upon his head he had a geometriall, that is, a foure-squared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cause of shame the strangeness hereof was that day to that good preacher, every man may easily judge." Episcopal vestments.

The duke of Somerset had been gradually restored to his former position as a nobleman and councillor, though not to his former power. After an imprisonment of nearly four months, he was delivered from the Tower on the 6th of February, 1549-50;[a] received a pardon under letters patent dated on the 16th of that month; was delivered of his bonds or recognisances and came to court on the 31st March;[b] was readmitted of the council on the 10th of April,[c] and taken into the privy chamber on the 10th May.[d] The earl of Warwick seems at this time to have believed that the duke had received such a lesson as would have a lasting influence upon his future conduct, and he now endeavoured to conciliate him as a friend and ally. It was agreed that Somerset's eldest daughter should become the wife of Warwick's son and heir. The secret history of this alliance has never transpired; but it was solemnised on the 3d of June, and the festivities, which were honoured by the King's presence, are described in the royal Journal.[e] Return of the duke of Somerset to court.

In the following autumn there was another event in the Seymour family, which comes upon us by surprise, and attended by no little mystery. For the first time we find that, up to this date, the duke of Somerset's mother,[f] and consequently the King's grandmother, had been living. She must have laboured, one would imagine, under some infirmities that had kept her much in retirement, or surely we should have heard somewhat of her. The King, during her lifetime, has not mentioned her name in his written remains, nor does he even record her decease in his Journal. There were some reasons also for making but little account of her funeral, or the "wearing of doole" for her; and the real truth of the case is Death of lady Seymour, the King's grandmother.

[a] See note in p. 243. [b] See p. 255. [c] P. 256.

[d] Together with the lord admiral Clinton (p. 268). They were placed, we may presume, on the same footing as the six lords noticed in p. cxxxiii.

[e] Page 273.—"After the solemnitie of this mariage, there appeared outwardlie to the world great love and freendship between the duke and the earle, but by reason of carie-tales and flatterers the love continued not long, howbeit manie did verie earnestlie wish love and amitie to continue betweene them." Holinshed's Chronicle.

[f] Margaret Wentworth; see the first page of this Memoir, and the pedigree in p. ii.

scarcely elucidated by the following very elaborate, but probably hypocritical, apology that was entered on the register of the privy council:—

At Westminster, the xviijth of Octobre, 1550. (Present) the duke of Somerset, the lord high treasurer, the lord great chambrelaine, the lord chambrelaine, the lord Cobham, the lord Pagett, mr. vicechambrelayne, mr. secretarie Ceicell.

This daie, upon occasion of the deceas and departure unto God of the ladie Seymour, mother to the duke of Somersett, the said duke reputing with himself his bonde of bludde and naturall love towards her, confirmed by her moost happie frute of the moost vertuus princesse the late quene Jane, beinge thereby grandmother to our soveraigne lorde the King's majestie, and moved in respect thereof so to honour her funerall remembraunce as his owne affection might have leaded, and accustomed usage heretofore hathe commonlie enduced, neverthelesse having regarde what were decent and semelie for a person of his estate and vocacion to do and sett furthe for the example of others, required the lordes and others of the counsaill above written to shewe him their opinions what were meetest for him to use, concerninge wearinge of doole, or other like observaunces of the saide ladie his graundmother's funeralls, so as furste respect were had to his bounden dutie of folowinge and applienge himselfe to the direction of the Kinges majesties moost godlie procedings, whereunto it generallie behoved all his subjects to frame and tempre their doeings; and next also to that dutie of love whiche the childe owethe to the remembraunce of his parent, togither with the olde received usage whiche the worlde hath had in estimacion touchinge the ceremonyes of funeralls and other dependances thereof, whiche being by him omitted, might diverslie in divers men's mouths abroode be spoken of. Apon whiche motion made, the saide lords wayed with themselves that the wearinge of doole and such outwarde demonstrations of moreninge not onelie did not anywaies profite the dead, but rather (used as thei be) served to enduce the livinge to have a diffidence of the better lief wonne to the departed in God, by chaunginge of this transitorie life: yea, and divers other wayes did more cause and scrupule of coldenes in faithe unto the weake, besides that many of the wiser sorte, waieng the impertinent charges bestowed upon blacke clothe and other instruments of those funerall pompes, might wourthelie find fault with the expences thereupon bestowed, namelie, considering howe evyn commonlie at this presente the observacion of the time of outwarde moreninge and wearing of the doole is farre shortenid and omytted evyn amonge mean parsons from that it was wonted to be; And at all tymes heretofore in personages of such estate as the said duke is of, being also in such place of service and attendance about the persone of a kinge of this realme, as well the kinge our late soveraigne lorde as other kinges his progenytors were often tymes wonted to dispence withall, and to plucke off the blacke apparaill from suche moreners' backs; wherein a good consideracion might move them, that a king's presence being the herte and lief of his common weale, it might with most reason be borne and allowed that private men shulde reserve their private sorrows to their owne houses, and not to dimme the gladsome presence of their prince with suche

doolefull tokens. Therefore upon theis and other good consideracions thei concluded to open the case into the Kinges majestie, whose further pleasure might be an addresse unto the saide duke how to use himselfe in this behalfe. Whereupon thei moved his Highness accordinglie, and from the same had resolucion, that his Highness, haveing ripelie waied this matter, did specially dispence with the said duke for the wearinge of doole, either upon his selfe or any of his familie, or the continewinge of soche other like funerall observances, as heretofore were had in solempne use, servinge rather to pompe then to any edifyinge: And to the end hereafter it might appear that soche was his majesties pleasure, the lordes decreed the same to be entred into the counsaill boke to remayne for a president upon what causes it procedid.[a]

The King dispenses with mourning for his grandmother.

An audience given by the King to one of the French Protestants, and the inquiries which he then made respecting John Calvin, are thus described in a letter to that great Reformer, written by Francis Burgoyne,[b] and dated from London, December 4, 1550:—

Audience of Francis Burgoyne, *alias* Riverius.

You have been informed, I suppose, long since, both by my letter to my brother and that of Utenhovius to yourself, that our Josiah, the King of England, made most courteous inquiry of me concerning your health and ministry. To which when I had made such reply as in my judgment I considered worthy of you, he sufficiently declared, both by his countenance and his words, that he takes a great interest in you and in everything belonging to you. Mention was incidentally made of the letter which you once sent to be delivered to his uncle,[c] the then protector of the kingdom, and which he declared to have been exceedingly gratifying to him. From that time therefore I have thought it would be well worth your while if, availing yourself of this opportunity and subject, (unless you have, it may be, something better, or see more deeply than I do,) you would send him such a letter as would add spurs to a willing horse. The King supports and encourages pure religion and godly and learned men to the utmost of his power, and would effect much more if his age allowed him.

The King's inquiries concerning Calvin.

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[a] Before six months had elapsed, the lady Seymour's nephew Lord Wentworth, the lord chamberlain, also died. He was buried in state, with the heralds, &c. in Westminster abbey. "Miles Coverdale did preach, and *there was a great dole*, and a great company of lords and knights and gentlemen mourners," — the chief mourner being lord Edward Seymour. (Machyn's Diary, p. 4, and the volume I. 11 in Coll. Arm.) This circumstance only increases the mystery in the case of lady Seymour.

[b] Francis Burgoyne was minister of the church of Corbigny in the diocese of Autun, from whence he was banished by the persecution there in 1547. Having resided some time at Geneva (see Beza, Hist. des Eglises Ref. de France, i. 65) he came to England, and appears to have been the same person with Franciscus Rivierius, one of the four ministers named in the letters patent granted in 1550, on the foundation of the church in Austin Friars (see p. 281).

[c] Of this a translation is printed in the Zurich Letters, vol. iii. p. 704. It is undated.

It appears to have been in consequence of the suggestion thus made that Calvin, shortly after, addressed to the King a long letter of advice and exhortation.[a]

Roger Ascham.

In a letter[b] written to Sturmius, on the 14th December, 1550, Roger Ascham,

[a] Printed (in a translated form) in the Zurich Letters, iii. 281, with the date of Jan. 1, 1551, assigned to it by Simler, as being the day when Calvin dedicated to King Edward his Commentaries on Isaiah. Mr. Gorham (Gleanings of the Reformation, p. 290) considers it to have been written about April 1551. In a letter to Farel, dated June 15, 1551, Calvin writes, "Cantuariensis nihil me utilius facturum admonuit, quàm si ad Regem sæpius scriberem. Hoc mihi longè gratius quàm si ingenti pecuniæ summâ ditatus forem. In statu regni multa adhuc desiderantur." Two other letters from Calvin to the King are preserved: 1, dated July 4, 1552 (translated in the Zurich Letters, iii. 714); 2, dated March 12, 1552, translated in Letters of Calvin, Edinb. 1857, ii. 375, and in Gorham's Gleanings of the Reformation, p. 290.

[b] "Totus gaudio perfundebar, mi Sturmi, cùm veni ad illum epistolæ tuæ locum ubi ais, 'Regiæ Majestati locum designavi in *Aristotelicis meis dialogis*, in quibus stylum meum quotidie acuo, ut si quid possit contra barbariem in his ostendat, tum etiam in celebrandis amicis,' &c. Quod Regi facis, optime Sturmi, non illi soli clarissimo principi, sed universo ejus regno, universis literis et æternitati facturus es. Nam cum audiet abs te, quàm præclarum sit τὸν ἄρχοντα φιλοσοφεῖν, et rempublicam consilio non fortunâ gubernari, consilia autem optima ex optimis hauriri libris, nec meliorem unquam, cùm a sacris fontibus discesseris, ad formandum consilium ipso Aristotele exstitisse; ne dubites, quin hoc facto tuo, in instituendo principe nostro, uberrimam voluptatem cum singulari laude tuâ confluentem in universam Angliam et singulos Anglos transfusurus sis. Et quanquam princeps, ea est ejus præclara natura, calcare non eget ad expeditiorem cursum doctrinæ et prudentiæ, in quem felicissime ingressus est: tamen ex suavi et fusâ oratione tuâ, ad id accommodatâ, veluti ex applausu præclari hominis illum currentem excipientis, novum laboris impetum, ad majorem laudis spem percepturus est; et nosti illud dulcissimum carmen dulcissimi poetæ, quod frequenter ipse commemoro,

Qui monet ut facias, quod jam facis, ipse monendo
Laudat, et hortatu comprobat acta suo.

"Fortunam in principe nostro æquat natura, utramque superat virtus; sive, ut Christianum hominem loqui decet, multiplex gratia Dei, cupiditate optimarum literarum, studio rectissimæ religionis, voluntate, judicio, et, quam tu in studiis unicè laudas, constantiâ, ætatem suam mirificè præcurrit. Et vix ulla felicitatis parte ego eum beatiorem existimo, quàm quod Joannem Checum, ad præclaram doctrinam, et veram religionem, adolescentiæ suæ doctorem nactus sit. Latinè intelligit, loquitur, scribit, propriè, scienter, et expeditè, et omnia cum judicio. *Dialecticam* didicit, et nunc Græcè discit *Aristotelis Ethicen*. Eo progressus est in Græcâ linguâ, ut in *Philosophia Ciceronis* ex Latinis Græca facillime faciat. Pridie illius diei, quâ ex Angliâ profectus sum, cum essem Londini apud D. Joannem Checum, et inter loquendum rogarem ab eo, quid esset, quod Rex *Ethicen Aristotelis*, potius quàm *Institutionem Cyri* perlegeret? Ille sapientissimè et eruditissimè, quod semper solet, respondet, 'Ut mens (inquit,) ejus prius universis illis et infinitis virtutum vitiorumque præceptionibus ac partitionibus instructa, firmum judicium adferat ad singula quotidianorum morum exempla, quæ in historiis latissimè sese fundunt. Et quia vix fieri potest, ut ingenii acies, in initio, dulcedine historiarum

after expressing the highest gratification on being informed that it was the intention of that scholar to dedicate to King Edward certain dialogues on Aristotle, proceeds to relate, from the information of Cheke, some very interesting particulars of the progress of the King's education:— Progress of the King's education.

He shall hear from you how honourable it is for a ruler to study wisdom, and how a commonwealth is to be governed by good counsel, not by good luck; whilst the best counsels are to be derived from the best books, and, next to holy writ, there are none more suited to frame wise counsel than those of Aristotle; although the King, such is the excellence of his nature, requires no spur to hasten that career of learning and wisdom, into which he has most happily entered.

Our King's ability equals his fortune, and his goodness surpasses both:—or rather, as it becomes a Christian man to speak, such is the manifold grace of God, that in eagerness for the best literature, in pursuit of the most perfect religion, in willingness, in judgment, and in perseverance—that quality you most value in study, he wonderfully exceeds his years. In scarce any other particular do I esteem him more fortunate than that he has obtained John Cheke as the instructor of his youth in sound learning and true religion. Latin he understands with accuracy, speaks with propriety, writes with facility, combined with judgment. In Greek he has learned the Dialectic of Aristotle, and now learns his Ethic. He has proceeded so far in that language, that he readily translates the Latin of Cicero's Philosophia into Greek. On the day before I left England, when conversing in London with sir John Cheke, I inquired of him how it was that the King should read the Ethic of Aristotle rather than the Cyropædia of Xenophon, and he answered with the greatest wisdom and learning, (as he is always wont,) "In order that his mind, first instructed in all those infinite examinations and dissections of the virtues and vices, may bring a sound judgment to each of those examples of character and conduct, that everywhere present themselves in history: and because it is scarcely possible that his natural perceptions, amused and led away by the pleasantness of history, should at once form such conclusions as are of an abstruse and recondite nature, although highly necessary to confirm the judgment. Still my endeavour is to give him no precept unaccompanied by some remarkable example." How fortunate (adds Ascham,) is Eng-

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emollita et obtusa, penetret in abstrusas illas et reconditas, sed pernecessarias ad corroborandum judicium finitæ quæstionis comprehensiones. Quanquam nullum præceptum sine appositione insignis exempli tradi cupio'. Quàm felix Anglia sit, mi Sturmi, cùm principis ejus juvenilis ætas, nam nuper excessit ex decimo tertio anno, hac præstanti præceptione informetur, nemo melius quàm tu judicare potest. Brevi absolvet *Ethicen*, quam sequetur *Aristotelis Rhetorica*, ut non opportune solum, sed divinitus etiam videatur tibi oblata occasio hujus suscepti laboris tui. Credo enim ego non sine divino consilio factum esse, ut hæc summa majestas regia hâc summâ ingenii, judicii, doctrinæque tuæ facultate excoleretur."

land, my Sturmius, that the youth of its prince, for he has but recently entered his fourteenth year, is reared under this excellent training,[a] no one is better qualified to judge than yourself. He will shortly finish the Ethic, which will be followed by the Rhetoric of Aristotle, so that this labour that you have undertaken seems to offer you not merely a favourable, but even a providential, opportunity: for I believe that it has not happened but by God's special providence that this highest exercise of your ability, judgment, and learning should be employed to polish so extraordinary a summit of royal majesty.

We may here introduce some anecdotes of the King's diligence,[b] preserved among the papers of Foxe the martyrologist:—

That Kyng Edward dyd sequester hym self from all companye into some chamber or

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[a] "Prince Edward studied not his book more sedulously than (Cheke) studied him, that his rules might comply with his inclination, and his lectures with his temper: lectures that were rather discourses instilled to him majestically, as a Prince, than lessons beaten into him pedantiquely." This account of Cheke's discipline is from the State Worthies (1655) of David Lloyd, a writer who, it may be presumed, had some traditional evidence for his characters and anecdotes, although he appears to have frequently indulged his own imaginative pen as freely as he pirated right boldly from Fuller and other authors, and altogether has certainly in many instances exceeded the truth. In the memoir of Cheke, for example, Lloyd assumes that even king Henry designed him for secretary of state, an assertion palpably groundless, and which is followed by a gross mis-statement that Cheke actually filled that office for three years in the reign of Edward; "and in that three years did England more service, so great his parts, learning, and religion! more kindness, such his eminency in both! and gave the people more satisfaction, such his integrity and dexterity! than all that went before him, and most that came after him."

[b] This paper is a fragment, but the anecdote appears to have been communicated by a father to his son, who was under the care of a schoolmaster named Heron, suggesting to him and his schoolfellows, that, "folowing the godlie example of so virtious a Prince, than, yf thei by his worthie example and presidente wold applie their studie and lerrnyng, it wolde moste happelie come to passe, that the lernid Kinge sholde have moche felicitie in his lernyd subjectes, and thei no lesse to glorie in so lernyd and prudent a Prince, with suche like persuations; whiche lettres of commendacions of the said King, being uttered by chaunce unto the said scolemaster, and having partelie receyved lettres therof from the father of the same scoller, he incontynentlie caused them that were written in Englishe to be turned into Lattin by his scolers, and such as were wrytten in Latin to be Englisshed, using the same not onelie as lessons for his scolers, but also as matter of animating and provoking them unto the better and diligent applying of their lernyng. Appon this occasion, the said mr. Heron, as well by his lettres as by his pryvate talke, yelde unto the father of his said scoler right hartie thanckes for his said lettres directed unto hym and his sonne towching the Kinges diligence, declaring playnelie that, in his opynyon, the virtious example of that worthie and good young King wrought more in the heddes of his unwilling scolers, for their furtheraunce unto good litterature, than all his travaile amonge them in one yere past before." (MS. Harl. 419, fol. 123.)

gallery to learne without booke his lessons with great alacritie and cherefulnes; that if he spent further tyme in playe and pastime then he thought was convenient, he wold fynd faulte hym self and say, "We forget ourselves (as mr. Cheke reported of hym,) that wold not chose *substantia pro accidente*."

Lent Sermons. 1550-1.

With respect to the Lent sermons before the King in 1550–1 our information is deficient. For the 6th Sunday doctor Matthew Parker was summoned;[a] but it is not certain that he attended.[b] It was also either in this Lent or the next that John Scorey, bishop of Rochester, preached two or more sermons, in which he urged "two essential suits: the first for the restitution of ecclesiastical discipline, the second to banish greedy avarice."[c]

Letter of Hooper to Bullinger.

Under the date of the 1st of August, 1551, we find the King again mentioned in a letter of bishop Hooper to Bullinger:—

Your other books which you sent to the King's majesty I delivered most carefully to the marquis of Northampton, the lord high chamberlain of England, to lay before the King in your name, which he did carefully and readily, and the King ordered him to salute you in return with many thanks; nor do I doubt but that the King will always remember you in future. I request that you will in your turn commend him for his godly procedure, and always in your letters exhort him to perseverance in it. For the King reads your letters with attention, and takes a most lively interest in the perusal.

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[a] His summons on this occasion was as follows:—

I commend me heartily unto you. And whereas the King's majesty, by the advice of his most honourable council, hath appointed you to preach one sermon before his highness' person at the court, upon Sunday the 22nd of March next coming, being the 6th Sunday in Lent, and hath commanded me to signify unto you his grace's pleasure in this behalf; this therefore shall be to require you to put yourself in areadiness in the mean time to satisfy the day and place to you appointed, according to the King's majesty's expectation, and not to fail in any wise. Thus heartily fare ye well. From my manor at Lambeth, the 12th of February, 1550. Your loving friend, T. Cant.

To my loving friend mr. doctor Parker.

(Parker Correspondence, printed for the Parker Society, 1853, p. 43.)

[b] As no sermon before the King this year is mentioned in his own list (before inserted in p. cxxv,) it is not improbable that he was excused.

[c] See a letter or memorial of Scorey, addressed to the King, soliciting the King's attention to the subjects upon which he had preached, printed by Strype, Eccles. Memorials, vol. ii. book ii. appendix A. The memorial is undated, but refers to sermons made the last Lent: it is signed "John Scorey bishop of Rochester," and he only held that see from August 1551 to May 1552, when he was translated to Chichester.

You must not therefore think your labour ill-bestowed, although you do not receive an answer. (Zurich Letters, iii. 93.)

Proposed marriage with France.

As Edward was disappointed of his expected bride, the heiress of Scotland, who was now betrothed to Francis the dauphin of France, it was judged advisable, after peace had been concluded with the latter country, that negociations should be opened for finding a substitute in that quarter. The princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Henri II. was born in 1545, and was therefore about eight years younger than King Edward, and at this time in her sixth year. An embassy, at the head of which was the marquess of Northampton, was sent to take the French king the garter, and to make proposals for the hand of his daughter. This affair occupied much of King Edward's thoughts during this summer, and he makes frequent entries relative to it in his Journal.[a] A French ambassador, the maréchal de St. André, also arrived in England, bringing to King Edward the order of St. Michael, and was entertained with great attention and expense.[b] When this nobleman was about to take his leave, we find the earl of Warwick[c] sending to the lord chamberlain a picture (probably in miniature) of the lady Elizabeth, to be placed in the King's hands, in order that he might show it to the ambassador,—an incident that might be reported in France as a token of the King's gallantry.

Visit of the queen dowager of Scotland.

In the following autumn fresh festivities took place, in order to entertain the queen dowager of Scotland,[d] who was passing through England on her return from a visit to France. A Scotish historian[e] represents that Edward took the

[a] See particularly pp. 319, 325, 333.

[b] See pp. 328, 331.

[c] Letter in the State-paper office, dated from Otford on the 26th of July. Warwick occupied the royal palace of Otford as his country residence: and it was probably there that the ambassador was entertained and slept on the 30th of the same month, on his way to Dover: see the King's Journal, p. 335, where the note "At Sheen" should be corrected accordingly.

[d] See pp. 356—364.

[e] "Cum primùm Londinum perventum erat, Rex imperii sui thesauros Reginæ ostendit, monumenta aperit, antiquitates eruit, multa denique id genus alia conatur, ut viam sibi ad Reginæ gratiam aucupandam apertissimis benevolentiæ signis muniret. Nam multis postea verbis cum illâ egit ut filiam suam, uti antea a Scotis proceribus decretum fuerat, sibi uxorem daret. Id enim in rem utriusque gentis futuram multis docet. Cùm contra si Franci regis filio elocaretur, id nullo modo foro utile, vel Scotis, qui illam darent, vel Franco, qui illam uxorem acciperet. Id tandem addidit se cum eo, quicunque demum esset, qui illam sibi in thoro societatem asciverit, perpetua odia ac capitales inimicitias suscepturum. Regina quamprimùm promptè ac sapienter quidem respondit, cur filia sua Franco locata esset, Angliæ Protectorem in causa fuisse, qui Scotos bello tam immaniter impetierit. Rem enim ab illo impru-

Eduardi cum Regina de nuptiis Reginæ Scotiæ colloquutio, humanitatis et prudentiæ hinc inde plena.

opportunity to claim very vehemently the fulfilment of the former bargain that he should receive the hand of the queen of Scots ; but we may set down the conversation as imaginary, not merely because of the recent treaty, but because the Scotish match had been mooted, and finally relinquished, at the commencement of the negociations in June.[a] It is stated that when the queen came home she gave this testimony, "That she found more wisdom and solid judgment in young King Edward, than she would have looked for in any three princes that were then in Europe."[b]

Second attack on the duke of Somerset.

The month of October produced events which placed one great man at the head of Fortune's wheel, and crushed his predecessor beneath its weight. The measures for the elevation of Dudley to the dignity of a duke, and for the final ruin of Somerset, were proceeding concurrently: for it was on the 4th of this month that the King's intention in the former respect was first announced to the council, and it was on the 7th (according to the King's Journal) that sir Thomas Palmer began to give his informations against the duke of Somerset. But the latter was not apprised of his impending fate for some days after. He assisted at the ceremony of the creation of his supplanter on the 11th of October; he continued to attend the meetings of the privy council in all confidence; but on the 16th he was arrested and again committed to the Tower.

Creation of the duke of Northumberland.

The earl of Warwick might scarcely have ventured to ask for a dukedom alone: but the circumstance of the marchioness of Dorset having become heir to her nephews the young dukes of Suffolk (recently deceased of the sweating sickness), at once afforded a reason for the renewal of that title, and gave an excuse for creating two dukes together. From this time until the close of the reign the power and influence of the duke of Northumberland was paramount to any other existing authority.

His restless jealousy of the late protector is to be traced back to the very month

denter gestam esse, qui armis mulierem conaretur cogere, quæ promissis captanda et verborum lenociniis in lecti societatem illicienda erat. Id quoque attexuit, Scotos qui tam acri Anglorum bello lacessiti erant, fuisse coactos, ut subsidium a Franco peterent, ac ad facilius id consequendum, ut Reginam in Franciam tanquam obsidem mitterent. Necessitate ergo temporis rem aliter jam penè pertextam esse, quàm Rex Anglus vellet, dolere se plurimum significat. Nihilominus tamen, si quid literis aut internunciis apud Francum regem possit, se omnia diligentissimè Angli causâ curaturam prolixè pollicetur." (De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus gestis Scotorum Libri Decem: authore Joanne Leslæo, episcopo Rossensi. Romæ, 1578, 4to. p. 512.)

[a] See p. 325.

[b] Strype, Eccles. Memorials, ii. 284. Strype does not state whence he derived this passage.

in which they had made apparent alliance by the marriage of their children.[a] In a letter written on the 26th June, 1550, by mr. Richard Whalley to mr. Cecill,[b] the earl of Warwick is represented as having intimated to the writer that the council, from some of the duke's recent doings, suspected "that he taketh and aspireth to have the self and same overdue an authority to the despatch and direction of the proceedings as his grace had being protector." And further he said, "Alas, mr. Whalley, what meaneth my lord in this wise to discredit himself, and why will he not see his own decay herein? Thinks he to rule and direct the whole council as he will, considering how his late governance is yet misliked? Neither is he in that credit and best opinion with the King's majestie as he believeth, and is by some fondly persuaded."

There is no doubt that Dudley, both personally and by his creatures, took care that the King should not hold his uncle in very favourable estimation. In the following February the earl of Rutland—a weak man, and who had contributed to the ruin of the duke's brother, lord Seymour[c]—reported to the council and to the King that divers nobles of the realm had been persuaded to restore Somerset to the protectorate at the next parliament; and for his busy talking to this purpose the same mr. Whalley, who has been just mentioned, suffered imprisonment during some months after.[d] Again, in April, the lords banqueted one another for four days together, "to show agreement amongst them, whereas discord was bruited," as the King states in his Journal.[e] It was at one of those banquets, held, or intended to be held, at the house of lord Paget, that, according to Somerset's accusers, he proposed to assassinate the earl of Warwick, the marquess of Northampton, and others.[f] But that charge was abandoned before the duke's trial: nor was any crime eventually proved against him, worse than having once consulted with the earl of Arundel as to the possibility of subjecting his rival to the treatment he had himself suffered when committed to the Tower.

Edward was now of an age to take a lively political interest in these matters;

[a] See p. cxlvii.

[b] This letter is printed by Mr. Tytler (Edward VI. and Mary, ii. 21) as having been written a year later: an error which partially affects the author's subsequent statements: and which has also to be corrected in the note at p. 356, hereafter, where it is followed. In other respects Mr. Tytler's exposition of the course of Somerset's second prosecution (occupying the first seventy-five pages of his second volume) not only contains information unknown to previous historians, but is altogether very full, clear, and satisfactory. (See note in p. 370, hereafter.)

[c] See pp. 54, 56.

[d] See p. 303.

[e] Page 315.

[f] King's Journal, p. 353.

and he has related the proceedings taken against the duke, and the particulars of his trial, at some length, both in his Journal and in a letter to Barnaby Fitzpatrick.[a] It is to be lamented that no spark of pity or regret is anywhere to be discovered,[b] and that the calumnies which he details from the misinformation of others[c] appear to be seasoned with an animosity that had taken the place of all natural affection.

The festivities incident to the entertainment of the queen dowager of Scotland, which occurred before the duke's trial, and those usual at Christmas, which followed shortly after, were calculated to divert the King's mind,[d] even had it really sympathised with his uncle's fate.

Execution of the duke of Somerset.

After the lapse of more than seven weeks from his trial, "the duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower hill on the 22nd January, 1551–2, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning,"[e] as his royal nephew briefly records. Nor was there any such affectation of personal non-interference as had been pretended in the case of his other uncle.[f] The execution was both suggested and warranted under Edward's own hand.[g]

Thus died the duke of Somerset, who, though he was generally esteemed as "of

[a] See p. 70.

[b] On this subject Horace Walpole's remarks are given in p. 69. Mr. Tytler, who (vol. ii. p. 63,) points out some inconsistencies between the Journal and the letter to Barnaby as to the duke's alleged confessions, expresses his opinion in language equally strong. "Nothing (he says) can exceed the cold heartlessness with which the story is told: but we have already seen that, three years before, the youthful monarch had declared that he looked upon the death of his uncle the protector as a desirable event: and increasing years do not appear to have altered his notions upon this subject." Tytler, ii. 11. Again, "I have already pointed out the early prepossessions entertained by Edward against his uncle, and the extraordinary apathy and coldness with which he tells the story of his misfortunes. Hume has justly observed that care seems to have been taken by Northumberland's emissaries to prepossess the young King against his uncle; that, lest he should relent, no access was given to the duke's friends; and that he was kept from reflection by a constant series of occupations and amusements: but, had the heart been warm and generous, it could scarcely have been so easily stifled in its young impulses." (p. 68.)

[c] For proofs of these see the note in p. 375.

[d] The Christmas festivities were certainly extended to a more profuse scale than before, and, according to Grafton, were specially designed "to recreate and refresh the troubled spirites of the young Kinge, who (as that chronicler charitably assumes) seemed to take the trouble of his uncle somewhat heavilie." (See note in p. 381.)

[e] Journal, p. 390. It seems to have been thought desirable to strike this blow before the meeting of parliament, which took place on the next day.

[f] See p. cxxii.

[g] See in p. 489 the remembrances for the council, in Edward's own autograph, dated 18th

nature verie gentle and pitifull,"[a] had yet been betrayed by his fears into the condemnation of his brother, and now appeared to be overtaken by a correspondent retribution. And it may be observed that, if Northumberland had contrived both their deaths, the like was also to be his own.

LENT SERMONS 1551-2.

On two Wednesdays in Lent, the 9th and 23rd of March, 1551–2, doctor Matthew Parker preached before the King:[b] and on the alternate Wednesdays doctor John Harley, bishop of Hereford.[c]

The King has the measles and small pox.

At the beginning of April the King fell sick of the measles and small pox;[d] and,

January; and the letters of warrauntie, (undated,) described in the note in p. 390. "But the King (according to the assertion of Sir John Hayward) albeit at the first he gave no token of any ill-tempered passion, as taking it not agreeable to majesty openly to declare him self, and albeit his lords did much help to dispel any dampy thoughts which the remembrance of his uncle might raise, by applying him with great variety of exercises and disports, yet, upon speech of him afterwards, he would often sigh and let fall tears. Sometimes he was of opinion that he had done nothing that deserved death, or, if he had, that it was very small, and proceeded rather from his wife than from himself. And where then (said he) was the good-nature of a nephew? where was the clemency of a prince? Ah! how unfortunate have I been to those of my blood! My mother I slew at my very birth, and since have made away two of her brothers, and haply to make a way for the purposes of others against my self. Was it ever known before that a King's uncle, a Lord Protector, one whose fortunes had much advanced the honour of the realm, did lose his head for felony, a felony neither clear in law, and in fact weakly proved? Alas! how falsely have I been abused, how weakly carried! How little was I master over my own judgment, that both his death and the envy thereof must be charged upon me."—A good speech, as Strype remarked, made for the King, but not by him. (Kennett's Complete History of England, fol. 1719, ii. 325.)

[a] "This duke was not onlie courteous, wise, and gentle, being dailie attendant at the court; but forward and fortunate in service abroad, as may well appeare in his sundrie voiages, both into France and Scotland. He was of nature verie gentle and pitifull, *not blemished by any thing so much, as by the death of the admerall his naturall brother, which could not have been brought to passe in that sort without his consent.*" (Holinshed.) There is another remarkable testimony to the prevalence of this sentiment: "As I have diligently been informed by those who saw and heard those things, after that murder had been perpetrated, our duke was no longer like himself, but began to labour under those misfortunes which I have above hinted at. And not long after there followed those disturbances which made him, from being the lord protector of the kingdom, a miserable prisoner universally detested and despised. And a certain godly and honourable lady of this country, with whom I am acquainted, is reported to have exclaimed upon that occasion, *Where is thy brother? Lo! his blood crieth against thee unto God from the ground!*" Francis Burgoyne to John Calvin, in Zurich Letters, iii. 735.

[b] See Parker's memorandum already given in p. cxxv.

[c] Harley is noticed at p. 377 of this work.

[d] Journal, p. 408.

for that reason, at the end of the session of parliament on the 15th of that month, he gave his assent by commission to such bills as he would have pass.[a] The parliament, which had lasted from the beginning of his reign, was thereupon dissolved.

By the middle of the following month he had apparently recovered his health and strength, for we then find him taking part in chivalric exercises:

The xij of May the King's grace rode through Greenwich park into Blackheath, with his guard with bows and arrows, and in their jerkins and doublets. The King's grace ran at the ring, and other lords and knights. (Machyn's Diary.)

And four days after the King "rode into the said park to see the goodly muster of his men of arms (*i. e.* the pensioners), and every lord's men,"—of which a very full account is given by the same chronicler.

Illness of sir John Cheke.

It was at this time that Edward's tutor sir John Cheke (who had been knighted with sir William Cecill, at the creation of the duke of Northumberland,) had a dangerous illness, which occasioned great anxiety to all his friends, and in connection with which we have the following anecdote of the King:—

The King prays for his life.

When crowned King, his goodness increased with his greatness; constant in his private devotions, and as successful as fervent therein, witness this particular: sir John Cheke, his schoolmaster, fell desperately sick, of whose condition the King carefully inquired every day. At last his physicians told him that there was no hope of his life, being given over by them for a dead man. "No, (saith King Edward,) he will not die at this time, for this morning I begged his life from God in my prayers, and obtained it;" which accordingly came to pass, and he soon after, against all expectation, wonderfully recovered. This was attested by the old earl of Huntingdon, bred up in his childhood with King Edward, unto sir Thomas Cheke, still surviving about eighty years of age.[b] (Fuller's Church History.)

When Cheke despaired of his recovery, he wrote the following valedictory letter to the King, containing his parting admonitions, with some instructions for the continuance of the King's studies:

Because I am departing, my Sovereigne Lord, unto the King of all Kings, Almightie God, and must, by his appointment, leave you, whome of long tyme I have done my best

[a] Journal, p. 408.

[b] Fuller wrote this in 1654; and, if sir Thomas Cheke was then about eighty, his birth was about 1574. Henry third earl of Huntingdon, the lord Hastings of King Edward's court, died in 1595; his brother and successor George died in 1605: and was grandfather of Henry the fifth earl, who died in 1643. It is possible that sir Thomas Cheke may have meant either of the former; but see before, p. lxvii.

to bring up in vertue and good learninge; and you are now coming to a government of your self, in whiche estate I pray God you maye alwaies be served with them that will faithfullye, trewlye, and playnlye give you counseill: I have thought it my dutie, for a memorie of my last will, and for a token of my well-wishinge unto you (remayning presentlye with me, even as it hath alwaies heretofore done,) to requyre you, yea, and in God's behalf to chardge you, that, forasmoche as yeares bothe have and will diminishe in you the feare of man, to have yet before your eyes continuallye the fear of God; with the which if you do not direct, order, and temper all your doings and sayings, be you well assured neither to have good success in the greate chardge that he hath committed to you, yet neither in th'end to enjoye that joyfull place that is promysed *timentibus eum:* For if God do right extreamlye ponishe men of base estate, and of low degrees, for wanting of that necessarie jewell, which hath in Scripture so many promeses: how sevearely will he ponishe Kings and Princes failing thearein, in whome the lack thereof must needes be both to themselves and to the commonwealth most perillouse. My weaknesse suffereth me not so long to talke with you in this matter as I coulde wishe, and your majesties disposition (which I know most apt to receave all godlie admonitions) puttethe me in comforte to thincke this to be sufficient, beseaching God so to direct all your doings, thoughts, and meanings, as may tend to his glory and your honour and wealth, both here and in the worlde to come, when by death you shall be called thereunto; to the whiche all men, as well princes as others, as well yonge as old, are subjecte. Most affectuouslye beseachinge your Grace, if any of your servaunts about you shall francklye admonishe you of anye thinge whiche in you may be mislyked, to take it at their handes, and thincke them that shall so doe to be your only servants of trust, and to consyder them and to rewarde them accordinglye. And if anye suche shall be, that shall of all things make fair weather, and, whatsoever they shall see to the contrarye, shall tell you all is well, beware of them; they serve themselves, and not you.

And wheare you have readd, in the tyme that it hath pleased God to lend me unto you, dyvers discourses of dyvers sortes, as well of stories, as of philosophie, wherebye you have had proffit, and plentie of grave and wise rules and orders for the good government of your realme; yet, in myne opinyon, among them all, none hath so habundantlye furnished you in those points as hath Aristotle, to whome I beseach you, for those matters, often to resorte, and especiallye to two chapters in his Politiques, the one *de mutatione regni, &c.* and the other *per quæ regna servantur*, being the tenth and eleventh chapters of the S. of his Politiques.

For your divinitie, I wolde wishe you wolde diligentlye contynew the reading of the New Testament, *Sapientia*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the Proverbs.

And, understanding that it hath pleased you sithen the tyme of my sicknesse to send unto me manie comfortable messages, and, among the rest, that you have appointed (moche unto my comfort) the wardshipp of my sonne to his mother; like as I do therefore render

unto your Grace my most humble thancks, so do I with like humbleness desyre you (my great debts consydered) to remitt to hym (if all shall be too moche) yet some convenient peece of such lands as, during his noneage, shall fall unto you.

And, whereas I shall now leave my colledge in Cambridge destitute of an headd,[a] if your Grace appoint thereunto mr. Haddon, I think you shall appoint a worthie man. Finallie, one sute charitye moveth me to make unto your Majestie: the bishop of Chichester was my bringer-upp, and at his hands I gate an entrie to some skill in learning; lyving I could never do hyme anye good whereby I might be accompted a grateful scholler; if dyeing I might attaine for hym libertie,[b] with some small aide of lyving, I should be moche bound unto you, thinking most assuredlye you shall fynde of hym, during his lyfe, bothe a dailye beadesman for you, and a right obedient subject; thoughe in some things heretofore he hathe more throughlye perswaded his conscience, then to the perfection of Christes religion was requisyte. Thus the lyving God preserve your Majestie long to raigne most prosperouslye! Out of my death bedd, &c. (Haringtон's Nugæ Antiquæ, 1804, i. 17.)

Bishop Ridley, in a letter to Cecill,[c] dated on the 29th of May, writes, "Iff Mr. Cheake is almost recouvrid, God be blessed." In August he is reported to be quite well again;[d]

[a] Cheke had been elected, by royal *mandamus*, provost of King's college, Cambridge, on the deprivation in 1551 of George Day bishop of Chichester, whom he presently mentions. He wished to recommend for his successor Walter Haddon, his pupil and friend (who has been noticed in p. lxxviii), and who was author of the following elegant lines, which formerly marked Cheke's grave in St. Alban's, Wood-street:

Doctrinæ lumen Checus, vitæque magister,
Aurea naturæ fabrica, morte jacet.
Non erat è multis unus, sed præstitit unus
Omnibus, et patriæ flos erat ille suæ.
Gemma Britanna fuit; tam magnum nulla tulerunt
Tempora thesaurum, tempora nulla ferent.

Haddon was already master of Trinity hall, in succession to bishop Gardyner; and in Sept. 1552 he was chosen president of Magdalen college in Oxford.

[b] Since his deprivation bishop Day had remained in the custody of bishop Goodrich (see p. 345).

[c] MS. Lansdowne, 3, art. 28. Jerome Cardan (of whose visit to England see more hereafter) says that Cheke was ill during his stay in London in May, and terms his disease *peripneumonia*.

[d] Aug. 9. Cheke has recovered from a most dangerous illness. Aug. 16. Cheke is now quite well again. John ab Ulmis in Zurich Letters, iii. 456, 457.

and Lever, in a letter to Ascham, who was then at Villacho in Carinthia, wrote as follows:

I am firmly persuaded that God wist and would that we should be thankful, and therefore bestowed this gift upon us; and that God's wrath was satisfied in punishing divers orders of the realm for their misorder, having taken away many singular ornaments from them, as learning by the death of Bucer,[a] counsel by Denny,[b] nobility by the two young dukes [of Suffolk],[c] courtship by gentle Blage,[d] St. John's college by good Eland;[e] but if learning, counsel, nobility, court, and Cambridge should have been punished at once by taking away mr. Cheke, then I should have thought our wickedness had been so great, as cried to God for a general plague, in depriving us of such a general and only man as he.

William Thomas offers the King instruction in state policy.

This may be a proper place to take some notice of another preceptor who offered himself to the attention of King Edward, and who seems to have received a certain degree of encouragement. William Thomas, clerk of the council,[f] was an able but unfortunate man, who suffered capital punishment in the next reign for having taken part in a project for assassinating queen Mary. This gentleman addressed the King, proposing to instruct him in the principles of state policy:—

To the Kinges highnes.

Pleaseth yo$^{r}$ excellent Ma$^{tie}$, Albeit that my grosse knowledge be utterly unapte to entreprise th' instruccion of any thinge unto yo$^{r}$ highnes, whose erudicion I knowe to be suche as everie faithfull hert ought to rejoice at: yet, imagineng with myself that hitherto yo$^{r}$ Ma$^{tie}$ hath more applied the studie of the tonges than any matter either of historie or policie—the holie scriptures excepted; and considering that (syns your highnes is by the providence of God alreadie growen to the admynistracion of that great and famous chardge that hath been lefte unto yow by your most noble Progenitours,) there is no earthelie thinge more necessarie than the knowledge of such examples as in this and other regimentes heretofore have happened: me thought of my bounden dutie I coulde no lesse do than present unto yo$^{r}$ Ma$^{tie}$ the notes of those discourses that are now my principall studie,

[a] Feb. 28, 1550-1: see p. 304.

[b] Sir Anthony Denny died Sept. 10, 1550: see Athenæ Cantabrigienses, i. 99.

[c] July 16, 1551: see p. 330 hereafter, and Ath. Cantab. i. 105.

[d] Sir George Blagge died June 17, 1551: see Athenæ Cantabrigienses, i. 104, and Narratives of the Reformation (Camden Society).

[e] Henry Ayland, D.D. fellow of St. John's, died of the sweating sickness in 1551: see Ath. Cant. i. 104.

[f] The three clerks of the council received as yearly fees,—Armigel Wade esquire fifty pounds, William Thomas esquire forty pounds, and Bernard Hampton fifty marks. In addition Thomas received on the 12th May 1552 a patent for an annuity of forty pounds. He also had several grants of land.

which I have gathered out of divers aucthours, entending with layssor to write the circumstances of those reasons that I can finde to make most for the purpose.

And bicause there is nothing better learned than that which man laboreth for himself, therefore I determined at this present to give unto your highnes this little abstracte only, trusting that, liek as in all kinde of vertuose learning and exercise ye have alwaies shewed yourself most diligent, even so in this parte which concerneth the chief mayntenaunce of your high astate, and preservation of your common wealthe, your Ma^tie woll show no lesse industrie than the matter deserveth; for though these be but Questions, yet there is not so small a one amongest them as woll not mynister matter of much discourse, worthie the argument and debating, which your highnes may either for passetyme or in earnest propose to the wisest man; and whan so ever there shall appeare any difficultie that yo^r Ma^tie wolde have discussed, if it shall stande with your pleasure, I shall most gladly write the circumstance of the best discourses that I can gether tooching that parte, and accordingly present it unto your highnes. Most humbly beseching the same to accepte my good will in all good parte, as if I were of habilitie to offer unto yo^r Ma^tie a more worthier thinge.

Yo^r Ma^tes most humble servaunt,

Will'm Thomas.

Then follow eighty-five Questions,[a] and after them this suggestion, recommending secrecy:

It becometh a prince for his wisdome to be had in admiracion, aswell of his chiefest councellours as of his other subjects; and, syns nothing serveth more to that than to kepe the principall thinges of wisedome secret till occasion require the utterance, I wolde wishe them to be kept secret, referring it nevertheless to yo^r Ma^tes good will and pleasure.

Many of the questions proposed by Thomas are not different in character from those which formed the subjects of the King's declamations;[b] but we do not trace any of them actually adopted by him for his exercises in that way.

The King, it appears, accepted Thomas's overtures so far as to request from him discourses upon certain stipulated subjects,[c] notes of which he sent by the

[a] They are printed (from the Cotton MS. Titus B. II.) in Strype's Eccles. Memorials, ii. 100, and also in Ellis's Original Letters, II. ii. 187.

[b] See pp. 93—98 of this work.

[c] All the discourses composed by Thomas were probably written about the same time, that is, in the autumn of 1551: though that on the Coinage, which Strype has placed last, was avowedly the first. Strype has printed them (from the originals in the MS. Cotton. Vespasian D. XVIII.) in the following order:—

Whether it be expedient to vary with Time. (Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. Appendix R. to Book I.)

hands of sir Nicholas Throckmorton. Thomas undertook the task, and promised to furnish one discourse every week, if his official duties left him time for the purpose. The first subject he took in hand was the reformation of the coin: a measure he earnestly recommended, the silver then in circulation being so debased[a] that men neither esteemed it for silver, nor without great loss would use it as silver; and the gold, if there were any really remaining, being hoarded up out of use.

Another and longer discourse presented by this politician, is "touching his majestie's outward affairs." It was written during the siege of Magdeburg, in the autumn of 1551;[b] and is very similar in its arguments to the paper which was written by Cecill, in the following year, discussing the advantages or dangers of an alliance with the emperor.[c] One great and evident peril was that the emperor, in the case of alliance with England, would demand an alteration of religion, and Thomas could suggest no better course than that "the communication (or discussion) thereof should not be refused, but that the matter should be dissembled, with such practises of delays as might best serve to the winning of time."

War on the continent.

The events of the war between the French king and the emperor now began to engage much of the young King's attention. Great efforts were made by each of the combatants to provoke the English to take part in the contest. The emperor relied upon the alliance he had formed with Henry the Eighth, of which he demanded the fulfilment; whilst the French king, having entered into a league with the leading Protestant princes, took much pains to inform King Edward of

Whether it be better for a Commonwealth, that the power be in the Nobility or the Commonalty. (Ibid. Appendix S.)

What Princes' amitie is best. (Ibid. Appendix T.)

Touching his Majesties outward affairs. (Ibid. Appendix V.)

Touching the Reformation of the Coin. (Ibid. Appendix W.)

Letter containing further remarks on the Currency. (Ibid. Appendix X.)

Besides these, Strype also published, from the library of John (More) bishop of Ely, a paper by the same writer entitled Common Places of State; but to which, in his chapter xiii. p. 104, he gives the better title of Aphorisms of War. (Ibid. Appendix D.)

All, except the last, were again printed in "The Works of William Thomas," edited by Abraham D'Aubant, esq. 1774, together with the same author's "Peregryne," from which Thomas's character, of the King has been already extracted in p. lxxxi.

[a] The passage of the King's Journal in p. 342, though confused in itself, gives a characteristic picture of the degraded state of the coinage at this period.

[b] Burnet, (Hist. of the Reformation,) not adverting to the internal evidence of this fact, considers it as having been composed in the year 1549.

[c] Printed in the present work at p. 539.

the progress of his arms, hoping thereby to awaken an interest in their success. Politically these efforts were fruitless, for the minds of the English councillors were then occupied with motives of more personal ambition; but so far as the details of martial enterprise and action served to excite the curiosity and stimulate the imagination of the young monarch, they were received with eagerness, and chronicled with zest, and the latter pages of his Journal are occupied more with foreign than domestic matters.

On the 19th June, 1552, the King signed "a lettre of gratulation to the French king of his prosperous success in his present warres, declared by seigneur de Saint Sulpice, to his ma^tie^: a like lettre of gratulation to the French quene of the sayd successe advertised by her lettres to his ma^tie^:" but on the same day, with politic duplicity, he also addressed letters of gratulation to the emperor and to the lady regent of Flanders, for the news advertised by the seigneur de Courrieres.[a]

Projected marriage of lord Guilford Dudley.

There is evidence to shew that at the period at which we have now arrived, a whole year before the marriage of the lady Jane Grey to lord Guilford Dudley, and the consequent settlement of the crown upon the lady Jane, Northumberland had already formed his project for allying the same (his only unmarried) son to one of the ladies of the blood royal. What is more, we find that his motives were suspected, and denounced by those who were bold enough to express their thoughts.

It appears, however, that in the first instance it was not the lady Jane Grey, but her cousin the lady Margaret Clifford,[b] that Northumberland had in view, and that the King had already both spoken and written to the earl of Cumberland her father in favour of this match. The suit was now further urged by letters of the privy council:

Julie 4. vi. E. vi.—A lettre to th'erle of Cumberland, desiering him to growe to some good ende forthewith in the mater of mariage betwene the L. Guyldford Dudley and his doughter; with licence to the sayd erle and all others that shall travaile therein to doe theire best for conducement of it t'effect, any law, statute or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

A like lettre to the duke of Northumbreland, signifying as well his ma^tes^ wryting and speaking to the sayd erle heretofore for this matter of mariage, as his highnes wryting at

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[a] (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 227 b, 228.) A gold chain was presented to mons. de San Sulpice.

[b] When the duke of Northumberland had covenanted with the duke of Suffolk for the lady Jane Grey, he still did not relinquish the lady Margaret Clifford, but transferred her from his son to his younger brother sir Andrew Dudley, as will be seen under the following year.

this present for perfighting thereof; with licence to the sayd duke, his sonne, or any other, for theim to travayle therein, any law, statute, or custome or any other thing to the contrary notwithstanding. (MS. Reg. 18 cxxiv. f. 236 b.)

The following paper is particularly curious, not only as exhibiting the popular sentiments respecting the conduct of the King in having "unnaturally" sacrificed his uncle the duke of Somerset, as the duke had previously unnaturally sacrificed his brother the lord admiral, but still more for its showing that the project of the duke of Northumberland[a] for allying his son with a lady of the blood royal, had transpired in public report, and was already viewed with suspicion, as threatening a snatch at the crown.

(MS. Harl. 353, p. 121.)

An informacion sent to the Lordes of the Councelle by sir William Stafford, touching certain speeches used by mrs. Elizabethe Huggons against the duke of Northumberland, touching the deathe of the duke of Somerset, about the end of August, an° 1552.

These be the uncumly saiynges of William Huggones wiffe sometyme called Gyllyott, which was lately servante to my lady of Somersett, neither meet to be spoken nor conseyled (concealed) of any hearer.

Item, she said that my lord of Somerset, yf hee had not knowne himselfe cleare of those things he was apprehended of, he had that frendeshipe within the Tower that he might have

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[a] Another manifestation of the suspicions entertained still earlier as to the designs of the duke of Northumberland was exhibited in a rumour respecting the coinage, upon which was either seen, or imagined, the ragged staff of the house of Warwick.

"Oct. ij, 1551. This day also one (Hamond) yeoman of the garde, for that he was founde to have reported that he had seene a certain strange coyne with a *ragged staff*, was in like manner brought before their lordeshippes, and being unable well to cleare hymselfe was for this tyme comitted to the keepeng of one of his fellowes tyll he might be further examened.

"Oct. iij. This day John Thomas and Hamond, yomen of the garde, was for a brute raysed of of the aforenamed strange coyne comitted to the Marshallsey." (Register of the Privy Council.)

"Item, the xvj day [Dec. 1551] was a proclamacion for the new qwyne [coin] that no man [should speak ill o]f it, for because that the pepulle sayd dyvers, that there was *the ragyd staffe* [stamped upon] it. (Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 73.)

In the same month Thomas Holland brought home a shilling from London to Bath, and showed what he supposed to be a *ragged staff* on it, but which another person "could not perceyve to be other than a lyon!" (See the deposition of Thomas Long in p. 374 hereafter.)

These are very curious intimations of the under-current of unpopularity that had set against Northumberland, of which see further proofs in p. 566, and hereafter in this Memoir.

gone out when he had would, but she coulde impute his death to no man but to my lorde of Northumberland, who she thought was better worthie to die then he.

And she sayd allso that the Kinge shewed himself an unnaturall nephew, and withall did wishe that she had had the jerkinge of him.

She tould also the night before at supper for newse that my lord Guilford Dudleye should marrye my lorde of Cumberlandes daughter, and that the Kinges majestie should devise the marriage. *Have at the Crowne with your leave*, she said with a stoute gesture.

The Examinacion of Elizabeth Huggones, wife of William Huggones gentleman, before sir Robert Bowes knight, master of the rolls, and sir Arthure Darcye knight, lieutenaunt of the Tower, taken at the Towre the viij$^{th}$ daye of September 1552.

The sayd Elizabeth deposeth that about iij weekes nowe paste she was sent for to Rocheforde, sir William Stafforde's house in Essex, where at her cominge she found the said sir William Stafforde and his wife, and another of his wife's sisters, a widowe that was marryed to the sonne and heire of sir John Williams knight; and one evening as they were comonynge, amonge othere talke of the duke of Somerset, this examynate said, that the said duke might have escaped forth of their hands, yf he had woulde, meanynge thereby, forasmuch as she had hearde (by a comon reporte) that when the said duke was upon the scaffolde towardes his executyone, there was such a noyse and crye arrose amonge the people that diveres of them ran awaye: and in that ruffle she thought he might have escaped yf he had would. And otherwise (as she deposeth) she never said nor meant, nor knoweth no other waie whereby he might have escaped. Nor she never spake such wordes of that matter at any other time but then, nor to any other persones then is affore named. And assone as sir William Stafford heard her speake those wordes, he rose upp and went his waye, sainge, That it was to much for him to beare those wordes.

And, beinge further examined upon these wordes, "That she did only impute the death of the duke of Somerset to the duke of Northumberland, and no other man, who she thought was better worthie to die than he," these wordes she utterly denieth, albeit, she saith that she then said she thought that those which were the procurers of the duke of Somersett's death, his bloud would be required at their handes, even like as the lord admyrall's bloude was at the duke's handes, for she thought yf the said duke had lived one hundreth yeares, he would never have given any such occasion. And further, she saith, that next the duke of Somersett, who was her master, she hath borne greatest favore and affection to the duke of Northumberland's grace of any other nobleman; and specially sithence her husband was his grace's servant.

She further beinge examyned of those wordes which touch the Kinges majestie: viz. that "hee was an unnaturall nephewe, and that she wished that she had the jerkinge of him;" all these wordes she utterly denieth, deposinge that she never spake those or any like wordes concerninge the Kinges majestie.

And, moreover, she beinge examined of the laste article, concerninge the marriage of the lord Guilforde Dudleye with the earle of Cumberland's daughter, she deposeth that she hearde it spoken in London (but by whome she now remembreth not) that the Kinges majestie had made such a marriage ; and so she tould the first night she came to Rocheford at supper, showinge herselfe to be glad thereof. And so she thought that all her hearers were also glad at that marriage. But as concerninge these wordes, "*Have at the Crowne with your leave*," she utterly denieth to have spoken them, or any other like; and deposeth that she never spake nor thought any such matter, nor meant evell of any man, by any of her aforesaid wordes.

And further she deposeth, that she hath had at noe tyme conference in these matteres or any of them with any other persons (or at any other place then is affore rehearsed. And beinge examyned whether she hath made her husband privie thereunto, she saith no, for at such tyme as she spoke the affore confessed wordes her husband was not at Rocheforde, nor by the space of xiiij dayes after, and at his cominge she made him not privie thereunto.

After this examynacion the said Elizabeth (as it were better remembringe herselfe) said she was remembred that she had said at Rocheford, "The worlde doth condemne the duke of Northumberland for my lorde of Somersettes death, even as they did the duke of Somersett for the lord admyrall his brotheres deathe," meaninge by the worlde (as she saith) the voice of the people. These wordes she confessed she spake in the presence afforesaid. But who was then mo present she remembreth not ; for as she saith sir Robart Stafforde knight, brother to the said sir William, and one Driver, dwellyng about London, a gentleman, were at the said sir William Staffordes house when she was there, but whether either of them was present when she spake any of the wordes before by her confessed, or no, she knoweth not. But more then is above expressed, she deposeth that she nevere spake in those matteres nor any of them.[a]

Summer progress.

From June until October in this year, Edward was pursuing the course of his summer progress, of which all the stages are described in his Journal, and all other particulars that have been discovered are collected in the accompanying notes.[b] A pleasant sketch of the early part of it is also contained in his letter to Barnaby Fitzpatrick, dated from Christchurch in Hampshire on the 22nd of August.[c] It was the first occasion on which he had been so far from London, and he enjoyed the novelty and the variety of travel. Whilst his correspondent had been conversant with all the horrors of war, "we have been occupied (he remarks) in killing of wild beasts, in pleasant journeys, in good fare, in viewing of fair

[a] Mrs. Hoggons still remained a prisoner in the Tower on the 15th June 1552. (Register of the Privy Council.)

[b] Commencing at p. 428.

[c] Letter LX. p. 80.

countries, and rather have sought to fortify our own—meaning the town and harbour of Portsmouth—than to spoil another man's."

The King's Journal ceases at the end of November, 1552, from what cause we are totally without any hint to conjecture. His fatal illness is said to have shown itself in the following January, and he may have been already advised to abstain from study and from writing in the month of December.

John Knox preaches at court.

In the latter part of King Edward's reign, John Knox, having been appointed one of the King's six chaplains in ordinary,[a] was on several occasions one of the preachers at court. None of the sermons he there delivered are preserved, nor the dates of their delivery; but he tells us that he preached at Windsor, Hampton Court, and Westminster.[b] There can be no doubt that the following passage in a letter of John Utenhovius to Henry Bullinger, dated from London, October 12, 1552, relates to Knox:—

Some disputes have arisen within these few days among the bishops, in consequence of a sermon of a pious preacher, chaplain to the duke of Northumberland,[c] preached by him before the King and council, in which he inveighed with great freedom against kneeling at the Lord's supper, which is still retained here by the English. This good man, however, a Scotsman by nation, has so wrought upon the minds of many persons, that we may hope some good to the church will at length arise from it;[d] which I earnestly implore the Lord to grant. (Zurich Letters, iii 591.)

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[a] See p. 376 of this work.

[b] A godly Letter to the Fayethfull in London, &c. 1554.

[c] Knox was especially patronised by the duke of Northumberland, who at this very time was proposing to place him in the bishopric of Rochester. The history of Knox's ministry in England, and of Northumberland's patronage of him, is satisfactorily detailed in The Works of John Knox, collected and edited by David Laing, vol. iii. 1854, pp. 79-87: but the passages relating to the same period, prefixed to the first volume of that work, are full of errors.

[d] In the proceedings of the privy council on the 27th of the same month occur the following items:—

"A lettre to the lord chancellour to cause to be joyned unto the booke of Common-prayer late sett forth a certain declaration signed by the King's ma^tie, and sent unto his lordeshipp, touching the kneeling at the receyving of the Communion." [See it in Liturgies of Edward VI. printed for the Parker Society; and a rubric to the same effect still remains in the Prayer-book.]

"A warrant to the four gentlemen of the privie chamber to pay to mr. Knookes, preacher in the North, in way of the King's ma^ties rewarde, the sum of xl^li."

The editor of the Zurich Letters makes a remark that "There is some difficulty about the date [of October, 1552,] as, though Knox was questioned before the council on his objections to kneeling at the Lord's supper, this did not take place till April, 1553. See McCrie, Life of

Knox alludes to his "last sermon" before King Edward, and the boldness with which he then arraigned the conduct of some of the councillors, in the following remarkable passages of another of his politico-religious diatribes:—

But yet ceassed not the Devell to blowe hys wynde, but by his wicked instrumentes founde the meanes, how, against nature, the one broder should assent to the death of the other:[a] and fynding the same instrumentes apt enough whose labours he had used before, he blewe suche mortal hatred betweene two which appeared to have bene the chief pillers under the Kinge: for that wretched (alas!) and miserable Northumberlande could not be satisfied tyl such tyme as symple Somerset most unjustlye was bereft of his lyfe.

And who, I pray you, ruled the roste in the courte all this tyme by stoute corage and proudnes of stomack but Northumberland? But who, I pray you, under Kynge Edwarde, ruled all by counsel and wyt? shall I name the man? I wil wryte no more plainly now then my tongue spake the last sermon that it pleased God that I should make before that innocent and most godly Kynge Edward the Syxte and before his counsell at Westminster, and even to the faces of such as of whom I ment. Entreatynge this place of scripture, *Qui edit mecum panem, sustulit adversus me calcaneum suum*, that is, "He that eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heele against me," I made this affirmacion, That commonlye it was sene, that the most godly princes hadde officers and chief counseilours most ungodlye, conjured enemies to Goddes true religion, and traitours to their princes. Not that their wickednesse and ungodlynesse was spedely perceyved and espied out of the said princes and godly men, but that for a tyme those crafty colourers would so cloke their malice against God and his trueth, and their holowe hartes towarde their lovinge maisters, that, by worldly wysedome and pollicie at length they attained to high promotions. And for the proofs of this myne affirmation, I recited the histories of Achitophel, Sobna, and Judas; of whom the two former had hyghe offices and promocions, with greate authoritie, under the moste godly princes David and Ezechias, and Judas was purse-maister with Christ Jesus. And, when I had made some discourse in that matter, I moved this question, Why permitted so godly princes so wicked men to be upon their counsell, and to beare office and authoritie under them? To the which I answered, that either they so abounded in worldlye wysedome, foresight, and experience touchinge the government of a common wealth, that their counsail appeared to be so necessarie that the common weale could not lacke them, and so by the coloure to preserve the tranquilitie and quietnes in realmes they were maintained in authoritie; or els they kept their malice, which they bare

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Knox, vol. i. p. 89, &c." But it is the latter date that has been mis-apprehended: "April 14, 1554," being the date, not of Knox's attendance on the privy council, but of a letter which he afterwards wrote describing that occurrence.

[a] Alluding to the sacrifice of lord Seymour of Sudeley by the duke of Somerset.

towarde their maister and Goddes trew religion, so secrete in their breastes, that no man could espie it, til, by Goddes permission, they wayted for suche occasion and opportunitie, that they uttered all their mischiefe so plainlye that all the worlde myght perceave it. And that was moste evident by Achitophel and Sobna; for of Achitophel it is written, that he was David's most secrete counsailour, and that bycause his counsel in those dayes was lyke the oracle of God. And Sobna was unto good kynge Ezechias somtyme comptroller, somtyme secretary, and last of all treasurer; to the which offices he had never been promoted under so godly a prince, yf the treason and malice which he bare against the Kinge, and against Goddes true religion, had been manyfestly knowen. No, quod I; Sobna was a crafty foxe, and could shewe suche a faire countenaunce to the Kinge, that neither he nor his counsail coulde espie his malicious treason; but the prophete Esias was commaunded by God to go to his presence, and to declare his traiterouse harte and miserable ende.

Here Knox alludes to Northumberland.

And here to Winchester.

Was David, sayd I, and Ezechias, princes of great and goodly giftes and experience, abused by crafty counsailers, and dissemblyng hypocrites? What wonder is it then that a yonge and innocent Kinge be deceived by craftye, covetouse, wycked, and ungodlie counselours? I am greatly afrayd that Achitophel be counsailer, that Judas beare the purse, and that Sobna be scribe, comptroller, and treasurer.

This and somewhat more I spake that daye, not in a corner (as many yet can wytnesse), but even before those whome my conscience judged worthy of accusation: and this day no more do I wryte (albeyt I maye justly, because they have declared themselves more manifestly); but yet I do affirme that under that innocent Kinge pestilent papistes had greatest authoritie. Oh! who was judged to be the soule and lyfe to the counsel in every matter of weaghty importance? who but Sobna? Who could best dispatche bisynesses, that the reste of the counsel might hauke and hunt, and take their pleasure? none lyke unto Sobna. Who was most franke and redy to destroy Somerset, and set up Northumberlande? was it not Sobna? Who was moste bolde to crye, "Bastarde, bastarde, incestuous bastarde Mary shall never raigne over us?" And who, I praye you, was most busy to saye, "Feare not to subscribe with my lordes of the Kinges majesties most honourable prevy counseil. Agree to his grace's last wil and parfit testament, and let never that obstinate woman come to authoritie. She is an erraunt Papist: she wil subvert the true religion, and wil bring in straungers, to the destruction of this common wealth;" which of the counsel, I saye, had these and greater persuasions against Marye, to whom now he crouches and kneleth? Sobna the treasurer. (A faythfull admonition made by John Knox to the professors of God's truth in England, written in 1554.)

All this was plainly levelled against the time-serving lord treasurer Winchester, who yet stood his ground at court, not only in Mary's reign, but afterwards in that of Elizabeth.

Christmas festivities.

On the 23rd of December the King removed from Westminster to Greenwich,[a] in order to keep the feast of Christmas. George Ferrers, who had officiated the preceding year[b] with so much approbation as lord of misrule, was again appointed to that office, and entered upon its duties with great spirit. John Smyth, as before, was engaged as his principal fool, and styled his "heir apparent," besides whom he had four other sons (three of them personated by Seame, Parkins, and Elderton), and two base sons, "attending upon Venus."[c]

Letter of the lord of misrule.

The lord of misrule unfolded to the master of the revels, sir Thomas Cawarden, the plan of his career, in the following terms:—

Sir,—Wheras you required me to write,—for that your busynes is great, I have in as few wordes as I maie signefied to you such things as I thinke most necessarie for my purpose.

First, as towching my Introduction. Whereas the last yeare my devise was to cum of oute of the mone, this yeare I imagine to cum out of a place called *vastum vacuum*, the great waste, asmoche to saie as a place voide or emptie without the worlde, where is neither fier, ayre, nor earth; and that I have bene remayning there sins the last yeare. And, because of certaine devises which I have towching this matter, I wold, yf it were possyble, have all myne apparell blewe, the first daye that I present my self to the King's ma^tie; and even as I shewe my self that daie, so my mind is in like order and in like suets (suits) to shew myself at my commyng into London after the halowed daies.

Againe, how I shall cum into the Courte, whether under a canopie, as the last yeare, or in a chare triumphall, or uppon some straunge beast—that I reserve to you; but the serpente with sevin heddes, cauled *hidra*, is the chief beast of myne armes, and the whome (holm) bushe[d] is the devise of my crest; my worde[e] is *semper ferians*, I alwaies feasting or keping holie daies. Uppon Christmas daie I send a solempne ambassade to the King's ma^tie by an herrald, a trumpet, an orator speaking in a straunge language, an interpreter or a truchman with hym, to which persons ther were requiset to have convenient farnyture, which I referre to you.

I have provided one to plaie uppon a kettell drom with his boye, and another drome with a fyffe, whiche must be apparelled like Turkes garments, according to the patternes I send you herewith. On S^t Stephen's daie, I wold, if it were possyble, be with the King's

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[a] Machyn's Diary, p. 28. [b] See the Journal, p. 381, and the accompanying notes.

[c] These were all attired in fool's coats. That of John Smyth was "longe, of yellow clothe of goulde, all over fringed with vellett, white, red, and green." With his hood, buskins, and girdle, it was valued at 26*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* The other "sons" had long coats of crimson taffeta and white sarcenet paned; and the base sons lesser coats of white and orange-coloured satin paned. Loseley Manuscripts, pp. 47, 48.

[d] The evergreen holly is meant, a bearing peculiarly appropriate to the lord of Christmas sports. [e] His motto, or impress.

ma^tie before dynner. Mr. Windham,[a] being my Admyrall, is appointed to receive me beneth the bridge with the King's brigandyne, and other vessels appointed for the same purpose; his desire is to have the poope of his vessell covered with white and blew, like as I signefie to you by another lettre.

Sir George Howard, being my M^r of the Horsis, receiveth me at my landing at Grenwiche with a spare horse and my pages of honour, one carieng my hed-pece, another my shelde, the thirde my sword, the fourth my axe. As for their furniture I know nothing as yet provided, either for my pages or otherwise, save a hed-peece that I caused to be made. My counsailours, with suche other necessarie persons that attend uppon me that daie, also must be consydered. There maie be no fewer than sixe counsailours at the least; I must also have a divine, a philosopher, an astronomer,[b] a poet, a phisician, a potecarie, a m^r of requests, a sivilian, a disard[c] (John Smyth), two gentlemen ushers, besides juglers, tomblers, fooles, friers, and suche other.

The residue of the wholie (holy) daies I will spend in other devises: as one daie in feats of armes, and then wolde I have a challeng performed with hobbie horsis, where I purpose to be in person. Another daie in hunting and hawking.[d] The residue of the tyme shalbe spent in other devises, which I will declare to you by mouth, to have your ayde and advice therin.

Sir, I know not howe ye be provided to furnish me, but suer methinks I shold have no lesse than five suets of apparell, the first for the daie I come in, which shall also serve me in London, and two other suets for the two halowed daies folowing, the fourth for newe yeares daie, and the fifte for xii^th daie.

Touching my suet of blew, I have sent you a pece of velvet which hath a kinde of powdered ermaines in it, vearie fytt for my wering, yf you so thynke good. All other matters I referre tyll I shall speake with you.

GEORGE FERRERS.

It. baggs for . . . . . .

It. for y^e greatt seale another bagg.

To sir Thomas Cawarden.

This curious letter is followed in "The Loseley Manuscripts" by several shorter notes from the same writer, containing various demands upon sir Thomas Cawarden,—for "a fooles cote, with a hoode," for John Smyth; for "xii hobby horses, if any such remayne in your custody;" for "an hunter's apparell for myself and vj others,"—"an attyre for Clarinse, my juggler, now of late inter-

[a] T[illegible] was Thomas Windham esquire, who was master of the ordnance of the King's ships.

[b] The names of the persons who performed the parts of the astronomer and the divine will be seen in note [a], p. clxxv.

[c] An old word for a clown.

[d] In mock representations of those sports.

tayned,"—"Item, two maces for my sergeants at armes; Item, apparell for two dysardes; Item, Irish apparell for a man and a woman," (the "wild Irish" were then represented as savages,) &c. &c. On "ye second of January and ye ixth day of or rule," the lord of misrule demanded "lxx jerkyns of buckram or canvas, paynted lyke maylle, for lxx hakbuters;" and in a postscript, "Item, thirty more made of the same stuff,"—so that he might have a guard of a hundred men. The following document relates to the mimic just on hobby-horses on the evening of New Year's night:—

*Qui est et fuit.*

His enterpryce, to be on New Year's day, at night.

Fyrst, xii. horses barbed, wherof vi. for chalengers, whight and blewe; the other syx blacke and yellowe. The pewtrells (poitrails) to be garnyshed with plumes for the sayd horsses, wt collers accordyng.

Truncheons xii.

Mases for sergeaunts at armes.

A roobe of clothe for the almoner.

Mr. Chamberlayne, my marshall.

Mr. Strynger, my threasorer.

Mr. Rydley, my mr of ordenaunce, beyng of my chyef councell, I pray you see hym furnyshed at yor good dyscressyon.

G. Ferrers.

To Sir Thomas Cawarden.

On Twelfth-night a "triumph of Cupid" was represented, devised by sir George Howard[a]; who, in a letter to sir Thomas Cawarden (written in very bad spelling, and with many modest apologies for his inexperience), unfolded his ideas as follows:—

First, you have to furnish Venus in a chair triumphal, and with her four ladies; and her chair to be carried on four men's backs, each of them a torch in his hand, as you think meet: in whose company I am appointed for to come, furnished as I wrote unto you by my man. Then comes in Mars, in a chair, furnished with torches and men for the carrying of him. He must have either armour or painted harness: in one hand a target of his arms, and in his other a naked sword. With him come three gentlemen, having targets of his arms, and swords in their hands. Cupid shall be a little boy, with a bow and arrows, blindfold.[b]

But a more picturesque view of the pageant is obtained from a memorandum of the lord of misrule himself:—

[a] A brother of queen Katharine Howard. He had the office of master of the henchmen (see p. lxxvi.)

[b] Loseley Manuscripts, p. 40.

Persones.

Chauncellor, Threasorer, Comptroller, Vice-Chamberlaine, four Lords Counsaillors, arayed as apparel accustumed.

The Marshall and his band.

These persons be alredy furnyshed; so that yt nedeth not to provyde, but only for these underwritten.

Ydlenes, Dalyance, twoo ladies straungely attyred.

Cupide, a small boye, to be cladd in a canvas hose and doblet, sylverd over, with a payre of wings of gold, with bow and arrowes, his eyes banded.

Venus to come in with a maysk of ladies, and to reskue Cupide from the Marshall.

Mars, the God of Battale, to come in very triumphantly. Brett shal be Mars. They must have three fayre targetts: the rest shal be their owne armure.

The herault Cuoeur Ardant to have a fayre short garment and a riche armour painted with burning harts perced with darts.

On the 28th of January the privy council addressed a letter to sir Thomas Cawarden, directing him to furnish William Baldwyn[a] with all necessaries for setting forth a play before the King, to be performed on Candlemas night (February 2). This appears to have been identical with "a play of the State of Ireland," which, with another of children set out by Heywood,[b] occurs in the records of the office of

[a] William Baldwyn was the editor and one of the authors of "A Mirrour for Magistrates," and the versifier of "The Canticles or Balades of Salomon," dedicated to King Edward in 1549; and also wrote a poem on The Funeralles of King Edward the Sixt, which was reprinted by the Rev. James William Dodd, and presented to the Roxburghe Club in 1817. Memoirs of him will be found in Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (edit. Bliss,) i. 342. In a book of his entitled "Beware the Cat" (printed in 1561, and again in 1584, but written if not first published in 1553,) he gives in the introduction some account of a discussion upon the play of Æsop's Crow, which arose between himself and one maister Stremer whilst they were together at court, engaged in "setting foorth of certain interludes, which for the King's recreation we had devised and were learning." On this occasion "it pleased maister Ferrers to make me his bedfellowe, and upon a pallet cast upon the rushes in his owne chambre to lodge maister Willot and maister Stremer, the one his Astronomer, the other his Divine." [See p. clxxiii.] The passage will be found at full in Collier's History of English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage, vol. i. p. 153.

[b] "An Irish hawlbert, sworde, and a prage" were prepared for the play of Ireland, and "a cote and a capp with eyes, tonges, and eares for Fame" (Kempe's Loseley Manuscripts, p. 90)—like Shakspere's Rumour "painted full of tongues," in the Induction to Henry the Fifth. The same or another Irish story had been in preparation a year or two before, when were purchased "xxiij yrishe swordes at xvjd. the pece, painting xiiij yrishe swordes at vjd. the pece; lxviij Irishe darts at vjd. the pece, painting the same at ijd. the pece (p. 84); mearser (mercer), yelow and crimsyn sarcenet for Yrish smockes, head-peces, cowles, and girdeles

revels; but after the preparations had engaged their attention from the 3rd of January to the 16th of February, it was commanded that this should be discontinued, "by occasion that his grace was sick, and the show thereof deferred until after May day."[a]

Beginning of the King's fatal illness.

The first stage of the King's fatal illness is thus described by sir John Hayward, but upon what contemporary authority[b] does not entirely appear:—

In January, about the beginning of the 7th yeare of the King's reigne, his sicknesse did more apparently shew itself, especially by the symptome of a tough, strong, streining cough. All the medicines and diet which could be prescribed, together with the helpes both of his yong age and of the rising time of the yeare, were so farre either from causing or abating his griefe, that it daily encreased by dangerous degrees, and it was not only a violence of the cough that did infest him, but therewith a weaknesse and faintnes of spirit, which shewed plainly that his vitall parts were most strongly and strangely assaulted, and the talke hereof among the people was so much the more because through an opinion obscurely raised, but running as most absurd,[c] that his sicknesse grew by a slow-working poison.

Sermon by Bernard Gilpin.

Bernard Gilpin, afterwards the famous "Apostle of the North," preached in the court at Greenwich on the first Sunday after the Epiphany. He hoped to have addressed the King, but Edward was absent, probably from his ill health, and so were the chief councillors.[d] Gilpin was as yet an unknown man, though a nephew

(p. 85). In the same volume at pp. 44—54 is printed "An estimate of the contents and value of all the stuff delivered from the storehouses of the Kinges Ma^ties Revells and Tentes, to be employed to the furniture of the Lord of Misrule and his Retynewe," giving a full and particular description of the costume, as well as other theatrical "properties." Their value amounted to 262*l.* 16*s.* But a still larger sum, viz. 389*l.* 4*s.* 9½*d.* was expended in purchases. The lord's own suit of purple velvet, furred, cost 19*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* The cost of the like charges for the preceding year (yet unpaid) amounted to 328*l.* 6*s.*; so that a debt had been incurred on this score amounting in all to 717*l.* 10*s.* 9½*d.* See the particulars extracted in "The Loseley Manuscripts," published by A. J. Kempe, F.S.A. in 1835, and also (from the same source) in the Archæologia, vol. xviii. communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by William Bray, esq.

[a] Loseley Manuscripts, p. 89.

[b] It is described with far less circumlocution, but much to the same purport, in the following brief passage of Stowe's Chronicle: "In the month of January the King fell sick of a cough at Whitehall, which grievously encreased, and at last ended in a consumption of the lights."

[c] The word "absurd" is probably a misprint, for Hayward supports the suggestion.

[d] This appears from the following passage, against which is this side-note, "*The King being absent*, these words were added:"—"I am come this day to preach to the King, and to those which be in authority under him. I am very sorry they should be absent which ought to give

of bishop Tunstall; but, having been presented by the crown in the preceding November to the vicarage of Norton in the diocese of Durham, he was summoned to preach at court, according to the provision made in all such cases.[a]

Visit of the lady Mary to court.

In February, 1552-3, the lady Mary paid a visit to her brother at Westminster, and the great concourse of nobility by which she was attended seems to intimate an anticipation that she might shortly become a personage of greater importance. She arrived in London on the 6th of February, and rode through Cheap towards her own house at St. John's in Clerkenwell, attended by no less than two hundred horse. On the 10th she rode through Fleet street to the court, attended by a great number of the lords and knights, and all the great ladies,—the duchesses of Suffolk and Northumberland, the lady marquess of Northampton, the lady marquess of Winchester, the countesses of Bedford, Shrewsbury, and Arundel, the lady Clinton, lady Brown, and many more. At the outer gate of Whitehall there met her the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, the marquess of Winchester, the earls of Bedford, Shrewsbury, and Arundel, the lord chamberlain, the lord admiral, and a great number of knights and gentlemen; and so she went up into the chamber of presence, and there the King's grace met and saluted her.[b]

New Parliament at Whitehall.

A new parliament was summoned to assemble on the 1st of March, and, on account of the King's sickness, it was opened in the palace of Whitehall.

Anno 7 Ed. sexti, the first day of Marche the King kept his parliament within his pallace at Westminster. The(y) proceeded from the gallery next into the closet, thorough the closett into the chapell to service, every man in their robes as at this day. Th'erle of Oxford bare the sword, and the marquess of Northampton as great chamberleyn went jointly with him on the right hand. The lord Darcy beinge lord chamberleyn bore the

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example, and encourage others to the hearing of God's word; and I am the more sorry that other preachers before me complaine much of their absence. But you will say, they have weighty affairs in hand. Alas! hath God any greater businesse than this? If I should cry with the voice of Stentor, I could, I should make them heare in their chambers; but in their absence I will speake to their seats, as if they were present. I will call unto you, noble Prince, as Christ's anoynted," &c. Yet in face of this passage, and the side-note, the edition of 1630 has on the title-page the words "preached before King Edward the Sixth." In the original edition (which is not in the British Museum) it was simply called "A godly Sermon, preached in the court at Greenwich the first sunday after the Epiphanie, Anno Domini 1552."

This sermon was reprinted in 1581, and again in 1630, and also appended to the Rev. William Gilpin's Life of Bernard Gilpin, 1753, 8vo. Strype, in his Eccles. Memorials, vol. ii. p. 369. has given an abstract of its contents, which are very remarkable, as presenting statistical and historical particulars of the existing condition of the church and of ecclesiastical property.

[a] See note in p. ci.

[b] Machyn's Diary.

King's trayne,[a] and was assisted by sir Andrew Dudley, chief gentleman of the privy chamber. (From a paper of precedents in MS. L. 15, in Coll. Arm. p. 130.)

A sermon was preached by doctor Ridley, bishop of London, and the King "with divers lords received the communion,"—which was substituted for the mass of the Holy Ghost, that had been usual at the opening of former parliaments.

Which being done, the King, with the lords in order, went into the King's great chamber on the King's side [of the palace], which that day was prepared for the Lords' house, the King sitting under his cloath of estate, and all the lords in their degrees. The the bishope of Ely, doctor Godriche, lord chancellour, made a proposition for the King; which being ended, the lords departed. This was done because the King was sickly.

The morrow after the burgesses sate in the Commons' house at Westminster, and chose for their Speaker master Dyer, one of the late-made serjeants of the law. (Stowe's Chronicle.)

On Saturday afternoon (March 4,) at two o'clock, mr. Speaker made his ornate oration before the King's majesty in his royal seat in the waiting chamber aforesaid, all the nobles and commons called to that parliament then and there attendant. (Journal of the House of Commons.)

This parliament began and ended within the month.

On Friday the last day of March, between the hours of five and seven in the afternoon, the King's majesty in his royal seat in the waiting-chamber in his palace of Westminster, after the ornate oration by mr. Speaker exhibiting therein the subsidy, the King gave his royal assent to seventeen acts, and dissolved this his parliament. (Journal of the House of Commons.)

LENT PREACHERS, 1552-3.

We have an enumeration of the Lent preachers of 1552-3 from the pen of John Knox, who, in a passage described in a marginal note as a "Comparyson betwixte England and Judah *before their destruction*," has the following passages:—

We had a Kynge off so godly disposition towardes vertew, and chiefly towardes God's truthe, that none from the begynninge passed hym, and to my knowledge none of hys yeares did ever matche hym in that behalffe, iff he might have been lorde of hys owne will. In this meane tyme, . . . . some crymes were so manifest and so heighnous that the earthe colde not hyde the innocent bloud, nor yet could the heavens without shame behold the craft, the deceat, the violens and wronge that openly was wrought. . . . . But what ensewed here upon? Alas! I am ashamed to rehearse it, universal contempt of all godly admonitions, hatred of those that rebuked their vyces: autoresing of suche as

[a] The privy council issued "A warrant to sir Andrew Dudley to deliver to John Bridges ten yards of crimson velvet, to make the Kinges ma^te a kirtle and a whode for his parliament robes."

colde invente most vylanye agaynste the preachers of God's word. In this matter I may be admitted for a sufficient witnes, for I hard and saw, I understode and knew, with the sorow of my hart, the manifest contempt and the crafty devices of the devil against those most godly and learned preachers that this last Lent, anno 1553, were apoynted to preache before the Kynges majestie, as also against all others whose tounges were not tempered by the holy water of the courte; to speake it plainlye, who flattering agaynste their own conscience coulde not saye all was well and nothinge neded reformation.

What reverence and audience was geven unto preachers this laste Lent, by such as then were in authoritie, their owne countinaunces declared assuredly, even suche as was geven to Jeremye; they hated suche as rebuked their vyce, and stubbernlye they sayde, We will not amende. And yet howe boldely theyr synnes were rebuked suche as were present can witnes with me. Almost there was none who dyd not prophesye and plainly spake the plagues that are begonne, and assuredly shall ende.

Mayster Grindall[a] plainly spake the death of the Kynges majestie, complayninge uppon hys housholde servauntes, who neyther feared to raile againste the woorde off God, and agaynste the trewe preachers of the same. Edmund Grindal.

That godly and fervent man mayster Lever,[b] playnly spake the desolation off thys common wealthe, and the plagues which should follow shortlie. Thomas Lever.

And mayster Bradforde[c] (whome God for Christe hys sonnes sacke comforte to the ende!) spared not the proudest of them, but boldely declared that Goddes vengeance shortlye shoulde strycke those that then were in auctoritie, because they lothed and abhorred the true worde of the everlasting God; and willed them to take example by a noble man,[d] who became so colde in hearing God's worde that, the year before his death, he wold not disease himselfe to heare a sermon. "God punisshed hym, (sayde that godly preacher,) and shall he spare you that be dubble more wicked? No, ye shall saye John Bradford.

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[a] Afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. [b] See p. cxxxvi.

[c] Another writer relates of John Bradford, that "he preached before King Edward the Sixth, in the Lent the last year of his reign, upon the second Psalm, and there in one sermon shewing the tokens of God's judgment at hand for the contempt of the Gospel, as that certain gentlemen upon the Sabbath day going in a wherry to Paris-garden to the bear-baiting were drowned, and that a dog was met at Ludgate carrying a piece of a dead child in his mouth,—he with a mighty and prophetical spirit said, I summon you all, even every mother's child of you, to the judgment of God, for it is at hand,—as it followed shortly after in the death of King Edward." Thomas Sampson's introduction to two sermons by Bradford, Bradford's Works, (Parker Soc.) p. 31. When Knox wrote as above, Bradford was in prison, from whence he was led to the stake, in July, 1555.

[d] The duke of Somerset is here alluded to; and in the Scotish version, edited by Mr. Laing, the sentence is more fully expressed thus, "And amangis many other, willit thame to tak exampill be the lait duck of Somersett, who became so cold in hearing Godis word, that the year befoir his last apprehensioun, he wald ga visit his masonis, and wald not dainyie himself to ga from his gallerie to his hall for heiring of a sermone." (Knox's Works, 1854, iii. 176.)

Will ye, or Will ye not, ye shal drinke of the cup of the Lordes wrathe, *Judicium Domini, Judicium Domini*, the judgement of the Lord, the judgement of the Lorde," cryeth he with lamentable voyse and weaping teares.

Walter Haddon.

Master Haddon[a] most lernedly opened the causes of the byepassed plagues, and assured them that the worse was after to come, if repentaunce shortly was not founde.

Muche more I harde of these foure, and of others, which now I may not rehearce, and that (which is to be noted) after that the hole counsail had sayd they wolde heare no mo of their sermons: they were undiscrete felowes, yea, and pratynge knaves. (A Godly Letter sent too the fayethfull in London, Newcastle, Barwyke, &c.)

Bishop Hooper.

We also find it said[b] of bishop Hooper, "He is to preach, as I hear, before the King's majesty on the 26th of this month,"—that is, on Palm Sunday, February 26.

Palace of Bridewell given to the city of London.

On the 10th of April the lord mayor was summoned to Whitehall in order to receive from the King's hands a grant of the palace of Bridewell, that it might be converted into "a workehouse for the poore and idle people of the city of London."[c] This was accompanied by the endowment of the other city hospitals,—a charitable object for which some of the best-disposed citizens had long laboured.[d] Among them one of the most zealous was the King's printer, Richard Grafton,[e] in whose

[a] See p. lxxviii. [b] Zurich Letters, iii. 582. [c] Stowe's Chronicle.

The city Hospitals.

[d] The poor had not only lost the relief they had formerly derived from the monastic establishments, but even the ancient hospitals had sufferd confiscation. During the mayoralty of sir Richard Gresham in 1537-8, the year immediately following King Edward's birth, the city had petitioned king Henry (without success) to have assigned to them the disposition and governance of the "iii hospitalls or spytalls, commonly called Seynt Maryes spytall, Seynt Barthilmewes spytall, and Seynt Thomas spytall, and the New Abbey of Tower-hill, founded of good devotion by ancient fathers, and endowed with great possessions and rentes, onely for the relife, comforte, and helpyng of the pore and impotent people, not beynge able to helpe themsellfes." (Strype, Eccles. Mem. i. 265.) One of these, St. Mary's spital without Bishopsgate, had, at its surrender, contained nine-score beds, well furnished for receipt of poor people, (Stowe's Survay,) but was never restored. St. Thomas's hospital, in Southwark, which had been an adjunct of Bermondsey abbey, probably remained empty from the dissolution of that monastery until it was purchased of the crown by the city in 1550. One hundred beds were re-established at St. Bartholomew's in 1552. The monastery of the Grey Friars, which was converted into a house for destitute children, was granted to the city shortly before the death of Henry VIII., but was not occupied until November, 1552. See the early history of Christ's Hospital more fully noticed in my introduction to The Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, (printed for the Camden Society,) pp. xxii *et seq.*

Richard Grafton.

[e] "But the citie of London may not forget, how he hath travayled in their affayres from time to time. Who knoweth not his diligence in laboring for and attending on that noble worke of that moste blessed Prince, King, yea Saint, Edwarde the sixt, in erecting the Hospitalles? his labors and expenses in overseing the same beyng erected, preferring it before all

Chronicle is given the following detailed account of the King's share in this transaction:—

Not long after the death of the sayd duke [of Somerset] and his complices,[a] it chaunced the reverend father in God maister doctor Ridley, then bishop of London, to preach before the Kinges majestie at Westminster; in the which sermon he made a fruitfull and godly exhortation to the riche, to be merciful unto the poore, and also moved such as were in aucthoritie to travaile by some charitable waye and meane to comfort and relieve them. Whereupon the Kinges majestie, beyng a prince of such towardnesse and vertue for hys yeres as Englande before never brought forth, and the same also beyng so well treyned and brought up in al godly knowlege, aswell by his dere uncle the late protector as also by his verteous and learned scholemaisters, was so carefull of the good government of the realme, and chiefly to do and preferre such thinges as most specially touched the honor of almightie God. And understandyng that a great number of poore people did swarme in this realme, and chiefly in the citie of London, and that no good order was taken for them,[b] did sodainly and of himselfe send to the sayd bishop assoone as his sermon was ended, willyng him not to depart untill that he had spoken with him (and this that I nowe write was the verye report of the sayde bishop Ridley) and accordyng to the Kinges commaundement he gave hys attendaunce. And so soone as the Kinges majestie was at leysure he called for him, and made him to come unto him into a great galery at Westminster, wherein to his knowledge, and the King also tolde him so, there was present no mo persons then they two, and therfore made him sit downe in one chaire, and he himselfe in another, which as it seemed were before the coming of the bishop there purposely set, and caused the bishop mauger his teeth to be covered, and then entred communication with him in this sort, first geving him most heartie thankes for his sermon and good exhortation, and therein rehearsed such speciall thinges as he had noted, and that so many that the bishop sayde, "Truly, truly (for that was commonly his othe), I could never have thought that excellency to have bene in his grace that I behelde and saw in him." At the last the Kinges majestie much commended him for his exhortation for the reliefe of the poore; "but, my lorde (sayth he), ye willed such as are in authoritie to be carefull thereof, and to devise some good order for theyr reliefe,

A most noble and verteous saiyng of a Prince.

his awne businesse, to his great hinderaunce? It is proveable ynough if any will be so past honest thankfulnesse to denie it." Preface to the edition of Grafton's Chronicle, printed in 1569, written by T. N(orton).

[a] *i.e.* as afterwards appears, on a Sunday, and during the mayoralty of sir Richard Dobbs, which commenced on the 29th Oct. 1551. Sir John Hayward, by misapprehension, states that the sermon was preached during the King's last sickness, and is followed by Burnet, &c.

[b] "O merciful Lord! what a number of poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly,—yea, with idling vagabonds and dissembling caitiffs mixt among them, lye and creep begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster!" Sermon of Thomas Lever before the King on the fourth Sunday after Lent 1549-50.

wherein I thinke you meant me, for I am in highest place, and therefore am the first that must make aunswere unto God for my negligence if I shoulde not be carefull therein, knowyng it to be the expresse commaundement of almightie God to have compassion of his poore and nedie members, for whom we must make an accompt unto him; and truely, my lorde, I am before all things most willyng to travayle that way, and I doubt nothing of your long and approved wisdome and learnyng, who havyng such good zeale as wissheth helpe unto them, but that also that you have had some conference with others what wayes are best to be taken therein, the which I am desirous to understand; and therefore I pray you say your minde."

The bishop thinkyng least of that matter, and beyng amased to here the wisedom and earnest zeale of the King, was, as he sayd himselfe, so astonied, that he could not well tell what to say. But after some pawse, sayd that, as he thought at this presence, for some entraunce to be had, it were good to practise with the citie of London, because a number of the poore there are very great, and the citizens are many and also wise; and he doubted not but they were also both pitifull and mercifull, as the maior and his brethren, and other the worshipfull of the said citie; and that if it would please the Kinges majestie to direct his gracious letter unto the maior of London, willyng hym to call unto him such assistaunce as he should thinke meete to consult of thys matter, for some order to be taken therein, he doubted not but good should folow therof; and he himselfe promised the King to be one that would earnestly travaile therein. The King forthwith not onely graunted his letter, but made the bishop tary untill the same was written, and his hand and signet set thereunto, and commaunded the bishop, not onely to deliver the same letter himselfe, but also to signifie unto the maior that it was the King's speciall request and expresse commaundement that the maior should therein travaile, and assone as he might conveniently geve knowledge unto him how farre he had proceded therein.

The bishop was so joyous of the having of this letter, and that he had nowe an occasion to travaile in that good matter, wherein he was merveylous zealous, that nothing could more have pleased and delighted him. Wherefore the same night he came to the maior of London, who then was sir Richard Dobbes knight, and delivered the Kinges letter, and shewed his message with effect. The maior not onely joyously receyved this letter, but with all speede agreed to set forward this matter, for he also favoured it very much; and the next day, beyng Monday, he desired the bishop of London to dine with him, and against that tyme the maior promised that he would sende for such men as he thought meetest to talke of this matter—and so he did; and sent first for two aldermen and six commoners, and afterward were appoynted more to the number of xxiiij.; and in the ende, after sundrie meetynges (for by the meane of the good diligence of the bishop it was well folowed), they agreed upon a booke[a] that they had devised, wherein first they consi-

[a] This "book," so far as relates to Bridewell hospital, is printed from the court-books of

dered of ix. speciall kindes or sortes of poore people, and those they brought into these three degrees.

Degrees of poore.

The poore by impotencie . . .
Poore by casualtie . . . .
Thriftlesse poore . . . .
} Three degrees of poore

1. The poor by impotencie are also devided into thre kyndes; that is to say . . . . . .
   1. The fatherlesse, or poore man's childe.
   2. The aged, blinde, and lame.
   3. The diseased person, by lepry, dropsy, &c.

2. The poore by casualtie are also three kyndes; that is to say . .
   4. The wounded souldior.
   5. The decayed householder.
   6. The visited with grievous disease.

3. The thriftlesse poore are three kyndes; that is to say . . .
   7. The rioter that consumeth all.
   8. The vagabond that will abide in no place.
   9. The ydle person, as the strumpet and other.

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that institution, by Malcolm in his Londinium Redivivum, 1803, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 554-556. It is addressed to the privy council in 1552, and contains a solicitation "for the Kings majesty's house of Bridewell, for that the situation and largeness thereof seemeth most meet and convenient for this purpose, if it shall please the King's most excellent majesty, of his great clemency and goodness, to grant that it may be employed to the said use." It was in the month of May 1552 that bishop Ridley wrote with the same object to secretary Cecill, asking for "a wide, large empty house of the King's majesty called Bridewell, that would wonderfully well serve to lodge Christ in," by which holy name (on the authority of Matthew xxv. 35, 36, &c.) the bishop was pleased to designate the poor, then "lying abroad in the streets of London, both hungry, naked, and cold." See this letter in Strype's edition of Stowe's Survey, 1720, i. 76.

It is remarkable that, whilst Grafton, in the paper printed in the text, takes the courtly line of ascribing the chief merit of this transaction to the King,—a course which has been too servilely copied in the subsequent histories of Christ's Hospital, the citizens, from whose subscriptions the necessary funds chiefly proceeded, are too much overlooked. Bishop Ridley, in his long and remarkable farewell letter, bestows praises at some length on the successive mayors sir Richard Dobbes and sir George Barnes for their persevering efforts in establishing the hospitals (see Ridley's Works, Parker Soc. pp. 410, 411), but in regard to the King he does not confirm Grafton's narrative further than by saying in his address to sir George Barnes: "And to have brought this to pass, thou obtainedst *(not without great diligence and labour both of thee and thy brethren,)* of that godly King Edward, that Christian and peerless prince's hand, his palace of Bridewell: and what other things to the performance of the same, and under what condition, is not unknown." And from what follows it appears that the King's grant had not then taken effect, for he adds, "that this thine endeavour hath not had like success, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time; which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amend, when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure!" In reality, it seems not to have been before 1557 that Bridewell palace was converted to its destined purpose. (Malcolm, iii. 556.)

Christes Hospitall.

For these sortes of poore were provided three severall houses; first, for the innocent and fatherlesse, which is the begger's childe, and is in deede the seede and breeder of beggery, they provided the house that was the late Graie Fryers in London, and nowe is called Christes Hospitall, where the poore children are trayned in the knowlege of God and some verteous exercise, to the overthrow of beggery.

Saint Thomas Hospital.

For the seconde degree is provided the Hospitall of Saint Thomas in Southwarke, and Saint Bartholomewe in West Smithfielde, where are continually at the least two hundred diseased persones, which are not only there lodged and cured, but also fed and norished.

Bridewell.

For the thirde degree they provided Bridewell, where the vagabond and ydle strumpet is chastised and compelled to labour, to the overthrowe of the vicious life of ydlenesse.

They provided also for the honest decayed householder, that he should be releeved at home at hys house, and in the parishe where he dwelled, by a weekely reliefe and pencion; and in like maner they provided for the lazer to keepe him out of the citie from clapping of dishes, and ringing of belles, to the great trouble of the citezens, and also to the daungerous infection of many; that they also should bee releeved at home at their houses wyth severall pencions.

Nowe after this good order taken, and the citezens by suche meanes as was devised willing to further the same, then report thereof was made unto the King's majestie; and his grace, for the advancement therof, was not onely wylling to graunt such as should be the overseers and governors of the sayde houses a corporation, and aucthoritie for the governement thereof, but also required that he might be accompted as the chiefe founder and patrone thereof;[a] and for the furtheraunce of the sayde worke and contynual maintenaunce of the same, he of his meere mercie and goodnesse graunted, that where before certaine landes were geven to the maintenaunce of the house of the Savoy, founded by king Henry the seventh for the lodging of pilgrimes and straungers, and that the same was nowe made but a lodging of loyterers, vagabondes, and strumpets, that lay all day in the fieldes, and at night were harbored there, the which was rather the maintenaunce of beggery then the reliefe of the poore, gave the same landes,[b] beyng first surrendered into his handes by the maister and felowes there, which landes were of the yerely value of sixe hundred pounde, unto the citie of London, for the maintenaunce of the foundation aforesaid; and for a further reliefe, a petition beyng made to the Kinges majestie for a licence to take in mortmayne or otherwise without licence landes to a certayne yerely value, and a space left in the patent for his grace to put in what somme it should please him, he, looking on the voyde place, called for pen and ynke, and with hys awne hand wrote this summe, in these maner of wordes (*foure thousand markes by yere*), and then saide in the heering of his counsaile, "Lord God, I yeelde thee most harty thanks that thou hast

King Edward the sixt founder of the hospitals in London.

[a] "So that (as Heylyn remarks) by the donation of Bridewell, which he never built, and the suppression of the hospital in the Savoy, which he never endowed, he was entitled to the foundation of Bridewell, St. Bartholomew's, and St. Thomas, without any charge unto himself." History of the Reformation, p. 275.

[b] This did not take effect, the Savoy being re-established by queen Mary (see p. 576).

geven me life thus long to finish this worke, to the glorie of thy name!" After which foundation established he lived not above two daies.[a] A blessed King.

The 11th of April, the lord mayor, George Barnes, was presented to the King in his palace at Whitehall, and was made knight by his Majestie.[b] On the same day the King made his last remove alive: Lord Mayor knighted.

The xj day of April the King removed from Westminster by water to Greenwich; and passed by the Tower, and there was a great shot of guns and chambers, and all the ships shot off guns all the way to Ratclyff, and there the iij ships that were rigging there, appointed to go to Newfoundland, and the ij pinnaces, shot guns and chambers a great number. (Machyn's Diary.)

During the King's lingering illness, and whilst he was seen by few, the public mind was naturally agitated by many alarms, and there were frequently premature rumours of his death, notwithstanding that severe examples were made of those who either uttered such reports or whispered suspicions of the designs of the duke of Northumberland.[c] Many such offenders were committed to the Tower, and other prisons; and the following passages of the register of the privy council give evidence of their treatment:— Rumours of the King's death.

April xxviii. A lettre to the deputee and counsell of Calleys to cause one Vincent there to be examined of certaine lewde woordes reported by Haster touching the duke of Northumberland's grace, and others of his name, and fynding the said Haster faultie in that is layed to his charge to comit hym to warde, and advertise hither of that he shall have don herein.

May v. A lettre to the lord chancellour to cause the man being prysoner in the Tower, and the ij woomen prysoners in the Counter, that spred false rumours of the King's ma^ties death, to be sett uppon the pillorie to morrow in the morneing, the man to have his eare nayled to the pillorie in Cheepesyde, and the two woomen to stand uppon the pillorie in Westminstre pallace, and all they three to weare papers contayning these woords, FOR MOST FALSE AND UNTRUE REPORTS TOUCHING THE KING'S MAJESTIES LYFE: and then to be returned to the prysons agayne.

May xii. Shingleton comitted to the Marshallsey by lettres, to be kept from conference with any person, who was comitted for reporting certain slanderous woordes touching the duke of Northumberland's grace. Chrispes comitted to the Fleete for the lyke matter, to be kept severall from the conference with any.

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[a] This is perhaps a misprint for *ten* days. Edward lived exactly ten days after the date of the letters patent (June 26); but Grafton's anecdote seems to belong to the earlier stage of the business, when the King gave audience to the lord mayor on the 10th of April.

[b] The first knight made by King Edward was the lord mayor of 1547 (see p. xci), and this lord mayor was apparently the last person he knighted. [c] Stowe's Chronicle.

May xxi. Christopher Moore, John Brombrough, Humfrey Holte, and John Owen, comitted to the Tower, by lettres to the lieutenaunt, to be severally kept, without conference with any, who were comitted for reporting of certain woordes touching the King's ma^ties^ person, as by thayr examinacion appereth.

Gregorie Wysdome committed to the Fleete for the same matter.

May xxvii. A lettre to the mayor of Redding, Thomas Vachell, and William Edmonds, to cause one John Saunders of that towne to be sett on the pillorie the next markett day with a paper on his head contayning in greate lettres these woords, FOR LEWDE AND SEDITIOUS WOORDES TOUCHING THE KING'S MAJESTIE AND THE STATE: and when he hath stood there the hole markett-tyme, to cause both his eares to be cutt of, and his body to be returned to prison untill the King's ma^ties^ farther pleasure shalbe signified unto them.

June xiij. William Cossey[a] committed to the Tower for prophesying.

June xv. A lettre to the lieutenaunte of the Towre to bringe tomorrow in the afternoone before the lordes to the Starre-chamber these persons, John Owen, Humfre Holte, John Bramborough, Christopher Moore, Leonard Esterby, Frauncis Digbie, and mrs. Hoggons presently prysoners in the Tower, and to cause William Hawkins also prysoner there to be conveyed to Bedlem.

Reception of the French ambassador.

Antoine de Noailles, who had been nominated to succeed mons. de Boisdaulphin as the resident ambassador from France, arrived in London on the last day of April, but his first audience was long delayed on account of the King's state of health. When some days had elapsed, the Frenchmen were invited to court, and, after dining with the council, on leaving the table, they were summoned by the lord chamberlain as if the King had been waiting for them, but they only found themselves in a withdrawing room, to which the duke of Northumberland and some other lords came in order to speak with them. They then perceived, not only from the countenances of the company, but even from the duke's own words, how little prospect there remained of the King's recovery.[b]

Early in May there was some appearance of improvement in the King's health, as was thus intimated by the duke of Northumberland to sir William Cecill, in a letter written from Greenwich on the 7th of the month:

But nowe I will recompfort you with the joyfulle compfort which our phesicians hathe thies too or three mornynges revyved my spirites withalle; which ys that our soveraine lord dothe begine very joyfullye to encreese and amend, they haveing no doubt of the thorro recoverye of his highnes, the rather because his majestie is fully bent to follo theyr councelle and advyce. (MS. Lansdowne 3, art. 23.)

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[a] Perhaps the same "young fellow" who was whipped at the Standard in Cheap on the 30th of June, for "pretended visions, and opprobrious and seditious words." (Machyn's Diary.)

[b] Ambassades de Noailles, 1763, ii. 4.

In correspondence with this account, we find the French ambassadors, in their next despatch, written on the 15th of May, relate that, on the previous day, the lords of the council had informed them that the King's health was so much improving that he would be able to receive them at the end of three or four days. Still, the ambassadors had, from other sources, been informed that the physicians entertained little hope of his recovery, as they much feared that he was spitting from his lungs.[b]

At length, on the 17th May, the ambassadors were admitted to an audience. The King was then thought to be out of all danger, yet suffering from extreme debility and exhaustion, and annoyed by a continual cough. At the request of the council, the proceedings of their audience were confined to the reception of the new and *congé* of the old ambassador, and the former deferred the delivery of his master's letters until the next opportunity.[b]

Sir Hugh Willoughby's expedition.

One day, during the King's illness, there was a scene of great excitement on the river before the windows of the palace of Greenwich. It was the departure of one of the first of those many bands of adventurers that have since planted the English race over the circuit of the world. The expedition went forth under the command of sir Hugh Willoughby,[c] for the purpose of finding a north-eastern passage through the Arctic regions for trade with Cathay. On the 20th May, the squadron, consisting of three ships, dropped down to Greenwich:—

[a] Ambassades de Noailles, ii. 25.

[b] "Sire, vous avez veu .... comme la maladie du Roy vostre bon fils et frere estoit telle et si grande qu'il restoit peu d'esperance à tous ses medecins de sa convalescence, et moings aux grands personaiges qui sont pres de sa majesté. Mais Dieu, voyant le trouble qu'eust amené une telle mort, a faict si bien succeder, que maintenant on estime qu'il est du tout hors de danger, toutesfois avecques une extresme debilitation et defaillance, accompagnée d'une toux qui le presse merveilleusement. Si est ce qu'il s'en descharge d'une telle sort que l'on ne presume plus, comme l'on a faict jusques ici, qu'il y aye en ses excremens rien du poulmon, comme nous, sire, pusmes facilement juger pour l'audiance que hyer il lui plust nous donner, que ne fust de plus long discours que de la reception de l'ung et congé de l'autre de nous, et pour la grand instance et priere que lesdicts seigneurs de son conseil nous avoient faicte de ne lui faire force lecture de lettre, ne luy dire que bien peu de propoz, moy de Noailles remys à luy presenter les lettres de vostre majesté sur la requisition du sieur (*blank*), tant pour attendre l'accroissement de la force de sa santé, que pour veoir assez d'aultres occasions pour devoir differer et mettre en silence quelques jours telle requeste." Ambassades de Noailles, ii. 26.

[c] Sir Hugh Willoughby was an ancestor of the present lord Midleton, and there is a portrait of him at Wollaton hall near Nottingham. He perished with all the crew of two of his ships on the coast of Lapland, in the course of the ensuing winter. Richard Chancellor, who commanded the third ship, was more successful. Having made his way to Archangel, he went

The greater shippes are towed downe with boates and oares, and the mariners, being all apparelled in watchet or skie-coloured cloth, rowed amaine and made way with diligence. And being come neere to Greenewich (where the court then lay) presently upon the newes thereof the courtiers came running out and the common people flockt together, standing very thicke upon the shoare: the privie counsel they lookt out at the windowes of the court, and the rest ran up to the toppes of the towers; the shippes hereupon discharge their ordinance and shoot off their pieces after the manner of warre and of the sea, insomuch that the tops of the hilles sounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gave an echo, and the mariners they shouted in such sort that the skie rang againe with the noyse thereof. One stood in the poope of the ship and by his gesture bids farewell to his friendes in the best maner hee could. Another walkes upon the hatches, another climbes the shrowds, another stands upon the maine yard, and another in the top of the shippe. To be short, it was a very triumph (after a sort) in all respects to the beholders. But (alas!) the good King Edward (in respect of whom principally all this was prepared,) hee only by reason of his sicknesse was absent from this shewe, and not long after the departure of these ships the lamentable and most sorrowful accident of his death followed. (Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. i. p. 245.)

This expedition[a] went forth under the direction of the veteran navigator Sebastian Cabot[b] and the company of merchant-adventurers which afterwards

overland to Moscow, and opened a commercial intercourse with the emperor of Russia. He afterwards lost his life when wrecked at Pitsligo, on the north-west coast of Scotland, bringing a Muscovite ambassador to England in 1557. Chancellor had been "brought up by one master Henry Sidney, a noble young gentleman, and very much beloved of King Edward." (Eden' Decades of the New World.) In his ship also went Stephen Burrough, afterwards chief pilot of England, William Burrough, afterwards comptroller of the navy, and Arthur Pet, one of a family for several after generations eminent in maritime affairs.

[a] There will be found in Hakluyt's Voyages (vol. i. p. 226) the "Ordinances, Instructions, and Advertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage to Cathay, compiled, made, and delivered by the right worshipful M. Sebastian Cabota esquier, governour of the mysterie and companie of the Merchants Adventurers for the discoverie of regions, dominions, islands, and places unknowen, the 9th day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1553, and in the 7th yeere of the reigne of our most dread sovereign lord Edward VI." &c.

[b] Sebastian Cabot was the son of John Cabot, a Venetian merchant, for some time resident at Bristol; and (according to his own statement to Richard Eden) he was born in that city. So early as the year 1496 he was named with his father in a licence granted by Henry VII. for the exploration of unknown countries, and he consequently contributed to the discovery of Newfoundland in the next year. He spent the best part of his life in the service of the emperor Charles V. who appointed him pilot-major of the Indies in 1518. Subsequently, but at what date has not been ascertained, he returned to England. A pension of 250 marks was granted to him on the 6th Jan. 1548-9 (2 Edw. VI.). Efforts were made to regain him for the imperial service, but he preferred to pass the evening of his days in England, as appears by

took the name of the Russia Company. Cabot enjoyed a yearly pension from King Edward; to whom he is said to have discovered the secret of the variation of the magnetic needle.[a]

the following passage in a despatch from the privy council to sir Philip Hoby, ambassador in Flanders, 21st April, 1550: "And as for Sebastian Cabot answere was first made to the said ambassador that he was not deteined heere by us, but that he of himself refused to go either into Spayne or to the emperor, and that he being of that mind, and the King's subjecte, no reason nor equitie wolde that he shulde be forced or compelled to go against his will." (MS. Harl. 353.) Cabot is supposed to have exerted himself in favour of the English merchants in their struggle with those of the Hans towns. In 1550-1, there was paid "To Sebastian Caboto ij C li. by way of the Kinges ma^tes^ reward" (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 68 b.) This was upon the decision of the privy council, adverse to the claims of the merchants of the Steelyard, which is noticed in p. 401 of this work. In the dedication to the first volume of Hakluyt's Voyages, it is affirmed that "King Edward VI. that prince of peerless hope, with the advice of his sage and prudent counsel, before he entered into the North-Eastern discovery, advanced the worthy and excellent Sebastian Cabota to be Grand Pilot of England, allowing him a most bountifull pension of 166 li. by the year, during his life, as appeareth in his letters patent, which are to be seen in the third part of my work; and if God had granted him longer life, I doubt not but, as he dealt most royally in establishing that office of Pilot-Major (which not long after, to the great hindrance of the common wealth, was miserably turned to other private uses), so his princely Majesty would have showed himself no niggard in erecting," &c. &c. It does not, however, appear to have been the fact that King Edward created any such office as Pilot-Major, or did more for Cabot than has been already stated: see p. 311 of the excellent critical essay of Mr. Biddle, entitled "A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot; with a Review of the History of Maritime Discovery. Second Edition, 1832." 8vo.

Sebastian Cabot is mentioned in 1555 by Richard Eden in his "Decades of the New World," as "that woorthy owlde man Sebastian Cabote, yet livynge in England, and at this present the governor of the Company of the Merchantes of Cathay, in the citie of London." Eden was the author of a book (being part of the Cosmographia of Sebastian Munster) which was published in 1553 (the year of Willoughby's expedition), and dedicated to the duke of Northumberland, under this title, "A treatyse of the Newe India, with other new founde landes and Ilandes, as well Eastwarde as Westwarde, as they are knowen and found in these oure dayes, after the description of Sebastian Munster, in his booke of Universal Cosmographie; wherein the diligent reader may see the good successe and rewarde of noble and honeste enterprizes, by the which not only worldly ryches are obtaigned, but also God is glorified, and the Christian fayth enlarged. Translated out of Latin into English by Rycharde Eden. *Præter spem sub spe.* Imprinted at London, in Lombarde street, by Edward Fulton, 1553."

[a] This is the statement of Livio Sanuto, who published his Geografia in 1588, on the information of Guido Gianneti da Fano, a Venetian resident in England during the reign of King Edward, that Sebastian Cabot, having discovered the variation of the magnetic needle, explained this secret to the King, showing to him the extent of the variation, and that it differed in different places. See Mr. Biddle's work, p. 177.

In a letter dated the 16th of May, sir William Pickering informed the council that he had that day received a message from the constable de Montmorency by mons. Mauny, that

Mons. the secretary de l'Aubespine is already in order to repair into England, intending this night to set forwards by easy posts, "of purpose (quoth mons. de Mauny) to visit, from the King my master, the King his good son and brother, who, as the King my master hath been advertised, hath been a little sick and accrased." And therewith the said Mauny asked me whether I had not lately heard thereof; whereunto I answered that, since his highness' late accrasement, taken of a cold, I had heard nothing of any other sickness that his Majesty should newly sustain, trusting it was not so.

Mons. de Laubespine came to England, as here indicated, and, of course, was satisfied that the English King was actually threatened with an early death.

Letter of the lady Mary.

On the same day the lady Mary wrote to her brother, from her residence in Essex, the following letter[a] of congratulation upon the supposed improvement of his health:—

My dewty moste humble remembred unto your Majestie, it maye please the same to be advartysed that, as the heringe of your Hyghnes' late (sycknes *altered to*) ruime coughe was to me as muche grefe as ever was anye worldly thinge, even so the hope which I have conceyved synce I receyved your majesties laste token by my servaunt hathe bene not a litle to my comfort; prayinge Almighty God owr lorde, accordyng to my moste bownden duty, to geve your majestie parfyte helth and strength, wythe longe contynewance in prosperyte to raynge, besechinge your hyghnes to pardon this my bowld and rude wryttinge; and yf in the same I do trouble your majestie at this present, as I hope I do not, that then my humble dewty and nature, whiche enforsed me therunto, maye excuse my defaulte.

Thus most humble takinge my leave of your majestie, I do and shall daylye praye for the prosperous preservacion of your most ryall estate, as of all others I ame most bownd. From Beaulyeu the xvj$^{th}$ of May, scrybled w$^{th}$ a rude hande.

Your Maiestyes moste humble syster, MARYE.

Marriage of the lady Jane Grey.

It was at this time, when the early death of the King appeared inevitable, that the duke of Northumberland concluded his alliance with the house of Grey,[b] by

[a] MS. Petyt, 538, vol. 46, fol. 9, in the Inner Temple Library. There are many errors in the MS. which occasioned the lady Mary's apology at the close, that line only, and the signature, being in her autograph.

[b] Everything appears to have been arranged before the 30th of April, under which date occurs "A warrante to sir Andrew Dudley to deliver for the furniture of the wearing apparell of the lord Guilforde sonne to the duke of Northumberland, and to the lady Jane doughter to the duke of Suffolk, certaine parcelles of tissues and clothes of gold and silver of the late duke and duchess of Somerset's, as appeareth by the same, &c." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 340 b.

which he contemplated to bring the English crown into his own family. At the same time[a] that his son lord Guildford Dudley married the lady Jane, the eldest daughter of the duke of Suffolk, the lord Herbert,[b] son of the earl of Pembroke, married her sister the lady Katharine Grey; and lord Hastings,[c] son of the earl of Huntingdon, took to wife the lady Katharine Dudley, daughter of Northumberland. These three marriages were solemnised together at Durham place, the town mansion of the duke of Northumberland, on Whitsunday, the 21st of May. The only description we have of their celebration is from the pen of an Italian,[d]

And soon after there was "A warrant to sir Andrew Dudley, knight, to deliver to the lady Fraunces duches of Suffolke, to the duches of Northumberland, to the lady marques of Northampton, to the lady Jane doughter to the duke of Suffolke, and the lord Gilford Dudley for wedding apparrell; and to the lady Katharyne doughter to the sayde duke of Suffolke, and the lord Harbert for wedding apparell; and to the lord Hastings and lady Katharyne, doughter to the duke of Northumberland, for wedding apparell, certain parcells of stuffe and juells; being dated from Grenwich the xxiiijth of Aprill, an°. r. r. E. vj^i. vij°." but not entered in the warrant-book until the 24th of June. (Ibid. p. 363 b.)

[a] We have no really contemporary account of the lady Jane's marriage, nor is the day of its solemnisation ascertained either by our historians or by the biographers of the lady Jane. They range from the beginning of May to the beginning of June. Only Hutchinson, in his History of Durham, vol. i. p. 430, positively names the 21st of May, but without stating his authority. However, it agrees with the "feste dello spirito santo" mentioned in the next note. Grafton, in his Chronicle, states, "About the beginning of the moneth of May there were three notable marriages concluded, and shortly after were solempnized at Durham place," which statement Stowe follows in his side-note: "Three notable marriages at Durham place:" but after describing the "three" he proceeds to mention the marriage of Martin (really Thomas) Keyes to the lady Mary Grey (which did not occur until August, 1565,) before that of lord Hastings. This misled sir John Hayward, who adopts Stowe's side-note altered into "*divers* notable marriages were solemnised at once in Durham place:" and hence we find the same mis-statement as to the lady Mary Grey's marriage in Heylyn, Burnet, and other historians; and even adopted by Dugdale in his Baronage, ii. 259. Burnet even adds a fifth marriage to the list—that of the lady Mary Dudley to sir Henry Sidney: which had certainly taken place previously, in 1551. We may here take notice of the passage in Burnet, under the year 1550, characterising "Jane,—a lady of as excellent qualities as any of that age, of great parts, bred to learning, and much conversant in scripture; and of so rare a temper of mind, that she charmed all who knew her, *in particular the young King, about whom she was bred, and who had always lived with her in the familiarness of a brother.*" The latter part of this is perfectly imaginary. King Edward and lady Jane Grey.

[b] Lord Herbert's marriage was not consummated, on account of the youth of the parties. He relinquished the hand of the lady Katharine Grey, (by a divorce, according to some writers,) and in 1561 she bestowed it (secretly) on the earl of Hertford (see p. 563).

[c] Lord Hastings's own royal descent (through his mother) has been noticed in p. lxvii.

[d] The writer, after describing the duke of Northumberland's designs upon the crown, pro-

who states that they took place on the feast of the Holy Ghost (Whitsunday), and that "they were very splendid and royal,[a] and attended by a great concourse of people and of the principal persons of the kingdom."

The lady Jane's cousin, the lady Margaret Clifford, another coheiress of the blood-royal,[b] was now destined for sir Andrew Dudley, K.G., the duke of Northumberland's brother; but, though arrangements for her marriage were proceeding during the month of June,[c] they were not completed before the King's death, and were consequently frustrated.

ceeds thus—"con questa intentione pratticò di dare un suo terzo figliuolo alla primagenita del duca di Sofolch, nominata Gianna: la quale ancona che ricusasse molto questo matrimonio, nondimeno et sospinta dalla madre et battuta dal padre, fu necessitata a contentarsi, et cosi si conchiuse, facendosi nel medesimo anno, nelle feste dello spirito santo, le nozze molto splendide e reali, e con molto concorso di populo et de' principali del regno. Ne fu questo matrimonio fatto a caso dal duca." Historia delle cose occorse nel regno d' Inghilterra, in materia del Duca di Notomberlan, dopo la morte di Odoardo VI. Nell' Academia Venetiana, M.D.LVIII. (This work was surreptitiously compiled by Giulio Raviglio Rosso, a Ferrarese, from the information of Giovanni Michele, Venetian ambassador in England 1554—1557, and of Federigo Badoaro, Venetian ambassador to Charles V.; and is dedicated to Margaret of Austria by Luca Contile, Academico Venetiano. See the list of Venetian Ambassadors and their Relations of England, by John Holmes, esq. F.S.A. prefixed to the Italian Relation of England, printed for the Camden Society in 1847.)

[a] In Howard's Life of Lady Jane Grey, p. 18, it is stated that the French ambassador made a feast upon her marriage. This statement has originated from misconception of a passage in the "Description d'Angleterre et d'Escosse," by Etienne Perlin, (printed at Paris, 4to. 1558,) the whole of which is *literatim* as follows: "Et lors Monsieurs Badaulphin estoit ambassadeur pour le Roy & gouuernoit le petit Roy Edouart: car iceluy seigneur faisoit force grãds bancquectz, & faisoit hõneur au tresnoble Roy Hẽry de Valloys, & en ce temps se fit en Angleterre vn beau festin de la fille du Milor Netumbellant au filz du Duc de Suphor: qui eut pense que fortune eut tourné sa robbe & deubt ietter sa furie sur ces deulz grãdz seigneurs?" Now, the true import of this passage, in which there are almost as many errors of fact as of orthography, so far as may be conjectured, seems to be as follows: that monsieur Boisdaulphin was ambassador in England from king Henri de Valois, and did honour to his master by making very grand banquets; that the duke of Northumberland—for we can scarcely suppose that even the Frenchman meant that his own ambassador—governed the young King Edward; and then the ambassador's feasts put him in mind of another festival which he witnessed in London at that time (he does not say that the French ambassador made it, but merely that it took place—*se fit*), namely, at the marriage of the son (as he should have said) of the duke of Northumberland to the daughter of the duke of Suffolk. "Who could then have imagined (as he proceeds to moralise) that Fortune was about to turn her coat, and expend her fury upon those two great lords?"

[b] See before, p. clxv.

[c] "A warraunt to sir Andrew Dudley (as master of the wardrobe) to take for the lady

Three weeks before his death the King gave an audience to Gresham, his agent in Flanders, afterwards the celebrated sir Thomas Gresham, whose name he had more than once[a] mentioned in his Journal, and who (as we learn from his own statement) had, during the two preceding years, "postyd xl tymes, upon the Kinges sendding, at the least, from Andwerpe to the court." . . . "For considerasyone of my great losses and charges and travayles taken by me in the causes aforesaid, yt pleased the Kinges majestie to gyve unto me one hundreth powndes, to me and my heyres for ever, thre weekes before his deathe, and promysid me with his own mouthe that he wold hereaftyr se me rewardyd better, saying *I shulld know that I sarvid a Kinge.* And so I dyd fynd him; for whose soule to God I dayly praye."[b]

Audience given by the King to Gresham.

On the 16th June M. de Noailles, writing to the constable Montmorency, states that the King's illness was now of that character that there was no further hope of his health. However, it was a thing as yet kept so secret, that it was generally imagined that he was daily mending, and went to walk in his galleries, his gardens, and even in his park. The ambassador had taken such trouble to learn the truth, that he had inquired of one of the King's physicians, who, in consultation with two others, had formed the opinion that he could not survive the month of August, and there was great chance that he would go off suddenly between this and then. He proceeds to state that the lords of the council were much embarrassed in their resolves, and only two days before they had held a long sitting,[c] to which no suiter had been admitted, and from which even the King's secretaries were excluded. He could not learn what resolution they took for the succession to the crown, but was making every effort to fathom it.[d] It was during this time that the important measures were in progress with respect to the diversion of the succession in favour of the lady Jane, the course of which, and the personal share which the King took in them, are related in another part of this work.[e]

The King's decline.

On Sunday the 18th of June, M. de Noailles had another audience of the

Margaret Clifforde, doughter to th'erle of Cumberland, and to himself, for their wedding apparell, sondry silkes and juells, bearing date viij$^{th}$ of June, an$^{o}$ r. r. E. vj$^{i}$ vij$^{o}$." (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 364.)

"June xij. A lettre undirected in the favour of sir Andrew Dudley, knight, concerning a marriage to be concluded at the K. M. request.

"A commission to the duke of Northumberland and th'erle of Cumbreland to be lieutenants in Westmerland." (Privy Council Registry.)

[a] See pp. 391, 400, 419.

[b] Memorial written by sir Thomas Gresham in 1553: in Burgon, Life, &c. i. 119.

[c] In debate on the settlement of the crown: see p. 568.

[d] Ambassades de Noailles, ii. p. 32.

[e] See pp. 567, et seq.

council. He found them apparently more content and easy in their minds than he had seen them since his arrival, making demonstrations of the great comfort and pleasure they had in the amendment of the King their master, whom, in truth, they thought they should have lost on the Tuesday and Wednesday preceding, but for the two last days the fever had left him, and he was continually improving; and on that account, they told the ambassador, it was that he found the court decked out and more joyous than he had been used to see it, with the performance of trumpets and other music during dinner. But this, nevertheless, (he proceeds to tell the king his master,) was a matter as much dissembled as true, and arose rather, as he had ascertained, from the satisfaction taken by the lords on finding themselves agreed in one counsel, to arrive at which had taken them many days, during which time they were closely shut up, and could not agree because my lord treasurer[a] and some others were of contrary mind to that of the duke of Northumberland, who had since united them and bent them to his own opinion. This, the Frenchman was assured, was more the cause of their rejoicings than any amendment of their master, which would only defer the termination of his life for a short time; and, in fact, three days since the lords had doubled the nightly watch of the city, opening the gates later and closing them earlier; had shut up more strictly than usual the duke of Norfolk and the other prisoners in the Tower, and had augmented the guards of that fortress; and had summoned certain lords from the country, to hinder (as he understood) rebellious assemblies, intending to arrest those suspected to be seditious or popular; and already some people who had whispered that the King was poisoned were shut up prisoners in the Tower.[b]

On the 26th the ambassador writes again to tell the king his master that the duke of Northumberland had that morning come from Greenwich for the express purpose of visiting him, and, having passed two hours with him, had returned without entering any other house. He had ventured to tell the duke that he regarded with suspicion the great military preparations that were being made, and

[a] This mention of Winchester is remarkable, and tends to disprove Knox's statement in p. clxx. so far as his conduct towards Mary is in question. He could not but have been conscious of the extreme peril of attempting to alter the line of succession to the crown; and we know from other accounts that he was one of the first to desert the councils of queen Jane. After Northumberland's departure from London, we read that there was suspicion of "some packinge in the lorde treasurer" on the 16th of July, when the friends of the queen "dyd fetch him at xij. of the clocke in the night from his house in London unto the Tower." Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 9.

[b] Ambassades de Noailles, ii. 40.

especially those for the sea; and the duke replied that they were intended for Barbary and the Spice-islands,[a]—a statement which Noailles did not believe, inasmuch as the ships amounted to nearly twenty in number.

The King's will, and intended parliament.

The ambassador afterwards proceeds to relate that he had obtained information on the important point of the succession. "It is now nine days (he writes,) since the King made his testament, by which he ordains and wills, that his crown shall devolve on Jane of Suffolk; and the parliament at Westminster has been postponed until the end of September, which is, as I think, to confirm his said dispositions."[b]

On the 6th July M. de Noailles received a message from the duke of Northumberland, to announce that on the following morning his grace would pay him another visit, accompanied by the lord privy seal (Bedford); but, whilst the ambassador was waiting to receive them to dinner, a gentleman arrived with an excuse for their delay, and again another messenger came at half-after two with a similar message, stating that urgent business detained them at court.[c] The truth was that Edward was then dead. He had breathed his last during the night before.

The King dead.

It had been only on the 1st of the month that the council had written to sir Philip Hoby, the English ambassador at Brussels, stigmatising all rumours of the King's imminent danger as the falsehoods of evil and malicious men:

. . . . . To conclude, because wee thinke the lewdeness of some soarte of mene, bothe heare at home and abroade, be suche as ether for lyghtenes or for contentacion of their owne mallyce make evelle and false reportes of the Kynges ma^ties estate, which God preserve! we doe assure you, thanked be God! his ma^tie is alyve, what soevere evelle men do write or spread abroade, and as wee truste and wishe his estate and towardnes of the recoverye out of his sicknes shall shortely appeare to the comforte of all good mene; of which mattere wee assure you as welle for your owne satysfactyone as for the aunswere of otheres. . . . . (MS. Cotton. Galba B. XII. f. 248 b.)

But, a week after, the same writer was employed to despatch to the same quarter a different story, which he did in the following terms:

After our very hartye commendacions, wee muste needes be sorye to write that which

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[a] "La Barbarie et Espicerie."

[b] "Il y a aujourd'huy neuf jours que le Roy vostre bon fils et frere feit son testament, par lequel il ordonne et veult, par sa derniere volunté, que sa couronne tumbe à Jeanne de Suffolck, comme je vous ay cy-dessus escript, et le parlement de Hoestcemestre a esté remis jusques à la fin du mois de Septembre, qui est, comme je pense, pour confirmer sesdictes dispositions." (Ambassades de Noailles, ii. 49.) On the 24th June the chancellor was directed to make out writs for a parliament to be holden on the 18th of September. (MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. f. 366 b.)

[c] Ambassades de Noailles, ii. p. 52.

comethe both from us and goethe to you with such extreame sorowe as the lyke never passed under these our hands; but suche is the almyghty will of God in all hys creatures, that his order in tyme may not be by us resisted. In one worde we muste telle you a great heape of infelycetye: God hath called out of this world our soveraigne lorde the 6. of this month towards nyght, whose manere of deathe was suche towards God as assurethe us that his soule is in a place of eternall joye. The desease whereof he dyed was off the putrefactyon of the lunges, beyng utterly uncurable.

Of this evill for the importance wee advertise you, knowing it to have moste comforte to have byne therof ignorante. And the same yee may take tyme to declare to the emperor as from us, which knowe assuredly that his majesty will sorowe and condole with us for the departure and loss of a prince of that excelencye, and so deare a brother and frend, not doubting that his majestie will have in remembrance the auntiente amitye that hath byne alwayes betwixte their auncestores, for consideracyon whearof yee shall assure him that ther shall not bee any thinge lacking on our parte, but alwayes redyenes to observe and maintayne the same. And so we wishe to us all the comforte of God's sperite in all adversetyes. (MS. Cotton. Galba, B. XII. f. 249.)

Some particulars of Edward's illness, not preserved in any native authority, are afforded by the Italian narrative[a] which has already been slightly quoted:

[a] The words of the original may here be given at somewhat greater length:—

"Fu Odoardo d'alto ingegno, atto a negoci, et accostumato assai; tutto che fosse instrutto da falsa dottrina: et dava molta speranza di se per le molte buone parti che teneva in tutte le professioni, ma particolarmente nell' essercitio delle lettere, alle quali attendava con molta diligenza. Fu però di complessione molte debile, onde in poco tempo in lui si generò un catarro con una picciola ma continoua tosse, il qual catarro, secondo i tempi, hor piu hor meno, lo molestava tanto, che da molti fu giudicato che s'avicinasse all'etico: et in cotal modo trappassava gli anni suoi. Era presso ad Odoardo primo d'auttorità il duca di Notomberlano, il quale, et per sapere, et per valore, era in quei tempi tenuto di quel regno il maggiore, et percio dopo la persona del Re era rispettato principalmente da tutti, da chi per timore, et da chi per obligo: ésso come presidente del consiglio maneggiava ogni sorte di negocio, commandava ad ogni uno, et era finalmente ubidito et riverito come il Re. Et perche nel principio di Febraio l'anno 1553 ad Odoardo crebbe il catarro, et cominciò oltra misura a nuocergli, veggendo il duca la sua indispositione andare ogn' hor piu aummentando, volle intender da medici la vera opinione, che havevano sopra la vita sua; et percio chiamati due, che del continouo assistevano alla persona di sua Maestà, et a quelli aggiunti quattro altri de' piu scientiati del regno, et fatto lor giurar fedeltà, come si costuma a chi è della casa, da tutti volle intender se'l male era etico, se mortale, et quanto tempo giudicavano che potesse durare in vita; i quali consigliatisi insieme conchiusero, che'l Re era etico, et la infirmità mortale, ma che però l'assicuraveno in fino al Settembre prossimo della vita.

* * * * *

Continouando poi di giorno in giorno sempre il peggioramento del Re, et intendendosi per

The King's last illness.

About the beginning of February Edward's cough increased, and began above measure to annoy him: wherefore the duke of Northumberland, observing his illness to augment every hour, was desirous to learn from the physicians their real opinion respecting his prospect of life. So, having summoned the two[a] who were continually attendant on his majesty's person, and associated with them four others of the most skilful in the kingdom, and having made them take the oath of fidelity usual for those of the household, he desired of the whole to be informed whether the disease was consumption, whether mortal, and for how long a period in their judgment his life might last. They, having consulted together, determined that the King was sick of consumption (*ético*), and the disease mortal; but they still reckoned upon his surviving until the following September. . . .

Whilst the King was continually growing worse, and it was understood through London that he could not live much longer, a gentlewoman came forward with an offer to cure him,[b] provided he was altogether intrusted to her care. Of which proposal counsel

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Londra che non potea vivere molto alla lunga, s'offerse una gentildonna di volerlo guarire, ogni volta che fosse posta alla cura sua. Di che fattosi consiglio, ancora che da' medici non fosse mai acconsentito, non volendo dir essa il modo col quale volea medicarlo, si delibero che detta donna pigliasse la cura del Re, si come fece, levandone i medici. La qual in poco tempo mostrò, che'l medicamento suo era senza ragione, conducendolo all' estremo della vita, per cagione de' ristrittivi ch' ella in cio usava, i quali in picciolo spatio gli gonfiarònno lè gambe, et gravarono la persona sua molto piu dell' usato. La onde conosciutosi l'inconveniente, fu licentiata da quella cura, et ritornarono i medici; ma però non gli giovarono molto, essendo gia ridotto a termine, che per grandi che fossero i remedi, finalmente si mori, et fu à vj di Luglio l'anno 1553, et il vij de suo regno, et dell' età sua xvj. Il quale aperto, et imbalsemato, fu posto nella chiesa di S. Pietro a Vasmestro sopra un catafalco senza candele, et con guardia di xij gentilhuomini, che in fin' all' essequie continouamente vi stettero giorno et notte." (Historia delle cose occorse nel regno d'Inghilterra, ff. 9—12.)

[a] The King's two attendant physicians were doctor Owen and doctor Wendy, whose services had received a token of acknowledgment in the preceding autumn:—

"Westminstre, 25 Oct. 1552. A letter to the chauncellour of th'augmentacions signifying unto hym that the King's ma^tie hath graunted to doctour Owen and doctour Wendy, his Highnes' phisicians, to either of them, and to theyr heyres for ever, landes to the clere vallu of xx^ti poundes by yere, wherefore he is wylled to make theyr bookes for the same and returne them hither to be signed." (Privy Council register.)

George Owen, M.D. had assisted at the entrance of King Edward into the world, and attended the death-bed of King Henry: see his memoir in Athenæ Oxon. (edit. Bliss,) i. 274; and a note before, in p. xxxv. Thomas Wendy, M.D. attended the death-beds of three sovereigns, Henry VIII., Edward, and Mary, and was appointed physician to queen Elizabeth. He died in 1560, and was buried at Haslingfield in Cambridgeshire, an estate given to him by Henry VIII. See his memoir in Athenæ Cantabrigienses, i. 205.

[b] Sir John Hayward, in his Life of Edward the Sixth, has adopted this story, modifying it in some degree to combine it with his assertions that the King's death was hastened by

The King's last illness.

and consideration being taken, notwithstanding that it was by no means with the consent of the physicians, for the woman would not tell how she proposed to treat him, yet it was agreed that the said lady should undertake the King's cure, which she did, the physicians being removed. A short time showed that her treatment was injudicious, bringing the King to the verge of his life, through the restringents that she employed, which in a brief space of time puffed up his limbs, and burthened his person much more than before. Which inconvenience being perceived, the woman was dismissed from her charge, and the physicians returned; but yet they helped him but little, being now reduced to the last; so, in spite of every remedy, he at length died on the 6th of July. His body, being opened, and embalmed, was conveyed into the church of St. Peter at Westminster, upon a herse without candles, with a guard of twelve gentlemen, who stood there continually night and day until the end of the obsequies.

Death.

The fullest English account of the King's death is that given by Foxe, the ecclesiastical historian:—

Thus having discoursed thinges done and past, under the raigne of King Edwarde, suche as seemed not unfruitfull to be knowen, we will now draw to the ende and death of this blessed King, our young Josias: who, about a year and a halfe after the death of the duke of Somerset hys uncle, in the yeare of the Lorde 1553, entering into the 17. yeare of his age, and the 7. yeare of his raigne,[a] in the month of June, was taken from us, for

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poison, administered by the agents of Northumberland: "At the last (he says,) a gentlewoman, unworthy to be named, but accounted to be a schoole-mistresse for the purpose, offered her service assuredly to cure him, in case he were committed wholly to her hand. Hereto the physicians would in no case afford their advice, because, as she could give no reason either of the nature of the disease, or of the part afflicted, so she would not declare the meanes whereby she intended to worke the cure. After some shew of deliberation among the councell, it was resolved that the physitians should be discharged, and the case committed to her alone. The apparent defect both of her judgement and experience, joyned to the weightiness of the adventure, caused many to marvell, and some deeply to suspect that she was but an instrument of mischife. This surmise was strongly confirmed within a very short time ensuing, when the King did fall into desperate extremities; his vitall parts were mortally stuffed, which brought him to a difficultie of speech and of breath, his legs swelled, his pulse failed, his skin changed colour, and many other horrid symptomes appeared.

"Then were the physicians called againe, who, espying him in that fearefull estate, departed from him with a sad silence, leaving him to the miserable mercy of neere approaching death. Some of these whispered among their private friends, that they were called for fashion only, but neither their advice nor appliances were any deale regarded, but the King had been ill dealt with more than once, and that when by the benefit both of his youth and of carefull meanes there was faire hope of his recovery he was againe more strongly overlaid."

[a] The King had entered into the 7th year of his reign in January, but would not have entered the 17th year of his age until October.

our sinnes no doubt. Whome if it had so pleased the good wil of the Lord to have spared with longer life, not unlike it was by all conjectures probably to be esteemed by those his towarde and blessed beginnings, but proceeding so as he began, he would have reformed such a common-wealth heere in the realme of England, as by good cause it might have been sayd of hym, that was sayd in the olde time of the noble emperour Augustus in reforming and advancing the empire of Rome: *Quam quum ille lateritiam (ut aiebat) accepit, marmoream reliquit.* "Which empire he received (he sayd) of brickes, but he left it of fine marble." But the condition of this realme, and the customable behaviour of English people (whose propertie is commonly to abuse the lighte of the Gospell when it is offered) deserve no suche benefite of so blessed a reformation, but rather a contrarye plague of deformation, suche as hapned after his raigne. Ex Suetonio.

As the time approched when it pleased almighty God to call this young King from us, whych was the 6. day of Julye the yeare above sayde, about three houres before his death, this godly childe, his eyes being closed, speaking to himselfe, and thinking none to have heard him, made this prayer[a] as followeth:—

"Lorde God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen: howbeit, not my will, but thy will be done! Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord! thou knowest howe happy it were for me to be with thee; yet, for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lorde God, bless thy people, and save thine inheritaunce! O Lorde God, save thy chosen people of England! O my Lorde God, defend this realm from papistrie, and maintaine thy true religion; that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy sonne Jesus Christes sake." The Kinges prayer at his death.

Then turned he his face, and seeing who was by him, sayd unto them, "Are ye so nigh? I thought ye had bene further off." Then doctor Owen said, "We heard you speake to your selfe, but what you said we knowe not." He then (after his fashion smilingly) said, "I was praying to God." The last words of his pangs were these, "I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit." And thus he yielded up the ghost, leaving a woeful kingdom behind unto his sister.

The witnesses hereof present, were sir Thomas Wrothe,[b] sir Henry Sidney, two of the

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[a] This prayer was circulated immediately after the King's death. On the 14th July, M. de Noailles sent to the queen of Scotland the proclamation of queen Jane, and "ensemble l'oraison que le feu roy fit en son extremité et derniere fin." (Ambassades de Noailles, ii. 71.) It was printed in Latin under the title "Precatio ad Deum cum ageret animam. Romæ 1554." 12mo. (Cambridge Univ. Lib. I* 6, 71.) There is a portrait of the King by Simon Pass under which the prayer is engraved. In William Baldwyn's "Funeralles of Edward the Syxt" is a poetical version of the prayer.

[b] Fuller, at the head of the Eighth book of his Church History, Section III. addressing sir Henry Wroth, knight, says, "I finde sir Thomas Wroth your great-grandfather of the Bed-chamber, and a favourite, to King Edward the 6th, who (as I am informed) at his death passed

chief gentlemen of the privy-chamber; doctor Owen, doctor Wendy, and Christopher Salmon,[a] groom.[b]

Character of King Edward.

It will complete this memoir of Edward the Sixth, compiled as it has been either from his own statements, or from the testimony of his contemporaries, to append in this place some of the earliest estimates of his character, written by men who, however partial or prejudiced in their judgment, were acquainted with the spirit and opinions of the time.

Nicholas Udal.

The first is a portion of the "Epistle dedicatory" prefixed by Nicholas Udal to his translation of Erasmus's Paraphrase upon the New Testament.[c] It was written scarcely a year after the King had ascended the throne, and it is admittedly a "magnifying" of the King's merits, at that very early age, not a little extravagant to our modern apprehension, but still offered with a pious intention, as the writer takes the trouble to explain. Among other diffuse and prolix passages of eulogy occur the following:—

For wheras by the space of many yeres, until it pleased the goodnesse of God to sende you unto us, the erneste prayers of all England was that we might have a Prynce; and after the time of your nativitie, whan God had so gracyously heard our peticions, we eftsons prayed that ye might have grace to folowe the godly steppes and proceadynges of your most noble father: everye man seeth nowe in your Majestie suche towardenes of vertue and godly zele, that we have conceyved no lesse then an undoubted hope that ye wyll (by Goddes governaunce) ferre passe your said father, to whom our daily wishinges and prayers thought it enough to have you eguall. We all see in your highnesse suche lively sparkes of virtue and Christian regiment toward, that we cannot but thynke Englande the most fortunate Royalme that ever was, to whom God hath geven suche a Kynge, as in his minoritie of tendre babehood learneth to bear mynde on his funccion, and to considre whose mynistre he is. If Royalmes (after the saiyng of Plato) are than

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out of the arms of him; his faithfull Servant, into the embraces of Christ his dearest Saviour. Soon after sir Thomas found a great change in the English Court, but no alteration (as too many did to their shame) in his own conscience, in preservation whereof he was fain to fly beyond the seas."

[a] Christopher Salmon had been one of the King's personal attendants during the whole of his reign. He occurs as "barbour" in the list of New-year's gifts 1 Edw. I. and had probably held that office to Henry VIII.

[b] This last passage appears in the first edition of Foxe, 1563, p. 888, but not in the subsequent editions.

[c] "The first tome or volume of the Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the newe testamente. Enpriented at London in Flete-strete at the signe of the sunne by Edwarde Whitchurche, the last daie of Januarie Anno Domini 1548." folio. The second tome, 1549, has a dedication to the King written by Miles Coverdale.

and never els in blissed state, whan eyther philosophiers, that is to saye, such as knowe and love God, doe reigne over the same, or else the Kynges geve themselves to philosophie, that is to saye, to the due knowledge of God, to the disciplyne of vertue, and to the upryght execution of their office towardes all people: howe happye are we Englishemen of suche a Kynge, in whose chyldehood appereth as perfeict grace, vertue, godly zele, desire of literature, gravitie, prudence, justice, and magnanimitie, as hath heretofore been found in Kinges of most mature age, of ful discrecion, of auncient reigne, and of passing high estimacion? . . . . . In dede, your singular excellencie in al kindes of princely towardnesse is such, that no place, no tyme, no cause, no booke, no person either in publique audience or els in private coumpaignie maketh any mencion of your Majestie, but he thynketh hymself even of a veray conscience bound to powdre the same with manyfold praises of your incomparable virtues and giftes of grace. Al which prayses and magnifying, though they bee in dede muche inferiour to your moste worthye desertes hytherto, yet your majestie muste take and repute, not as a matter of insolencie by your moste lovyng and faithful subjectes ministred unto you, but rather as a thyng wrought in them by the instinct of God, to admonishe you of the regal estate that he hath called you unto: not as a provocacion of wordelye gloriyng in your self, but as an instrumente of admonicion to continue you in remembraunce of thankes geving and of discharging your office: not as the baites of flatery meaning to fede your Majestie in any conceite of pride, but rather as a glasse wherein to beholde your self what ye are, and how ye ought to continue: not as the pleasaunt ticleing or clawying of adulacion, but rather as a caucion that ye dooe nothing in all your life whereby ye maye bee founde or thought unwoorthie the laude that is geven you: and finally, not as a nourishemente of any humain vanitie, but rather as a spur of exhortacion, not onely to beware that ye goe not backe, ne degenerate or decline from the godly trade of religion, of vertue, of litterature, of prudence, of benignitie, of justice, of princely regiment that ye are nowe entred into, but also that ye procede as ye have begoonne, and still goe forwarde encreasyng in all godlinesse, that your procedynges and consummacion may be aunswerable to your moste princely and Christian begynnynges.

CHARACTER OF KING EDWARD.

We next in order of time receive the biographical notice of King Edward, published by Bale in the year 1557. It includes the testimonies of Sleidan and Bibliander:—

Bale.

Edwardus Sextus, Anglorum Rex, Henrici Octavi illustrissimi regis ex Joanna Semeria, tertia ejus conjuge, illustrissimus filius, ab ipsis incunabulis Latinæ et Græcæ eloquentiæ ac artibus bonis sub selectissimis preceptoribus operam navavit. Quem vero ex alacri et expeditâ in literis diligentiâ sit fructum consecutus admirandæ indolis adolescens, scripta illius ac dicta plus quam Salomonica, in ætate tam tenerâ, satis adhuc indicant. Non ergo nos decet cognitam tanti principis eruditionem crasso silentii obducere velo: me

(Scriptores, edit. 1557, p. 673.)

Character of King Edward.

saltem quem licet indignissimum tanto sit favore dignatus tamque munificis cumulaverit donis. Sed ne solus autex affectione in ejus laudem dixisse videar, Joannis Sleidani dignissimi nostræ tempestatis historiographi in 18. libro De statu religionis ac reipublicæ, testimonium adducam. "Filium Edwardum (inquit) ab ineunte ætate rectè curaverat Henricus Anglorum rex erudiri, et moriturus ei constituit tutores aliquot, atque in his Edwardum ducem Somersetensem adolescentis avunculum, quòd maximè fidelis ei futurus crederetur. Is Evangelii doctrinam amabat, et ut ea reciperetur operam dabat, atque ejus amplectendæ Regi alumno suo fuit author. In eoque socium et adjutorem habebat in primis Thomam Cranmerum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, insigni doctrinâ præditum virum, et Angliæ primatem." Et libro 25, "Certe (inquit) tantæ regem expectationis Europa[a] seculis nunc aliquot nullum habuit."

Sleidani Commentarii, lib. 18.

Idem, lib. 25.

Inde a teneris annis optimè formatus et institutus ad pietatem atque literas, non Latinam modo sed Græcam et Gallicam quoque linguam noverat. Et Evangelii doctrinam vehementer amabat; ac doctis omnibus hospitium dabat atque patrocinium, Germanis, Italis, Gallis, Scotis, Hispanis, Polonis, &c. Plurima enim hic noster Edwardus licet adolescens sæpe et dixit et fecit quæ singularem Dei electionem in illo copiosè testificabantur; ita ut (Bibliandro teste) ex cordatis hominibus multi crediderint ipsum tanquam Salomonem alterum ad sapientiam ac virtutem e throno cælesti venientem adspirasse. Optimum inde principem expectabant omnes, et qui superiorum regum virtutes relaturus esset absque nævis, tituloque sanctissimo responsurus, *Catholicæ Fidei Defensoris:* ita ut de eo dici potuerit illud ex Mantuano:—

Bibliander.

> Naturæ bonitate puer, studioque parentum,
> Sic formatus erat, tenerisque affectus ab annis,
> Ut merito credi posset mens illa Tonantis
> Fabrefacta manu, cæloque egressa videri.
> Justicia et veros comitans clementia reges,
> Relligio et pietas, ac magnificentia, virtus
> Quæ facit heroes, nunquam discessit ab illo.

Anecdote of the three swords at his Coronation.

Accepi autem et ego a fide dignissimis, cum illi ex consuetudine oblati essent eo die quo coronabatur in regem tres gladii in signum quòd esset trium potentissimorum regnorum Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hyberniæ monarcha: quòd tandem dixerit, deesse adhuc unum. Et cum interrogassent principes quis nam ille sit, respondit esse sacrorum

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[a] The truth of this assertion is confirmed by the sentiments expressed, during a long period after, in the works and letters of various foreigners: some of which are elsewhere quoted. The following passage is from a letter from Johannes Sturmius to Lord Paget, 17 Sept. 1553:—

"Luctuosissima quidem nobis ad audiendum fuit, et adhuc ad recordandum acerbissima est, Regis mors: qui in tantâ fuit expectatione clementiæ, prudentiæ, doctrinæ, religionis, ut non vester solum, verum etiam noster, et omnium rex hominum fore videretur." Aschami, &c. Epistolæ, edit. 1703, p. 393.

Bibliorum volumen. "Ille liber (inquit) gladius spiritûs est, et gladiis his omnibus longè anteferendus. Ille etiam nobisipsis, qui his ad populi salutem Domino disponente utemur, merito præesse debet. Sine illo gladio nihil sumus, nihil possumus, nihil potestatis habemus. Ab illo sumus quicquid hodiernâ die sumus: ab illo accipimus quicquid est quod ad præsens assumimus. Sine illo qui regit nec Dei minister nec Rex appellandus est. Sub eo nos vivere, militare, gentes regere, ac res nostras omnes agere decet. Ab eo solo potestatem omnem, virtutem, gratiam, salutem, ac quicquid divini roboris est, consequimur." Cum vero hæc et his similia dixisset plura, jussit sacrorum Bibliorum volumen cum maximâ veneratione ante se ferri. Pulcherrima certe initia hæc erant, et Christiano principe digna.

In cæteris actionibus suis Josiæ sanctissimi Israelitarum regis indolem unicè referebat. Josias.
Cùm namque benignissimus princeps præter ætatem religiosus esset, a fœdis erroribus ac Papismi turpitudine regni sui civitates purgabat. Librum legis Domini, nempe Bibliorum salubre opus restauravit, scripturas sacras publicari mandavit, et verum Dei cultum profligatis superstitionibus revocavit. Baalitarum vasa, calices, scyphos, thuribula, projecit ex templis. Delevit haruspices, qui adolebant incensum idolis. Solis equos cum curru in suburbiis confregit, seu processiones, ut vocant, cum crucibus, facibus, vexillis, et pyxidiculis in plateis, abolevit. Destruxit ædiculas effœminatorum, ganeas extirpavit, aras portarum diruit, statuas contrivit, lucos succidit, altaria fregit, peregrinas cantiones et non intellectas demurmurationes abrogavit. Exorcisatores et vertice rasos[a] gradu dejecit, missatores ac sacrificulos exauctoravit, adhalatores in panes et calices, vel artolatras deprivavit, cum vestibus, gestibus, cappis, candelabris, geniculationibus, inclinationibus, commigrationibus, clamoribus, silentiis, suspirationibus, elevationibus, dormitionibus, expergefactionibus, fumigationibus, cæreis, sacrificiis, salibus, cineribus, palmis, sputis, et aliis Antichristi ac diaboli nugis: abominationesque Papisticas omnes, ac stercoreos deos, de universis regni sui finibus abstulit, et verum Domini Pascha in populo suo tum demum restituit: ita ût non fuerit illi in Anglia (ut de Josia 4 Reg. 23 scribitur,) similis ante eum rex ullus, qui reverteretur ad Dominum in omni corde suo: neque post eum erit.

Unde ne alienus sit Edwardus a nostri operis scopo, scripsisse[b] illum reperi comædiam

De meretrice Babylonica. Lib. 1. *Quid deplorandum magis est mortal.*
Ex auditis concionibus. Lib. 1.

Atque alia quædam. Maximi thesauri loco servabat collectiones illas, quas inter concionandum exarare solebat. Studiis namque deditus totus erat, nec ludicra curabat puer. Cum alii lusum irent, ille literis incumbebat. Et in demigrationibus ab uno in alium locum, libros quos chariores habebat, ille solus curabat, disponebat, suffarcinabat.

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[a] The "shaven crowns," a common nickname for the priests.

[b] The two books attributed to Edward by Bale have not been discovered: see the Preface.

CHARACTER OF KING EDWARD.

Sexto decimo ætatis suæ anno, et sexto die Julii, e vitâ decessit sanctissimus rex, anno a Christi nativitate 1553, tabifico morbo vel (ut fama est) veneno sublatus: at Hieremiæ luctu plorandus. Post ejus mortem sequebant in Angliâ excidium veræ ecclesiæ plusquam Chaldaicum, sævientibus papistis ac diabolis. Nam diis alienis nondum valedixit præsens hoc seculum. Innoxium sanguinem effundere indies pergit. Sed quum Dominus nostrarum calamitatum ac peccatorum fuerit misertus: Jerobohami, Jezabeles, Achabi, Manassæ, Caiphæ, Nerones, et tota tyrannorum colluvies, tanquam vas figuli conterentur, et ut platearum lutum delebuntur, calcabunturque.

Epigrams by bishop Parkhurst.

*Epitaphium prædicti Regis Edwardi, Authore Joanne Parkhursto Anglo.*

Cum mors Eduardum rapuisset livida regem,
Junxisset superis cum Deus huncque choris;
Josias adit, amplexatur, eumque salutans
Sic ait, O salve frater et alter ego!

*Aliud.*

Rex, regis natus, regum decus, unica regni
Spesque salus sui, conditur hoc tumulo.

*Ad Bibliandrum.*

Rex bonus est, quisquis bene se regit, imperiumque
Qui male, non dignus nomine regis erit.
Edwardus bene se rexit, regnumque lubenter
Recturus melius, si licuisset, erat.

John Foxe.

It is, however, the ecclesiastical historian John Foxe who has most diffusely entered into the character of King Edward:

Of whose excellente vertues and singular graces wrought in him by the gift of God, although nothing can be sayd enough to his commendation: yet because the renowned fame of such a worthy prince shall not utterly passe our story without some gratefull remembrance, I thought in few wordes to touch some litle portion of his prayse, taken out of great heapes of matter which might be inferred. For to stand uppon all that might be sayd of him, it would be to long: and yet to say nothing it were to much unkinde. If kings and princes which have wisely and vertuously governed have found in all ages writers to solemnise and celebrate theyr actes and memory, such as never knew them, nor were subject unto them, how much then are we English men bound not to forget our duety to King Edward, a prince, although but tender in yeres, yet for his sage and mature rypenes in witte and all princely ornamentes, as I see but few to whom he may not be equal, so agayne I see not many to whom he may not justly be preferred.

And here, to use the example of Plutarch in comparing kings and rulers, the Latines with the Greekes together, if I should seek with whom to matche this noble Edward, I

finde not with whom to make my match more aptly than with good Josias.[a] For as the one began his reign at eight yeares of his age, so the other began at nine. Neyther were their actes and zelous proceedings in God's cause much discrepant. For, as milde Josias pluckt downe the hil altars,[b] cut downe the groves, and distroyd all monuments of idolatry in the temple: the like corruptions, drosse, and deformities of popish idolatry, crept into the church of Christ of long time, this evangelicall Josias King Edward in England likewise, abolishing idolatrous masses and false invocation, reduced agayne religion to a right sincerity, and more would have brought to perfection if life and time had aunswered to his godly purpose. And though he killed not, as Josias did, the idolatrous sacrifices, yet he put them to silence, and removed them out of theyr places.

Comparison betwene king Josias and king Edward 6.

Moreover, in king Josias' dayes the holy scripture and booke of God's word was utterly neglected and cast aside, which he most graciously repayred and restored agayne. And did not King Edwarde the like with the self-same booke of God's blessed worde, and with other wholesome bookes of Christian doctrine, which before were decayed and extinguished in his father's dayes by sharpe lawes and severe punishments here in England? Briefly in all poynts and respectes, betwene him and this our godly King no oddes is to be found but onely in length of time and reign. Who, if he might have reached (by the sufferance of God) to the continuance of Josias' reigne, proceding in those beginnings which in his youth appeared, no doubt but of his actes and doings some great perfection woulde have ensued to thys church and realme. But the manifold iniquities of Englishmen deserved another plague, as after fell amongst us, as in sequelle of this story hereafter (God willing) shal be declared.

K. Josias and K. Edward onely differ in continuance of raigne.

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[a] This comparison of King Edward to King Josias, which was perhaps in the first instance made popular by Udal's preface to Erasmus's Paraphrase of the New Testament (published in 1548), was universally accepted and continually employed by the Protestant party. We have seen it used in the preceding pages by Traheron (p. cxl.), Burgoyne (p. cxlix.), Bale (p. cciii.), Parkhurst (p. cciv.), &c., and it is also employed by Bacon, Calfhide, and others (see the Index to the Parker Society's Works). In the calendar of the Bible of the Geneva version 1583, folio, is entered under "July 6. The Josias of our Age, Edward the Sixt, died." Rodolph Gualter, in an address to queen Elizabeth in 1559, wrote thus: "King Edward, your brother, of most pious memory, when scarcely out of his boyhood, was an object of admiration to all kingdoms by reason of his remarkable zeal for godliness and the restoration of religion, and bravely overthrew the tyranny of Antichrist throughout his realm. By which example God would shew that Antichrist has very little, or rather no, strength to defend his kingdom, as soon as the light of the divine word has dispersed the darkness in which he is wont to hide himself. But because our ingratitude deserved it, a just God took to himself in peace our most godly King, as he did Josias of old, that he mighte not see the dreadful dispersion of religion, which would doubtless have appeared more painful to him than death itself." (Zurich Letters, iii. 9.)

[b] Here Foxe is following what had been said (more fully) by Bale: see p. cciii.

CHARACTER OF KING EDWARD.

In the meane time, to proceed in the excellent vertues of this christian young Josias (as we have begon), although neither do we know, nor will laysure serve us to stand upon a full description of all his actes: yet will we (God willing) geve a litle taste of the noble nature and princely qualities of the King, wherby the reader may esteme with him selfe what is to be thought of the rest of his doinges, though they be not all here expressed.

K. Edward loved of his subjectes.

And first to begin with that whiche is the chiefest property of al other extern things in a prince to be considered, that is, to be loved of his subjectes: such were the hartes of all English people towarde this King inclined, and so towarde him still continued, as never came prince in this realme more highly esteemed, more amply magnified, or more dearly and tenderly beloved of all his subjectes; but especially of the good and the learned sort; and yet not so much beloved as also admirable by reason of his rare towardnes and hope both of vertue and learning which in him appeared above the capacity of his yeares. And as he was intirely of his subjectes beloved, so with no lesse good-wil he loved them again.

The meeke nature of King Edward.

Of nature and disposition meek, and much inclined to clemencie. He always spared and favoured the life of man: as in a certayne dissertation of his once appeared, had with maister Cheke in favoring the life of hereticks: in so much that when Joan Butcher[a] should be burned, all the counsell could not move him to put-to his hand, but were fayne to get doctor Cranmer to perswade with him, and yet neither could he with much labor induce the king so to do, saying, "What! my lord, will you have me to send her quicke to the devill in her error?" So that D. Cranmer himself confessed that he himself had never so much to do in all his life as to cause the King to put-to his hand, saying that he woulde laye all the charge thereof upon Cranmer before God.

There wanted in him no promptnes of wit, gravity of sentence, rypenesse of judgment. Favor and love of religion was in him from his childhood. Such an organe geven of God to the Church of England he was as England had never better. Over and besides these notable excellencies, and other great vertues in him, adde moreover skill and knowledge of tongues and other sciences, whereunto he seemed rather borne then brought up.

King Edward well skilled in tongues.

The readines of K. Edward to his booke.

Moreover there wanted not in him, to this felicitye of wit and dexterity of nature, like hapines of institution of good instructors. Neither did there lacke agayne in him any diligence to receive that which they would teach him; insomuch that in the middest of all his play and recreation, he would alwayes observe and keep his houre appoynted to his study, using the same with much intention till time called him agayne from his booke to pastime.

In this his study, and keeping of his houres, he did so profit that D. Cranmer the arch-

[a] Foxe has nothing to say in regard to Edward's acquiescence, or somewhat more, in the condemnation of his two uncles, but gives him credit for having wished to save Joan Butcher. As this, however, is done at the expense of archbishop Cranmer, the friends of that prelate have not allowed this story to pass undisputed: see p. 264 of the present Work.

bishop then of Canterbury, beholding his towardnes, his readines in both tongues, in translating from Greek to Latin, from Latin to Greek agayne, in declaming with his schoolfellowes without help of his teachers, and that *ex tempore*, would weepe for joy, declaring to D. Coxe his scholemaister, that he would never have thought that to have bene in him, except he had sene it himselfe.

Conduct in council.

To recite here his witty sentences, his grave reasons, which many times did proceed from him, and how he would sometimes, in a matter discoursed by his counsell, adde therunto of his owne moe reasons and causes touching the sayd matter then they themselves had or could devise, it was almost incredible in that age to see, and tedious here to prosecute.

Knowledge of geography.

This in him may seme notorious and admirable, that he in these immature yeres could tell and recite all the ports, havens, and crekes, not within his owne realme only, but also in Scotland and likewise in Fraunce, what commyng in there was, how the tide served in every haven or creke; moreover, what burden or what winde served the comming into the haven.

K. Edward knew the names and religion of all his magistrates.

Also of all his justices, majestrates, gentlemen that bare any authority within his realme, he knew the names, their housekeping, their religion and conversation what it was.

Attention to sermons.

Few sermons or none in his court, especially in the Lord Protector's time, but he would be at them. Agayne never was he present at any commonly, but he would excerp them or note them with his own hand.

Besides and above al other notes and examples of his commendation, as touching the chiefest poynt which ought most to touch all men, for mainteining, promoting, preferring, embracing, zealing, and defending the true cause and quarell of Christes holy gospell, what was his study, hys zealous fervency, by thys one example folowing, amongest many other, may notably appear. (Foxe here proceeds to relate the King's reluctant consent to the allowance of mass in his sister Mary's house, as extracted hereafter in p. 580.)

K. Edward skilfull in the exchange:

Over and besides these heavenly graces and vertues, most chiefly to be required in all faythfull and christen majestrats which have governaunce of Christes flocke, neyther was he also unprovided of suche outwarde giftes and knowledge as appertein to the governance of his realme politick. In so much that neither he was inexpert or ignoraunt of the exchaunge, and all the circumstances of the same, touching doinges beyond the sea, but was as skilful in the practises thereof, and could say as much, as the chiefest doers in his affaires.

And in entertaining ambassadors.

Likewise in the enterteining of embassadors, to whom he would geve answere, and that to every part of theyr oration, to the great wonder of them that heard, doing that in his tender yeares by himselfe which many princes at theyr mature age seldome are wont to do but by other. And as he was a great noter of things that perteyned to princely affayres, so had he a chest[a] severallye to himselfe for every yeare, for the keping

[a] The King himself calls it a desk: see a note in the Preface.

K. Edward's chest for keeping of actes and doings of the counsaile.

of such records and matters as past and were concluded by the counsell. Of whom also he woulde require a reason and cause of every thing that should passe their judgments. And of this chest he would evermore keep the key about him. His notes also he ciphered in Greek letters, to the end that those that wayted upon him should not read nor know what he had written.[a]

He had moreover great respect to justice; and to the dispatch of poore men's sutes, would appoynt hours and tymes with maister Coxe,[b] then maister of his Requestes, how and by what order they might be sped in their causes without long delayes and attendaunce, and so also debate with him, that theyr matters might be heard and judged with equity accordingly.

What Hieronimus Cardanus sayth of him concernyng his knowledge in liberal sciences, I thought here to expres in his owne wordes, both in Latin[c] and English, so much the

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[a] No notes in Greek characters, written for such a purpose, have occurred in his remaining manuscripts; but English words so written for mere amusement occur at the heads and ends of some of his exercises.

[b] Not Coxe, but William Cooke, would seem to be the person here intended: see pp. 399, 409.

[c] "Aderant enim illi gratiæ. Linguas enim multas adhuc puer callebat: Latinam, Anglicam, natalem, Gallicam, non expers ut audio Græcæ, Italicæ, et Hispanicæ, et forsan aliarum. Non illi dialectica deerat, non naturalis philosophiæ principia, non musica. Humanitas mortalitatis nostræ imago, gravitas Regiæ Majestatis, indoles tanto principe digna. In universum magno miraculo humanarum rerum tanti ingenii et tantæ expectationis puer educabatur. Non hæc rhetoricè exornata veritatem excedunt, sed sunt minora. . . . . .

"Fuit in hoc monstrificus puellus hic: linguas jam septem, ut audio, perdidicerat; propriam, Gallicam, et Latinam exactè tenebat. Dialecticæ non expers, et ad omnia docilis. Cum illo congressus decimumquintum adhuc agebat annum. Interrogabat (Latinè non minus quàm ego politè et promptè loquebatur), Quid continent libri tui de Rerum Varietate rari? (hos enim nomini Majestatis suæ dicaveram.) Tum ego, Cometarum primum causam diu frustra quæsitam in primo capite ostendo. Quænam? inquit ille. Concursus (ego aio,) luminis erraticorum syderum. At Rex, Quomodo, cùm diversis motibus astra moveantur, non statim dissipatur aut movetur eorum motu. At ego, Movetur equidem, sed longè celerius illis ob diversitatem aspectus, velut in chrystallo et sole cùm iris in pariete relucet. Parva enim mutatio magnam facit loci differentiam. At Rex, Et quonam pacto absque subjecto illud fieri potest? iridi enim paries subjectum. Tum ego, Velut in lactea via, et luminum reflexione, cùm plures candelæ propè accensæ medium quoddam lucidum et candidum efficiunt.

"Itaque ex ungue leonem, ut dici solet. Fuit hic in maximâ omnium aut bonorum aut eruditorum expectatione ob ingenuitatem et suavitatem morum. Prius cœperat favere artibus quàm nosceret, et noscere antequam uti posset. Conatus quidam humanæ conditionis, quem non solum Anglia, sed orbis ereptum immaturè deflere debet. O quàm bene dixerat ille,

Immodicis brevis est ætas et rara senectus.

rather because he speaketh of his owne experiment, and upon the present talke he had with the King himselfe.

" There was in him a towardly disposition, and pregnancy apt to all humain literature: as who being yet a childe had the knowledge of divers toungs, first of the English his owne naturall toung, of the Latin also, and of the French; neither was he ignorant (as I heare) of the Greeke, Italian, and Spanish tongues, and of other languages peradventure moe.[a] In his owne, in the French and in the Latine tongue singularly perfect, and with the like facility apt to receive all other. Neither was he ignorant in logike, in the principles of naturall philosophy, or in musike. There was in him lacking neither humanity the image of our mortality, a princely gravity and majesty, nor any kind of towardnes beseming a noble King. Briefly, it might seme a myracle of nature, to behold the excellent wit and forwardnesse that appeared in him being yet but a child. This I speake not rethorically, to amplify thinges or to make them more than truth is, yea the truth is more than I do utter.

The wordes of Cardanus in the commendation of King Edward.

" Being yet but 15. yeares of age, he asked me[b] in Latin (in which toung he uttered his minde no lesse readely and eloquently than I could do my selfe,) what my books which I had dedicated to him, *De varietate rerum*, did contayne. I sayd that in the first chapter was showed the cause of Comets, or blasing stars, which hath been long sought for, and yet hitherto scarce fully found. " What cause (sayd he,) is that?" The concourse or meeting (sayd I,) of the light of the wandering planets and stars. To this the King then replied agayne, " Forasmuch (sayd he,) as the motion of the stars kepeth not one course, but is diverse and variable by continual alteration, how is it then that the cause of these comets either doth not quickely vade and vanish, or that the comet doth not keep one certayne and uniform course and motion with the sayd starres and planets? Whereunto I aunswered that the comet hath his course and moving, but much more swifter than they, because of the diversity of aspect, as we see in christall, and in the sunne when the forme of the raynbow reboundeth on the wall. For a little mutation maketh a great difference of place. Then sayde the King, " And how can that be, having no subject? for of the rainbow the wall is the subject." Like (sayd I,) as in *Lactea via*,[c] or in

The cause of Comets.

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" Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum. Ubi gravitas regia requirebatur, senem vidisses. Ut blandus erat, et comis, ætatem referebat. Cheli pulsabat. Publicis negotiis admovebatur. Liberalis animo, atque in hic patrem emulabatur," &c. (Cardanus de Genituris.) A further extract from Cardano, containing his observations upon the King's personal appearance, will be found hereafter.

[a] Upon this assertion, which is copied by Holinshed, Hayward, Heylyn, &c., see the remarks already made in p. lii.

[b] Cardano's interview with King Edward was in September or October, 1552.

[c] " *Lactea via* is a white and bright part of the firmament, like a long white causie or way appearing in the night among the thick starres." Foxe.

Character of King Edward.

reflection of lightes, as when many candles be lighted and set nere together, in the middle they cause a certain bright and white lightsomeness to appeare, &c.

" And so by this litle triall a great gesse may be geven what was in this King. In whome no doubt was a great hope and expectation amongst all good and learned men, both for the ingenious forwardnes and amiable sweetnes which in his conditions appeared. First he began to love and favor liberall arts and sciences before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them; whose mortall condition and soden decease and decay in those tender and unripe yeres not onely England, but all the world, hath cause to lament. O how truely it is sayd of the Poet,

Thinges that be exceeding excellent,
Be not commonly long permanent.

A show or sight only of excellency he could give us: example he could not geve. Where a kingly majesty required gravity, there you should have sene him a sage and an olde man, and yet gentle and pleasant also, according as the condition of his age then required. He played wel upon the lute. He had also to doe in handling of weighty affayres of the realme. He was liberall and bountiful in heart, and therein he imitated his father," &c.

*Carmen Epitaphium Cardani, in obitum Regis Edwardi.*

Flete nefas magnum, sed toto flebilis orbe
Mortales, vester corruit omnis honor.
Nam regum decus et juvenum flos, spesque bonorum,
Deliciæ recti, et gloria gentis erat;
Dignus Apollineis lachrymis doctæque Minervæ
Flosculus heu miserè concidit ante diem.
Te cumulo dabimus musæ, supremaque flentes
Munera, Melpomene tristia fata canet.

Heroologia Anglica.

The character of Edward in Holinshed's Chronicle is an abridgement of Foxe's; and that in the Heroologia Anglica, published in 1620, and known under the name of the printer Henry Holland, is chiefly derived from the same source:—

Hunc Regem cives et subditi singularibus studiis sunt prosequuti; quippe qui, natura et ingenio mitis clemensque fuerit, et cui hominum vita et salus fuit commendatissima. Huic ingenii celeritas, censuræ gravitas et judicii maturitas minimè defuerunt. Religio ei a primâ infantiâ in deliciis fuit. In liberalibus scientiis peritiâ tantâ fuit (ut alias illius præstantes virtutes silentio præteream) ut videretur innata potius quàm studio et industriâ acquisita. Unum autem in eo fuit (ut auctorem habemus Foxum nostrum) perrarum et magnopere admirabile: omnes portus et sinus non modo Anglicos verum etiam Scoticos et Gallicos enumerare potuit, &c. Latinam, Græcam, Gallicam, Italicam,

et Hispanicam linguam perfectè calluit. Nec, ut Cardanus perhibet, fuit inscius aut ignarus Dialecticæ et principiorum Physices, nec hospes in Musicis: nam, ut quidam scripsit, ut quæ scitè ac jucundè caneret psalleretque. Cum Rogero Aschamo, qui ejus studiis admotus, Locos communes Melanthonis, integrum Ciceronem, magnem partem Historiarum Livii, selectas Isocratis Orationes (quarum duas in Latinum convertit [a]), Sophoclis Tragædias, Novumque Testamentum Græcè legit, è quibus linguam purissimâ dictione, et mentem aptissimâ præceptione instruxit, bonisque literis non ad pompam, sed ad vitam et virtutem usus est, in quibus ita fuit assiduus, ut ad miraculum usque fuerit inter sui seculi principes eruditus. Et (ut comprehendam brevi) tantâ fuit indole in quibusvis heroicis virtutibus, insignibus animi dotibus et ornamentis, ut in ipsâ pueritiâ et adolescentiâ omnes antecessores suos facile superaret. (Heroologica Anglica, 1620, p. 25.)

Sir John Hayward.

Without proceeding to the estimates of King Edward's character formed by later writers, we may lastly place in juxta-position with the preceding that of his first historian, sir John Hayward, whose "Life and Raigne of King Edward VI." compiled chiefly from the King's own Journal and other manuscripts,[b] was published in the year 1630:

It is certaine that from the first entrance of this King to his raigne, never was King either more loving to others, or better beloved generally of all.[c] The one whereof proceeded from the goodnes of his disposition, the other from many graces and vertues illustrious in him; for, besides his excellent beautie and modestie beseeming a Prince, besides his sweet humanity the very life of mortall condition,[d] besides a naturall disposition to all literature, whereto he seemed rather borne than instructed, many noble and high virtues sparckled in him, especially clemencie, courage, care, and knowledge in affaires of state.

To clemencie he was much enclined,[e] especially in matters of blood, and most especially if it were for religion, a vertue so much the more esteemed, by how much it had beene lesse used before; insomuch that, albeit hee was most earnestly affected to that religion wherein hee had beene brought up, yet none were executed in his time for other religion, but only two blasphemous heretickes, Joane Butcher, and George a Dutchman.

And when Joane Butcher[f] was to be burned, all the counsaile could not procure him

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[a] The authority for this statement, and for the rest of what is here stated as to Edward's study with Ascham, I have not discovered.

[b] See the note on this point already made in the Preface.

[c] Hayward begins by copying from Foxe: see p. ccvi.

[d] Here he quotes Cardan: see p. ccviii. note.

[e] Here he returns to Foxe.

[f] This is also from Foxe (see p. ccvi.) but much embellished, and as to the conduct of the archbishop (originally untrue) grossly exaggerated.

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to set his hand to the warrant. Wherefore they employed Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, to deale privately with him for his subscription. But the King remained firm both in reason and resolution, affirming that he would not drive her headlong to the Divell, but because heretickes for the most part have a straine of madnesse, he thought it best to apply her with some corporall chastisements which with respit of time might happely reduce her to good order. The archbishop was violent, both by persuasions and entreaties, and when with meere importunity he had prevailed, the King in subscribing his name said, that he would lay all the charge thereof upon the archbishop before God. Not many yeares passed, but this archbishop also felt the smart of the fire, and it may be that by his importunity for bloud hee did offend, for a good thing is not good if it be immoderatelie desired or done.

His courage did appeare in the great delight he tooke in representations of battailles, skirmishes, assaults, and of all kinde of military exercises. His judgment was great either for errors, or fine contrivances in the field. And no actions of armes were executed in his time, but he would perfectly understand, by what advantages on the one side, or oversights on the other, the event succeeded.[a] He tooke great pleasure in exercises of activity, whereto he much trained his servants. And to that end he often appointed challenges amongst them for wrestling, leaping, running, riding, shooting at rovers and at rounds, and such-like games; and at riding and shooting would sometimes be of one of the sides.[b] He had 100 archers of his ordinary guard, who once mustering before him shot two arrowes every man together against an inch board of well seasoned timber. All stroke through the boarde, and their arrowes stucke in another board behinde, and divers pierced both the boards.[c] Generally none might be of his guard, but, besides of tall and comely stature, such as were either good archers, or wrastlers, or casters of the barre, or leapers or runners, or of some other man-like qualitie.[d]

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[a] These passages are evidently suggested by the King's Journal, which justifies what sir John Hayward says, except that the King's "courage" is at all proved thereby.

[b] Some notes upon the King's sports, too long for this place, must be arranged in a subsequent page.

[c] See Journal, p. 318.

[d] From the same entry in the King's Journal, p. 319: but it is well known that the like careful selection of the yeomen of the guard had been adopted by his father; who, in Rowly's play of "When you see me you know me," is made to address the emperor in these words, descriptive of court pastimes at that day:—

> First in our court weele banquet merrily,
> Then mount on steedes, and girt in compleat steele
> Weele tugge at barriers, tilt and turnament;
> Then shall yee see the yeomen of my guard
> Wrestle, shoote, throw the sledge, or pitch the barre,
> Or any other active exercise.

He was exceedingly skilfull in fortifications, and bestowed great cost in strengthening Calleis, Berwicke, and other parts thereabout.[a] He knew all the principall ports in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, and other countries not farre distant, how they lay, when the tyde served, what vessels of burthen they could receive, and what windes served for entrance.

Touching his care and knowledge in affaires of state, nothing was more conspicuous in him. He was much conversant amongst his counsaile, and would well understand what matters passed their judgments, and upon what grounds. In matters discoursed by them he would often encounter their reasons, and adde most lively reasons of his owne.[b] In so much that at last they made an order[c] that no matters of weight should be debated unlesse he were present. Admirable he was to collect the speeches and opinions of many, and to draw their differences to a true head, alwaies bending himselfe rather judiciously to resolve, then by doubts and distinctions to perplex a businesse. He had a chest, whereof he alwaies carryed the key about him, for keeping record of such matters as were concluded by his counsaile; and, embracing businesse for part of his solace, hee appoynted set times with doctor Coxe, master of his requests,[d] for speeding poore men's causes without tedious attendance or delay.

Of all the magistrates, justices, and gentlemen of sort within his realme, he knew their names, their housekeeping, their religion, and manner of life.[e]

Hee was skilfull in the exchange beyond the seas, and in all the circumstances and practices thereof;[f] and so was he both skilfull and provident in matters of the mint at home.[g]

To embassadors hee would give answere upon the suddaine, and touch both orderly and fully upon every part of their ôrations, to the delight and admiration of all the hearers.[h]

He much frequented sermons, and penned notes with his owne hand; his notes hee cyphered with Greeke characters, to the end that they who waited on him should not read them.[i]

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[a] This is suggested by the paper printed in p. 548; and what follows is copied from Foxe (see p. ccvii).

[b] So far from Foxe.

[c] The order to which Hayward here alludes will be found in the King's paper at p. 554 of this Work. It is not, however, to the purport above stated; but that when any such matter of weight arose as it pleased the King's majesty himself to be present at the debating of, then summons should be issued in order to ensure a full attendance of councillors.

[d] John Coke or Cockes (see p. 499, note): in p. ccviii I have said William Cooke, in error.

[e] This, again, is from Foxe: see p. ccvii.

[f] And this also.

[g] This is suggested by several passages in the King's Journal, and by his papers at pp. 543—550 hereafter.

[h] From Foxe: see p. ccvii.

[i] This reads as if the King's notes taken at sermons were written in Greek: but the passage is formed from two distinct sentences of Foxe (pp. ccvii, ccviii.)

His disports were ingenuous and manlike, whereby he alwaies learned somewhat; and yet, as well from these as from his businesses of state, he dayly reserved some houres for his private studies and exercises with his teachers. These endeavours fell upon so excellent a capacitie, that in a very short distance of time he made incredible increase both in learning and experience of affaires, and consequentlie in love of all men.

Personal appearance.

Edward's personal appearance is made familiar to the knowledge of posterity by several excellent portraits taken by the great master Holbein, as well as by the faithful, though less admirable, picture by Strete. It is also described by the physician Cardano,[a] who visited England in the last year of the King's life. He relates that there was that look in Edward's face which foretold an early death;[b]

[a] Girolamo Cardano, a Milanese, was in his day much esteemed as a philosopher, and became a very voluminous author. An amusing epitome of his eccentric career has been gathered from his various works, and recently published under the title of "The Life of Girolamo Cardano, of Milan, Physician; by Henry Morley. 1854." Two vols. 8vo. His visit to England was occasioned by an invitation received from Guillermo Casanate, (a Spaniard,) the body physician of John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who was a natural brother of the regent Arran. This prelate was afflicted with asthma. Casanate repaired to Lyons to fetch Cardano. They came through London, and a passport "for Jerome Cardanus and G. Casanatus, physicians, to go into Scotland," dated June 10, 1550, is preserved in the State-paper office. Cardano arrived in Edinburgh on the 29th of that month, and remained there until the 12th of September. It was during his second sojourn in London, on his return, that he made his observations on the young King. He states that he lodged *(diversatus)* with sir John Cheke, whose nativity he calculated, and publishes with many details in his "Geniturarum Exempla, Lugd. 1555," as he does that of Claude de Laval (sieur de Boisdaulphin) then French ambassador in England. In the title-page of Cardano's folio volume "De Varietate Rerum, Basileæ, 1557," is a profile portrait of its author, dated 1553 (immediately after his visit to England), and circumscribed with this inscription—HIERONYMVS CARDANVS AETATIS AN. XLVIIII. He died at Rome in 1576.

[b] The character and description of Edward the Sixth, written by Cardano, which have been quoted by nearly all his historians and biographers, from Foxe downwards, occur in the small volume above mentioned, printed in 1555. It contains the nativities of twelve persons drawn out after the manner of the astrologers, and accompanied by long comments and disquisitions, which in the case of King Edward occupy many pages. Cardano commences his story with the false account of the treatment of the King's mother (see p. xxiv) which was followed by Heyward and other writers who should have known better: "Primum est nativitas ipsa per se admirabilis, nam excisus ex utero materno fuit: ipsa mater parum, ut par erat, super vixit. Præstabat enim, ut reor, hunc puerum non nasci, aut natum et educatum supervivere diutius. Aderant enim illi gratiæ," &c. The scheme of the King's nativity is then presented, which contains the statement that he was born "1537. Die undecima Octob. hor. 13. minut. 16 a meridie Londini." And the next five pages are filled with the signification of each part of the calculation, the particulars of which will here be excused. Next follow short chapters, *De vero*

but in other respects he was comely, because of his youth, and by inheritance from handsome parents. His stature was below the usual size, his complexion fair, his eyes grey, his gesture and general aspect sedate and becoming. He was subject to constitutional weaknesses rather than diseases. He had a high shoulder-blade: and it is not very clear whether or no Cardano attributes to him a weakness in the eyes[a] and occasional deafness. When the astrologer proceeded to calculate the probable indurance of Edward's life, he contemplated for him the prospect of many years to come, though he declared, what seemed obvious enough, that his vital powers would be always weak.[b]

*tempore genituræ*, *De utroque parente*, *De fratribus ac sororibus*, *De sexu*, *numero*, *perfectione et nutritione*. Under the last head Cardano alleges that the aspect of Saturn in the horoscope signified (as translated in the text) "debilem vitam in pueritia: et vestigium in facie quod mors immatura prævenit. Fuit de cætero formosus ob ætatem, et parentes qui pulchri fuerunt, et Venerem in ascendente, unicus et sine labe etiam nutritus." Then follows a chapter *De duobus præcipuis in hac genesi considerandis*, in which is nothing of interest; but from the next, *De forma corporis*, we take the following: "Fuit igitur staturâ infra mediocrem paululum, candido vultu, oculis cæsiis, gravitate aspectûs decorus et formosus. Vitiis potius quàm morbis corporis subjectus, quòd maleficæ a sole essent Orientales. Habuit igitur spatulam paulo ampliorem; hæc autem ad monstrosam formam non pertinent etsi à nativitate contracta. Quæ verò non perpetuò manent morbi dicuntur, ut cæcitas, surditas ad tempus, nec ex aphetarum directionibus pendent. Febres autem et morbi generales et graves fiunt ex aphetarum directione validâ aut debiliore cum processibus atque ingressibus." The succeeding divisions of Cardano's dissertation are entitled *De divitiis*, *De amicis*, *inimicis et servis*, *De itineribus*, *De honoribus et dignitate*, none of which convey to us any rational information; but the chapter which follows, *De animi qualitatibus*, is that which has been so often quoted, and the substance of which is already given in p. ccviii, commencing, "Fuit in hoc," &c.

[a] That the King sometimes suffered in that respect is shewn by the following prescription, which occurs in a book printed eighty years after:—

*A precious water for the sight of the eyes, made by King Edward the Sixt.*

Take smallage, red fennell, rue, verveine, betonie, egremony, pimpernell, enfrance, sage, selondine, of each a like quantity; first wash them cleane, then stampe them, and put them in a faire brasen pan, with the powder of xv. pepper cornes, fair serced into a pint of good white wine, then put them into the hearbes, with three spoonfuls of hony, and five spoonfuls of the water of a man-child that is an innocent; mingle al together, and boile them over the fire: and when it is sod, straine it through a fine linnen cloth, and put it into a glasse, and stoppe it well and close till you will use it, and, when you need, put a little thereof into the sore eyes with a feather: but if it were dry, then temper it with white wine, and it profiteth much all manner of sore eyes: this water was used by King Edward the sixt. (The Pathway to Health, by Peter Levens, edit. 1632, fol. 12; edit. 1654, p. 32.)

[b] "Vita debilis omnino erit: nam luminaria infra terram sunt, et Venus quæ in ascendente

At the age of thirty-two years, nine months, and twenty-two days, languor of mind and body would afflict him. At the age of thirty-four years, five months, and twenty days, he would suffer from skin disease and a slight fever. After the age of fifty-five years, three months, and seventeen days, various diseases would fall to his lot. As long as he lived he would be constant, rigid, severe, continent, intelligent, a guardian of the right, patient in labour, a rememberer of wrongs and benefits. He was also to have faults somewhat contradictory to the good qualities already assigned to him. He would be most wise, and for that reason the admired of nations; most prudent, magnanimous, fortunate, and as it were another Solomon.

In forming this tissue of absurd conjectures the philosopher had occupied a hundred hours[a]; but, when they were contradicted by the event, he discovered that, although he had, as usual, observed the aspects of all the planets *secundum artem*, he had omitted some part of his calculations called the "middle hour," and the directions of the sun and moon, attention to which would have made the peril conspicuous! He admits, however, that, had such been the result, he should not have dared to make it known, remembering the fate of some of his predecessors who had foretold death to princes: as one Ascletarion to Domitian, and a priest to Galeazzo Sforza. Indeed, Cardano declares that what he observed, independently of astrology, of the state of affairs in England, and how everything lay at the mercy of the duke of Northumberland, made him gladly escape homeward. Subsequently, in the work on the Variety of Things, which he had proposed to

est infelix est, et Saturnus illi succedit, ascendens quoque ex signis minimè vitalibus. Saturnus tamen aut Venus apheta est. Ascendens ad Saturnum pervenit in annis 32. mensibus 9. diebus 22. Et tunc animi et corporis langorem patietur. Saturnus quoque ad Martis sextilem in annis 34. mensibus 5. diebus 20. Et significat morbum in cute et febrem levem. Sed et ad Lunæ quadratum in annis 55. mensibus 3. diebus 17. Post quod tempus diversis conflictabitur morbis. Cumque Mars sit anæreta, erit mors cum sanguinis proluvio et fervore maximo.

"In universum quod vixerit erit constans, rigidus, severus, continens, intelligens, æqui custos, laborum patiens, injuriarum atque beneficiorum memor, terribilis, cupidus; laborabit vitiis circa venerea, et generandi impotentiâ patietur. Erit sapientissimus, et ob id omnibus gentibus admirabilis: prudentissimus, magnanimus, felix, ac quasi alter Solomon."

[a] "Ecce fatum. Consumpseram in condendo prognostico horas circiter C. solitus Aphetas omnes dirigere; si mediam horam adjecissem, poteram et Solem et Lunam dirigere, quibus directis, ut clarum est, periculum è vestigio apparuisset." Mr. Morley has not correctly reported this, for he states that Cardano would not pursue his calculations, *because* they "would have cost him not less than a hundred hours." In some other places also Mr. Morley has misunderstood Cardano's statements; and not unpardonably, for his language is occasionally almost as obscure as his science.

dedicate to King Edward, Cardano again spoke of him with great admiration:[a]— "If Edward VI. (he remarked), that boy of wondrous promise, had survived, he would have contributed not a little to the learning of the whole kingdom. For, as Plato says, that is a happy commonwealth whose kings are philosophers."

Astronomy.

For his knowledge of astronomy, and his power to converse with Cardano on the nature of comets (as related in a previous page), King Edward would be indebted immediately to his tutor Cheke,[b] who was attached to that science, as was his friend sir Thomas Smith. It appears to have been in the year 1551 that the King wrote a defence of astronomy, which is printed among his declamations hereafter;[c] and in the same year a quadrant was made for him, which still exists, bearing a fac-simile of his signature in Latin, *Edwardus Rex*, and the initials of his tutor.[d]

[a] "Si Rex Edoardus sextus hujus nominis, adolescens miræ spei, supervixisset, non parum ad totius regni institutionem contulisset. Beata enim (ut inquit Plato) Respublica, in qua reges philosophi sunt. Sed aliâ majore causâ forsan non expedivit. Regem enim cuncti suspiciunt, et juxta illud Claudianum,

Regis ad exemplum nec sic inflectere sensus
Humanos edicta valent quàm vita regentis,
Mobile mutatur semper cum Principe vulgus."

De Rerum Varietate. Basileæ, 1557, p. 286.

[b] Cardano during his visit in London lodged with Cheke, and has published a scheme of his nativity in his book *Geniturarum exempla* (already mentioned in p. ccxiv). It shows that Cheke was born at Cambridge on the 16th June, 1514, at five hours and fifteen minutes after mid-day. Another such scheme is published in Strype's Life of Cheke, which states his birth on the same day, but at five minutes past 2 p.m. This is copied from a MS. of astrology in the handwriting of sir Thomas Smith, now preserved among the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum (MS. Addit. 325). When Cheke was kidnapped on the continent, and brought back to England, in Mary's reign, it is said to have been in consequence of his reliance on astrology; for he had been secure "until trusting to the stars too much (would he had either not gone so high, or gone a little higher, for advice!), and his friends too little, he went to meet his dear wife in Brabant." (David Lloyd's State Worthies, edit. 1670, p. 195.)

[c] See the Oratio XI b.

[d] It is described in the Preface. Nicholas Cratzer held the appointment of Astronomer to King Edward VI. with a quarterly fee of C s. (MS. Trevelyan.) He was a Bavarian, who came to England before 1517, when bishop Fox made him a fellow of his new college of Corpus Christi at Oxford, and he lectured in that university on astronomy and mathematics under the patronage of Henry VIII. and Wolsey. See a memoir of him in Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (edit. Bliss), i. 190.—The Christmas lord of misrule had his Astronomer (p. clxxv.)

The edition of "Julii Firmici Materni Astronomicōn Libri VIII." accompanied by the treatises of several other authors on kindred subjects, which was printed at Basle in April 1551,

The King's Sports.

Whilst the preceding pages have largely commemorated the King's studies, they have told little respecting his sports. But of the latter also some notices and anecdotes have been preserved, for which it may be well still to find a place. After the ball, the hoop, and other simple games which have occupied the boyish attention of all generations, and perhaps in every clime, the most frequent sports of English youth in the sixteenth century were archery and tennis, together with the exercises of leaping and horsemanship. The laudable accomplishments of a courtly gentleman are thus enumerated by Roger Ascham:—

To ride comely; to run fair at the tilt or ring; to play at all weapons; to shoot fair in bow, or surely in gun; to vault lustily; to run, to leap, to wrestle, and to swim; to dance comely; to sing and play on instruments cunningly; to hawk, to hunt, to play at tennis, and at all pastimes generally which are joined with labour and are used in open place and in the day-light, and which contain some fit exercise for war, or some pleasant pastime for peace. These be not only comely and decent, but also very necessary for a courtly gentleman to use. (Schoolmaster, p. 63.)

Archery.

Archery, when its importance as an engine of war had declined, maintained its ground as a favourite recreation with persons of all ranks and ages. Henry the Eighth continued its practice until he had passed middle life. His son the duke of Richmond was taught to cultivate the art[a]; nor was it neglected in the education of Prince Edward. It is observed by Roger Ascham, in his Toxophilus, that—

Princes, being children, ought to be brought up in shooting, both because it is an exercise most wholesome, and also a pastime most honest, wherein labour preparcth the body to hardness, the mind to courageousness, suffering neither the one to be marred with tenderness, nor yet the other to be hurt with idleness, as we read how Sardanapalus and such other were, because they were not brought up with outward honest, painful, pastimes to be men, but cockered up with inward naughty, idle, wantonness to be women.

In the spring of 1551 we find the King recording, in his Journal,[b] "a challenge made by me, that I, with sixteen of my chamber, should run at base, shoot, and run at ring with any seventeen of my servants, gentlemen in the court." The

was dedicated by Nicholas Pruckner to Edward the Sixth. This dedication, which is dated *Argentorati*, 28 *Januarij* 1551, supplies no information upon the King's studies; but the writer addresses him in the hope that he would protect the persecuted professors of science as he did the exiled ministers of religion.

In the same year Robert Record, who was the first in England to adopt the Copernican system, dedicated to the King the second edition of his "Ground of Artes."

[a] See my memoir of the duke of Richmond, (Camden Miscellany, vol. iii.) pp xlii. lix. xcvi.

[b] Page 310.

result of this challenge, so far as the shooting or archery went, was that, on the 6th of April, the King lost at rounds, and won at rovers.[a]

Again, when the mareschal St. André was at court in July 1551, the King says, "he saw me shoot, and saw all my guard shoot together.[b]"

It is perhaps a more apocryphal anecdote of the King's archery which is thus traditionally told by Dr. Thomas Fuller:[c]—

But above all Shooting is a noble recreation, and a half Liberall art. A rich man told a poore man that he walked to get a stomach to his meat: And I, said the poore man, walk to get meat for my stomach. Now, Shooting would have fitted both their turns; it provides food when men are hungry, and helps digestion when they are full. King Edward the sixth (though he drew no strong bow) shot very well; and when once John Dudley duke of Northumberland commended him for hitting the mark, *You shot better* (quoth the King) *when you shot off my good uncle Protectour's head.* But our age sees his Successour[d] exceeding him in that art, whose eye like his judgment is clear and quick to discover the mark, and his hands as just in shooting as in dealing aright. (The Holy State, Book III. chap. 13.)

Base, or running.

On the 1st of April, 1551, being the first day of performance of the same challenge,[e] at base, or running, the King won. This was the sport called prison base, otherwise prisoners' bars, still known in some parts of England.[f]

[a] "Shooting at *Rounds* is a shot at a target, or any similar object, circumscribed with circles of different diameters fixed to a butt. He who lodges his arrow nearest the centre wins the prize. The object, in this case, as well as the distance, is always certain; but at *Rovers* everything differs: the mark is a tree, a gate, or any given field-object that occurs; the distance is greater, and, the arrows being discharged with a considerable elevation, the place of their fall, with regard to the mark, determines the merit of the shot. The person who wins has a right to name the next mark; so that the term seems to be derived from the *roving* of the shooters from one object to another." (Samuel Pegge, Esq. in Curialia, Part III. p. 26.)

[b] Journal, p. 332.

[c] Fuller has related this story again, in other words: "Whilst in health his body was no less active in exercise than his mind quick in apprehension. To give one instance of both together: One day, being shooting at butts (a manful and healthful pastime, wherein he very much delighted), he hit the very mark. The duke of Northumberland being present, and, as I take it, betting on his side, 'Well shot, my liege,' quoth he. 'But you shot nearer the mark,' returned the King, 'when you shot off my good uncle Somerset's head.' And it is generally conceived that grief for his death caused King Edward's consumption, who succeeded not to any consumptive inclination, as hereditary from his extraction, from a father but little past, and a mother just in, the strength of their age." (Church History, Book VII. sect. 2, p. 358.)

[d] Charles the First: the book was first published in 1642.

[e] In the Journal, p. 311, insert a comma after the word challenge, and then the sense will be found to be as above given.

[f] See Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, 4to, 1801, p. 61.

Running at the Ring.

Running at the ring[a] was an equestrian exercise[b] in King Edward's court; although the ancient quintain, of which it was a species, was performed on foot as well as on horseback. The performance of this part of the royal challenge in 1551 is described in the Journal at some length[c]; and the most remarkable feature in it is the small success of the competitors. The King's band never took the ring once; and the other band, which was led by the young earl of Hertford, only twice in one hundred and twenty courses. It was followed by tourney, a mimic fight with swords[d] between six on either side. The athletic sports of the archers of the guard, already noticed,[e] ensued a few days after.

Tourney.

In the following summer, and again in the spring of 1552, repetitions of the like sports took place in Greenwich Park, where "the King's grace ran at the ring,"[f] though on those occasions they are unnoticed in his Journal.

Tilt.

The other chivalric exercises called barriers, justs, and tilt, and also by the

[a] See a long note on Running at the ring in Pegge's Curialia, Part II. p. 35.

[b] To ride well was, in ancient times, the most necessary accomplishment of any, either for the exigencies of war or peace. It often happened, in the natural course of things, that those pupils who were slowest at their book were the quickest to learn this useful exercise: a circumstance which led Roger Ascham to pen the following reflections:—

Roger Ascham on Riding.

"Fond schoolmasters neither can understand, nor will follow, this good counsel of Socrates; but wise riders in their office can and will do both; which is the only cause that commonly the young gentlemen of England go so unwillingly to school, and run so fast to the stable. For in very deed, fond schoolmasters, by fear, do beat into them the hatred for learning; and wise riders, by gentle allurements, do breed up in them the love of riding. They find fear and bondage in schools, they feel liberty and freedom in stables; which causes them utterly to abhor the one, and most gladly to haunt the other. And I do not write this, that, in exhorting to the one, I would dissuade young gentlemen from the other; yea, I am sorry with all my heart that they be given no more to riding than they be. For of all outward qualities, to ride fair is most comely for himself, most necessary for his country; and the greater he is in blood, the greater is his praise, the more he doth exceed all other therein. It was one of the three excellent praises amongst the noble gentlemen, the old Persians: 'Always to say truth, to ride fair, and shoot well;' and so it was engraven upon Darius's tomb, as Strabo witnesseth." Schoolmaster, p. 213.

[c] P. 317.

[d] The earl of Surrey, in his poem on Windsor castle, speaks of

> The gravel-ground, with sleeves tyde on the helm,
> On foaming horse, with swords and friendly hearts,
> With chere as though one should another whelm,
> Where we have fought, and chased oft with darts.

[e] P. ccxii.

[f] See the extracts from Machyn's Diary in p. 328, note, and in p. clix. of this Memoir.

general name of triumphs, were customary among the young courtiers;[a] but it does not appear that the King took part in them, for they were perilous in their nature, and his strength was not great, whilst his life was precious. They were generally attended by pageants, masques, or interludes, like that which introduced the combatants at the tourney in 1551–2, six as the champions of Youth, and their six opponents as the champions of Riches.

Masques.

The King does not in his Journal once mention his having taken part in a masque; yet he seems to have done so, at least on one occasion, from the following letter[b] to the master of the revels, written whilst the Protector was still in power, and sir Michael Stanhope was the chief attendant on the King:—

Gentle Mr. Cawerden,—My lord Protectour's pleasour is that you shall cause garments to be made for vj maskes, whereof the King's ma^tie shal be woon, and the residue of his statiore, and vj other garments of like bignes for torch-bearers, with convenient diligence, so as the same may be in arredynes against sondaye next at the uttermost; for whiche purpose his grace have comaunded me to write these my letters to you accordingly: From Westminster, the v^th daye of Februarie.

Your loving frende,

MYCHAELL STANHOPE.

To my verai loving frende
S^r Thomas Cawerden, knight.

Music.

King Edward's musical recreation, upon the instrument then most fashionable, the lute, has been before noticed.[c] It has also appeared that he received instructions on the virginals.[d] The only occasion upon which he mentions a concert of music[e] is when he entertained the queen dowager of Scotland in 1551.[f]

[a] See, in p. 221 of the King's Journal, notice of the triumph at Shrove-tide, 1547-8; at pp. 274, 275, the tilts at the marriages of lord Lisle and sir Robert Dudley; at pp. 368, 384, 387, those at Twelfth-tide, 1551-2; and in p. 389, a match at tilt shortly after.

[b] Kempe's Loseley Manuscripts, p. 55.

[c] In p. liv. His natural brother the duke of Richmond was taught it (see his Memoir, p. lx.:) and so the tutor of Gregory lord Crumwell reports "The residue of his day he doth spend upon the lute and virginals." (Ellis's Letters, III. i. 344.) One of the most beautiful poems of the earl of Surrey is his Farewell to his Lute.

[d] P. cxix.

[e] In April 1 Edw. VI. the King's musical establishment consisted of eighteen trumpeters, of whom Benedict Browne the serjeant trumpeter and twelve others received each xls. the month, and five xxs. each; Philip van Welder luter received lxvjs. viijd., and Peter van Welder xxxs., William More harper xxxs., Thomas Kent and Thomas Bowde singing men each xvs., John Severnake rebeke xls., Hans Hassenet viall xxxiijs. iiijd., and six other vialls, namely Albert de Venicia, Mark Anthony Galyardele de Bressa, Georgio de Combre de Cremonia, Ambrosio de Lapi de Milan, Francisco Bellino de Vicentia, and Vincenco de Venicia, each

[f] See p. 363.

Bear-baiting.

The King gives no notice in his Journal of having himself been present at the cruel sport of bear-baiting; but he tells us that the French ambassadors, in 1550, were entertained with the baiting of the bears and bulls, and a few days after saw a bear hunted in the Thames.[a] There were servants on the royal establishment who received wages for taking care of the King's bears and mastiffs[b]; and captain Cuthbert Vaughan, who was afterwards concerned in Wyat's rebellion, was in 1553 made master of the King's games of bears and bulls.[c]

Hunting and Hawking.

But hunting and hawking were the standard sports of Englishmen at this period,[d] and on every occasion of foreigners being entertained in this country we read of such recreation being provided for them. King Edward, during his progress of 1552, was principally occupied, as he tells his friend FitzPatrick,[e] "in killing of wild beasts," and some historical writers have supposed that he contracted his fatal malady from too great fatigue during the field-sports of that summer.

Tennis.

The most frequent exercise on foot was tennis, or, as the earl of Surrey termed it,

> The palme-play, where, despoiled for the game,
> With dazed eyes oft we by gleams of love
> Have myst the ball, and got sight of our dame
> To bayte her eyes, which kept the leads above.
> (Poem on Windsor Castle.)

It was actually from over-heating at this sport, and imprudently drinking when heated, that King Edward's fatal illness commenced, according to the poet William Baldwyn.[f]

xxxs. These were all Italians; but the four sagbuts apparently English: their names were Mark Anthony, Anthony May, Nicholas Andrew, and Anthony Symonde, each at xls.; Richard Woodward player on the bagpipe had xxs., Nicholas Puvall minstrell xls., seven other minstrels xxxs., and Alexander Primax dromslade xxxs. (MS. Trevelyan.)

[a] Pages 272, 273.

[b] "Item, to Thomas Peryn and John Peryn kepers of the Kinges majesties beares lvijs. 9di. Item, to Richard Darrington, m^r. of the Kinges majesties mastyves, and his servant under him, Cvjs. vd. ob." Quarter's wages at Christmas 2 Edw. VI. MS. Trevelyan.

[c] "A Patent gyven to Cutbert Vaughan, of all the King's games, *videlicet* Berrs and Bulles, and other pastymes, to be chieff Ruler of the same, with the fees belonging. Habend' ad terminum vite. T. xxv. Junii. (1553.)" MS. Cotton. Julius B. IX. f. 169b.

[d] See the passages from Latimer's sermon, p. cxxviii.

[e] Page 80.

[f] This fact should have been mentioned in a former page. The writer's elaborate description of the first access of the King's illness is as follows:—

These slight notices of the King's pastimes may be closed with an anecdote not hitherto introduced, which seems to have been traditionally preserved down to the time of Dr. Thomas Fuller. It has been said of other princes that during their sports they never forgot their personal dignity. The incident now before us tends to show that Edward never forgot his Christian piety.

Anecdote of the Prince and the Bible.

Such was the piety of this young prince, that being about to take down something which was above his reach, one of his play-fellows proffered him a bossed-plated Bible to stand upon, and heighten him to take what he desired. Perceiving it a Bible, with holy indignation he refused it, and sharply reproved the offerer thereof, it being unfit he should trample that under his feet which he was to treasure up in his head and heart. How many now-a-days, unable in themselves to achieve their own wicked ends, make God's word their pedestal, that, standing thereon, they may be (not the holier, but) the higher and the better advantaged, by abusing piety, to attain their own designs!

There still remains to be noticed a very remarkable testimony to King Edward's Protestant zeal, which was written by sir Richard Morysine, his ambassador to the emperor, and has not been hitherto published.[a] It describes, certainly with much exaggeration, and as surely with some important misapprehension of facts, (though affecting to be a "faithfull historie,") the King's conduct when threatened

Edward's conduct to his sister Mary.

But crasy Cold lurkt al this while at court,
To watche his time when he the King might hourt:
And when he saw him, on a morning, sweat,
And call for drinke to coole his tennis heat,
He slyly crept, and hid him in the cup;
And when the King, alas, had drunke him up,
Into his stomacke downward he had got,
And there parceyving all the inwards hot,
And that eche part ful gredily did plucke,
To save it selfe, all succour it might sucke,
He markt the chile that went into the lunges,
And throwly myxt his vertue theramonges,
And, cooling it, so stopt the pipes therwith,
As to dissolve pure nature wanted pith.

(Funeralles of King Edward the Sixt.)

[a] It appears to be the original of the same story, which is more briefly and somewhat differently related by Foxe, as quoted in p. 580 at the close of this work. I have there ventured to express some incredulity in the report of a discussion which is represented so extravagantly to the glorification of the King, and so much to the disparagement of archbishop Cranmer and bishop Ridley. In the notes to the present paper it will be seen that the bishops are quite unfairly charged with that temporising conduct which had been adopted by the council before they were consulted, and which when they were consulted they decidedly condemned.

with war by Charles V. because the lady Mary had been enjoined to discontinue the performance of mass in her household. This "discourse" appears from internal evidence to have been written whilst Mary was upon the throne. Sir Richard Morysine its author, being then one of the English exiles for religion, died at Strasburg in Sept. 1555.

[MS. Harl. 353, fol. 130.]

A discourse written by sir Richard Morrison, the Kinges ambassador with the emperour, shewing the godly and vertuous resolution of Kinge Edward the 6. upon the emperour's demaund to have the ladie Mary, the Kinges suster, to be allowed libertie of her conscience in Englande. An°. 1553.[a]

Englande tooke it selfe most happie and blessed of God when noble Edward was become to bee their Kinge and governor, more blessed when they sawe him so brought upe, most blessed when they sawe him so earneste to see Godes glory sett out, so skilfull in his yongeste yeares, to tell both when a Christian Kinge ought to seeke the overthrowe of Satanes seat, and so able to shewe howe it might beste be brought to passe. I maye not lett goe so faithfull a historie as hath so many witnesses alive to testefy it to be true.

The emperore, findinge all his proceedings against the Gearmanes much stained by thinges done in Englande, was for no other cause so loathe to fale out with the French kinge as that he knew England should therby be at greateste rest, and have a tyme to setle thinges of religeon so begune [and] allredie gone forward, that he was in dispaire to bringe them backe againe; yet, that men may alwaies knowe the divell to keepe no hollydayes, nor his to loose any occasion that may helpe their maister's harveste forwarde, d'Arras, the emperores holiegoste,[b] put it in his head to be a suitor by his ambassador lidger in Englande to Kinge Edwarde,[c] that the lady Mary, then the Kinges suster,

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[a] This date is probably that at which the discourse was written. The events it relates occurred two or three years before. The MS. is a transcript by Ralph Starkey, and it is to be regretted that no second copy has been found that might correct its obscurities in some places.

[b] Antoine Perronet de Granvela, bishop of Arras 1538-61, afterwards cardinal.

[c] In April, 1550, "the emperor's ambassador desired leave by letters patent that my lady Mary might have mass," but "it was denied him," as the King states in his Journal, p. 258. Yet, shortly after, the council were induced to allow the lady Mary to have mass in her private closet, though not openly in her household. This appears from the letter of the council written to her on Christmas day, 1550, and printed by Foxe in his Actes and Monuments, in which it is stated, "It is very true that the emperor made request to the King's majesty that you might have liberty to use the mass in your house, and to be as it were exempted from the danger of the statute; to which request . . . . thus much was granted, that for his sake, and

and nowe Queene of Englande, might have her conscience free, and thinke all lawes made since her fatheres death as concerninge religion to touch her no whit at all.

The counselores, to shewe themselves stout men, wrot to sir Richard Moryson, ambassadore, to shewe a will in the Kinge and counsell to gratefie the emperore wher he and they might, and a sorrowe that the emperore should seeke at his and their hands a thinge wherin the King was forced to saye him naye.

The emperore, seeinge he could not gett it by his ambassador's suite, willed him yet still to presse the lords of the counsell for a promys which the lord Pagget at Brusseles [a] had made to him, which was that, though statutes made for religeon did touche all other persones within the realme, yet the Kinges meaninge was not that they should touch the lady Mary his suster. The lorde Paget was asked whether he had made any such promise to the emperore or noe; who did not only denie it to the lords, but before the emperores ambassadore did take an oath, the counsell sendinge for the ambassadore for that cause, that he never had any comissyone from the King or his counsell to saye any such thinge to the emperore, nor indeed at any tyme had made any suche promise to the emperore or to any of the emperores counsell: wherupon the said sir Richarde Morison had commissione to praye his Majestie not onely to surcease his intreatie therin, but also had in comaundement to intreate the emperore that mr. Chamberlen, [b] ambassadore in Flanderes to the regente, might in his house at Bruseles use such Englishe service as all Englishemen did use in England.

With this suite the emperore was so angrie, the ambassador doinge his mesuage earnestely unto him, that he wrot a very hote letter to the Kinge againste him, which letter and talke of the emperores ambassadore when he delivered it [c] put our stout counselores in such a feare, as they nowe mente to move the Kynges highnes in any wise to agree to the emperores requeste; and, that the matter might take place, they sente for the archbishope of Canterbury and Ridley bishope of London to knowe of them whether

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your own also, it should be suffered and winked at if you had the private mass used in your own closet for a season, until you might be better informed, whereof there was some hope, having only with you a few of your own chamber, so that for all the rest of your household the service of the realm should be used, and none other. Further than this the promise exceeded not." Morysine writes as if even this had not been communicated to him, although it had apparently occurred before his mission. He was sent to the emperor in Aug. 1550.

[a] Sir William Paget arrived at Brussels on this embassy on the 19th of June, 1549.

[b] The ambassador took occasion to deliver this letter, or message, the day after the lady Mary had been personally lectured by the King and council, on the 17th (or 18th) of March, 1550-1, as Edward describes in his Journal, p. 308. "He brought from his master a short message of war, (writes the King,) if I would not suffer his cousin the Princess [as the emperor chose to style her, though her father had taken that title from her many years before,] to use her mass." (Journal, p. 309.)

[c] Sir Thomas Chamberlayne.

the Kinge might with a safe conscience grante such licence to the lady Mary or noe. They had also this in consideration that, yf the Kynge did not graunte the emperores requeste, the realme might be and alredie was in great perrill, like enough to be utterly undon, yf either the emperore woulde have no naye, or the Kinge would give him no yea. These two bishopes [a] were put in such feare, so tould that England was in hazard, soe made beleeve that the King was in perill of his state: so perswaded that the emperore fully mynded to tosse England unlese his cousen Mary might be allowed her masse, that they asked the space of a daye to waie the matter, came on the morrowe and said they weare boathe of this mynd that the Kinge might, the cause so standinge as it did, to save his countreaye, will [well?] dispence with her.

The duke of Northumberland, then but earle of Warwicke, was very glad he had won these thus farre, knowing that nowe yf they could not perswade the Kinge to lycence his

[a] Though Morysine names only two bishops, Cranmer and Ridley, it will be seen that the King (in his Journal, p. 309) names the bishop of Rochester also, dr. Ponet. Now, it is remarkable that Ponet and Morysine were together in exile at Strasburg: and therefore the ex-ambassador may have gathered his notion of the King's behaviour (of which he could not, being abroad, have been personally cognisant,) in conversation with the ex-bishop: whose violence as a political writer is manifest in his published "Treatise of Politique Power." As the bishops are made to appear to disadvantage in the story, this may account for the suppression of Ponet's name: but it is certainly not to his credit, nor to that of Morysine or Foxe, that they, or any of them, should have cast such unfounded reproach on the names of Cranmer and Ridley. It appears from the King's Journal that it was not until the emperor's threatening message had been received that the bishops were consulted, whereas the partial license to the lady Mary to have mass in her closet had been granted by the council some months before. And it was after only two days' consideration that, on the 20th of March, the bishops delivered their opinion. (Journal, p. 309.) That opinion was *not* in approval of the license which the council had previously granted; on the contrary, in Edward's own words, "the bishops of Canterbury, London, and Rochester did conclude that to give license to sin was sin." They condemned any permission for the performance of what they considered an idolatrous, and therefore sinful, service: and the saving clause which was added,—that "to suffer and wink at it for a time might be borne, so that all possible haste were used," in which the words of the council's letter of the previous Christmas day were quoted,—this seems rather to have been an apology for the delay that had already taken place, than an excuse for temporising any further. Accordingly the council, "having the bishops' answers," on the 23rd March, so far from continuing to yield to the emperor's intimidation, determined "to deny the matter wholly" (Journal, p. 309), that is, to refuse altogether any further indulgence to the lady Mary, and to make some examples both of her servants and the King's. In accordance with these resolutions, sir Anthony Browne and mr. serjeant Morgan were forthwith committed to the Fleet (ibid.), and sir Clement Smith, the husband of one of the King's maternal aunts, was "chidden" (p. 310); and the emperor's ambassador, whenever he came again on the same business, was always met with a denial (see pp. 310, 324, 341, 387).

sister to have her masse, yet the whole faulte should be laid on the two bishopes, so should the emperore heare the counsel ment to gratefie him, yea wher they should not.

This earle had such a head that he seldom went about any thing, but he conceaved firste three or foure purposes before hand. They thought he was affraide of the emperour; but he had concluded with the Vidam to helpe the French kinge his master into as great an amytie as he coulde with the Kinge and the realme; and to cause our noble Edwarde, of nature no freind to the emperour, to be readie to myslyke him when any safe occasione of fallynge out should be offered, he ment to seeme a freind to the lady Mary, to be taken for imperiall; that so, owinge his frendshipe to France, and winninge creditt with the emperor, he might as time should teach him abuse whethere of them he listed, and fall in with him that might beste serve his practices.

Canterbury[a] he had no mynd unto; he sawe he was plaine, tractable, jentill, milde, loth to displease, and so loved the King as, yf any thinge could drawe him aside, it was his desire to see the Kinge safe, or feare to thinke him nigh any hurte. But to the matter. The lord treasurore,[b] who hath a tongue fit for all tymes, with an obedience redie for as many newe masteres as can happene in his dayes, muste firste take instructions as they were given him, and saie but what Northumberland woulde. To the Kinge they come, or rathere, because the duke would have it so, the lorde Darcy went for the Kinge and brought him in to the counsell chamber, the Kinge might not knowe whie, lest such as were aboute him might have furneshed him for the mattere. It hapned well, for that the Kinge for the moste parte was so well able of himselfe to stand with the moste of his counsell that they still charged men of his chambre, as though the Kinge had learned thinges of otheres; yea, because his talke was alwayes above some of their capasseties, they therefore thought it rather stirred upe in him by gentlemen of his privie chamber then growne in himselfe.[c] Ther weare good causes on both sides, the plentyfull graces that God had powred on him, and the drie and barrene years that some of them had spent in givinge bad counsell to his father, and in keepinge no good to serve his sonnes turne with all. The treasuror thought it alwayes no shame to be slave to a cheife counseler of what side so ever he were, no villanye to helpe to betraye his master, so he might thereby please his felowe counselor.

A Godes name! the Kynge was nowe come into the counsell chamber, sent for and fett in such haste as though his realme had bene alreadie upon the sackinge. Downe is the treasurere upon his knees, and then might the King guese the matter was badd; for when it had either profitt to the realme or pleasure to the Kinge the treasuror was not put to the paine. Downe goe the reste; was not this beginning able to bid a Kinge beware of sleights, and to tell him there was some practice in hand? I would devise my lord's orration, but that he could never skill of learned talke, or of plaine simplicetie. The

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[a] Cranmer.

[b] The marquess of Winchester.

[c] William Thomas actually undertook in this way to prime the King for the discussion of matters in council; see p. clxiii.

Kinge was borne in hand he, they, his realme, and all would be nought yf he did not all he mought and more to keepe in with the Emperore. It is possyble some of theis wise counselores thought as the treasurer was bidden to saie, for that as yet the emperor and the French kinge were not entered into the warres.

The Kinge, hearinge his realme, his person, and his subjectes to be in suche danger, praid them he might learne first which wayes these perriles were growne, whie nowe more then before, and laste of all, yf they were suche, howe and by what meanes they might be put of. The Emperour, he[a] said, was entered into a great chollore with Morrison his ambassadore, and had sent a strange letter unto his Majestie and a stranger mesuage to the counsel. The effecte were such as the wholl counsell were of this minde, that a newe ambassador muste be sent in Morrysones place, and of this mynd also that the ladi Mary muste be allowed her chaplenes to masse it; though not as ofte as it pleased her and them, yet certaine tyme in the weeke.

For the firste, that Morrison should be called home, though the Kinge thought the injurye to touche himselfe a good deale more then it did me,[b] yet he was contented in this pointe to be ruled by his counsell; but in the other, that is to licence his sister to use idollatrye in his realm, he neither could doe it at counselores' advises, neither would agree to it at any kinge or kaisor's intreate.

The two bishopes were sent to perswade him. They did alledge that there were good kinges in the ould testamente, that had suffered hill alteres, and yet were praised for good kings. He answered them roundly, that, "as examples when they are good, and had Godes [word] to allowe them, are lefte to us to followe them, so are eivell examples set out to shewe that they were men, and did faile of that perfection which God requireth in his, to teach us not to be followers of them, but utterly to warne us in any wise to shame [shun?] them. Abraham laye with Agare his maide; David toke Uria's wife to him, and to hide his adulterie comytted a murder; did they this that wee should thinke it lawfull for us to doe it, or doth scripture make mencion of it to this ende that any should doe as they dyd? Solomon did worshipe the idolle Moloch; may wee therfore give preistes our subjects leafe to honore, yea to make a pece of dough bread for God? My lorde, (saith he,) yf you will have me graunte you this suite, you must shewe me by scripture that I maye do it, and then lett me be accompted wilfull if I be not as glade to put of all such mischiefes

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[a] The lord treasurer.

[b] This passage seems to supply the true explanation of the colouring which is given to the story. Sir Richard Morysine thought it an "injury" that he should be recalled, and another ambassador should be sent to supersede him: and, though he was subsequently resident ambassador with the regent at Brussels, the former circumstance continued to rankle in his breast. His successor with the emperor was dr. Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury (see the King's Journal, p. 313); whose instructions, so far as they concerned the lady Mary, are given by Strype in his note to Hayward's Edward VI., Kennet's Complete History of England, 1706, ii. 317.

that are like to happen to England as any king that ever lived in England; till then I shalle require you to feare God with me, and to bende yourselfe rather to imitate me, and to contempne any perill, then to sett light Godes will, therby to please an emperour. It is not two daies since that we had in our Psalmes a complaint of God againste his people, that they had broken his covenant, that they turned their backes, that they fell from him as their forfatheres did; which belyke was no excuse to prove that they might doe so; they greived him with their high places and provoked him with their images, &c.; ye see what followeth,—when God heard this he was wrathe, and tooke sore displeasure at Israell, so that he forsooke the tabernacle in Silo, even his habitation wherein he dwelte emonge men; he delivered their powre into captivety, and their glorie into the ennemyes hande, he gave his people over unto the swoarde, for he was wroth." And upon this place he might have taken occassyon to threaten to them ruyne and instruction yf they did not sticke unto the Lord and set light all that stood in their waye, eithere willinge or able to turne them frome God or from the religeon which they weare in; he did it not, yet oft said unto them he had but God to feare. "The emperour (saith he,) is a man liker to die himselfe every daye then to doe us any great harme, how much so ever he mean it; but yf he lyve, and meane us never so much, wee must wait upon God's will, and committ the event of thinges to his wisdom and mercie. Ye knowe he that breaketh the leaste of God's precepts and teacheth otheres to doe so shal be nobodie in the kingdom of heaven. All erroures for the moste parte borrowe a greate parte of their bragg at some countenaunce of trouth, but nothing doth sooner bringe men to errour then wise men, that are seen ridinge out of the way before us, and for their wisdome are thought fitt guides. Kinges have their Master as well as the pooreste subjectes have, and maye when they be biggeste in vaine require obedience at their subjectes hands, yf, because other kinges have gone astraye, they therfore will refuse to obaye God the Kinge and Lorde of Kinges. Yf God bid us doe one thinge, and th'emperore an other, the emperour might (sayde he) firste prove mine obedience to God and aftere might hate a frendshipe that should provoke Godes wrath on us both: uppon him for seeking that he should not; uppon me for grauntinge unto him that I may not. Yf the emperour speke but in sporte to see whether I be knit to my religeoñ or not, I should stayne it, and shame myselfe in abandoninge it: and yf the emperour meane good earneste, God I hope meaneth but to taste us in sporte, and will give us stomake to serve him where we ought, and to gratefie the emperore wher wee maye. I knowe God is able to defende me against as many emperoures as ever the worlde had, yf they came all at once with as many men as they had all in all their whole tymes. I muste doe as God giveth me in comaundment, and then I shall not wante to laie for myselfe in reason, nor wante an aide able to overturne the force of the whoale world, in case it come wholy againste me. The emperore is no warrante to you to stirre me to that you ought not, nor no discharge to me, yf at your desires I would be led to doe that after wee might all repent. I will choose, by your

leave, the surer side, moste certaine that the emperour hath no helpe for me, when God shall chastice me for breaking his will. You see the emperour himselfe might learne at the laste by this his contynuall disease that there are in him thinges which God doth recken better punished then borne withall; at the leaste, yf he will not lerne, let his harmes teach us not to falle into God's hands, who, as David saith, hath made the daies of kinges a spane longe, their lives are as nothinge before him. O how vaine are all men livinge! they heape upp riches, and cannot tell to whom they gather them! Lord! wherin shall I compforte me? my hope is in thee! He that preserved David will preserve me from takinge harme for his cause. Saule was in better case to hurte, and David not so able to put of harme. I will endure feare to the worste of it, as longe as I find such place for truste lefte in my hand. I knowe his eies are upon those that feare him, and in faith with their hearts love to walke in his wayes."

The bishopes, that came with intente to perswade him to this matter, sawe he had learned more then to be led by and by, and theirfore were faine to give uppe the suite, and to leave the lordes to worke it yf they coulde, or to leave it unwrought yf it would not be. The lords after did so prese him with the imminent perrilles of his realm, with the daunger of his person, that hee said he would shed his teares to God for both, and then thinke himselfe fully discharged.

If he, not yet sixteene yeares ould,[a] said thus much, what a Kinge should England have had yf God had given him his father's age, and counselores such as would have wrought their journey-worke with him, as he was willinge to see his taske done by them; for in vaine is a kinge good himselfe yf his counselores be not so too. As yet the tyme of puttinge out such as were unfitt, and of takinge into their places such as would have done as much good as some of these did harme, was not come. If it had, England should have knowne the difference between those that give counsell because they are caled, and those that are caled because firste they can give such counsell as they should, and after dare not but give such as yf an accompte be asked they may well abide the reconing therof.

Who doth not see the sweete tyme that subjects did live in when good governours had the lookinge to them, where subjects were alwaies safe and aye maintained in peace, but when injuryes don to them broughte their kinges to make warre for their defence, aye when evell [all?] men were sure to enjoye that they justely could come by, when the nobles were in their estymacion made of as reason is they should be, when the majestrats were reverenced for their authoritie, no man offended with the greatnes thereof, as longe as non of the honester soert felt ther force but in receavinge good at their hands, good I saye as oft as they had cause and occasion to doe them any.

It was a tyme such as oures can hardly dream on, when they are asleepe, sure never in England, or yf elsewhere to see none such as long as they be awake, yf God do not

[a] In 1551 Edward was not fourteen years old.

tosse out the lofty, and raiese upe the falne.[a] Vertue was then exalted, and nothinge but it, or for vertue's sake, which was a goulden spurr to nobillitie, allwaies to seeke to be that they weare caled, and a meane to make otheres to followe their stepes as nigh as meaner fortune would give them leave. The people must needes be happie where the nobillitie do passe of honour as they shoulde ; the nobles muste needes embrace vertue, when they see nothinge esteemed with their soveraign but vertue, but knowledge, but upright dealinge, but truth and loyaltie, nothinge earnestly mislyked but vice, but ignoraunce, but oppressyone, but falshude, and untruth ; where rancour is suffered to catch no roote, where licence to lewdness is lent to none, where corruptyon is cutt out ere contagion can inffecte the more, where ambition doth but keepe men from beinge esteemed of any more then may doe nothinge for them, they can never be so many as not being able to helpe themselves, they can be meanes to helpe others, nether better nor for any better cause worthie to be comended then they themselves are. That kynge must needes fynde himselfe a happie, a fortunate, and established king, whose nobillyty fynd themselves in honour, sure to enjoye their estates, their lands, and lyves, till foull faults indeed do make a forfaiture of some one or other of them ; that people must needes beare a marvelouse love to their kinge that see whill he raigneth none can doe them wronge, none but he after muste looke for right. When such did raigne, what marvell is it, that the people, not beinge called to it, much less being hired thereto by wages and liverye, would not suffer a good kinge to goe where perrill was, but they would guard him ; what marvill if princes had then no neede to sett taxes upon their subjects, but were required by their people, yea and forced to take such tribute as love and obedience did of their owne accord offer unto them. The questyon is soone answered, whether of these two did deserve more praise, Cæsar that found Rome corrupted and soe did utterly distroy the common welth, or Romulus, who findinge it verie much troubled did by good and holsom lawes cleane amende thinges that were amise: a marvill that where two waies are laid open to princes they for the moste parte doe alwaies choose the worste of the two ; as the one keepeth them safe all the daies of their lyfe, so when they be dead, it suffyseth[b] their fame never to die ; the other, as it forceth them to passe everye peece of life in greateste dangers, so it suffyseth[b] them to steppe noe foott either to or fro without manyfeste perrilles of life, state, and fame ; no, as it forceth them to thinke they shall never die in their bedd but when they are a'bedd, so be they driven to imagine every daye to bringe eich hower that is in it as the tyme muste worthely be slaine in, and when they are slaine that their name must ever after abid in sterne reproch, in everlastyng shame upon the earth, and they themselves to be in nevere ceasinge paine in hell, world without ende, as soone as they ende here their misserable lyfe. A marvell that where the one threateneth so much evyll, and the other promyseth so much good, that our time never knewe mo then noble Edward that did not rather seeke

[a] The MS. is here exactly followed.

[b] suffereth?

to abide all the mysseryes of the one, then willinge to enjoye all the felicetie of the other; sure we be, this so badd a choyse could never please any that was borne of men. But that when sinners can no longer suffer God's mercifull dealinge with us, such governores are sett up to the plaginge of men as maye seeme for their tyranye dissended from lyones, from wolves, for their ravinge, and not gotten by manes seede or conceaved by any woman.

Thanked be our ingratetude, there was never realme that had more cause to feele the harme of change from beste to badest then England. O Lord! how certaine did wee make our hope, what felicetie had wee alredie tasted, what farder heapes did we lay upp in our deceaved heartes! and what marvill is it, yf men that might be happie doe come to worse, when wantones may endure welth no longer? What a shewe of greateste good fortune did God make to Englande of Christian governement when the towardnes in that younge and blessed babe was in sight not halfe so much as indeed we found after; what hope rose up in all menes hearts when he shewed himselfe so willinge to embrace vertue, and so able to make any his, that came where either he might see it, or heare of it. What taste of welth felte the godly when they sawe how able he was to understande a good peece of a kinges offyce, and how willinge to doe that he knewe, and to learne that he knewe not. O Lorde! England had bene too happie, yf, as she knewe her felicetie, even so she could have used the meanes for the continuaunce therof. It is possible Heaven would have spared us him styll, yf when we sawe howe litle wee deserved such a kynge wee would by our repentance have kepte God from repentynge the guifte of so much welth, where were neither defects[a] to make suite for him, nor will to preserve him oures, when by singuler favoure we sawe him lett fall by God emonge us. God did but teach us, whom we might have had, and whome shortly after he mente to sett us in his seat. When God myndeth menes utter ruines he cockereth them a lytle before, yea he layeth such benefyts upon them, as they have no meanes lefte to thinke themselves hardly delt withall, that beinge so gentely caled, would in no wise open their eares, or openinge them would refuse to doe that they so well were taught did appertaine to their dutyes. Was there evere any countrey better plied with dayely examples, then England hath bene, ever sithence it was a realme? had it at any tyme such store of threateninges, such plenty of houses falne, of famelyes cast downe, of noblemen slaine, as it hath had in our daies? O see, (saith he,) O Israell! thou hast sinned as Gabor did; shall not then the battell come uppon thy wicked childrene as well as it did upon the Gabeonites? When men lefte[b] to sinne as those did, whom scripture sheweth God did punishe, may not God followe his ould rules, and punishe the newe-come sineres as he did the oulde, the dead, the damnede? Could he plage the faults in men alredie made awaye, and will he spare the workeres of them in these our dayes? Great is the force of raginge fleshe, great is the bouldnes of manes

[a] deserts?

[b] *i. e.* leaved, or preferred.

desire, while it rashely seeketh to flie after lustes lure; easely is the fonde hope of sinneres seduced; non of us beinge found so badd, but we as aye redie to thincke, that as God hath besides us plentye of evell doores, so there is no one of them yf ye aske us that doth not much better deserve to be made an example then you or we ourselves; that the worste of us do styll imagen otheres not to be so good as wee are, and doe perswade ourselves that God muste punyshe a great many ear it come to our course; and yet beinge brought to our triall, I suppose there be feawe men but he hath more to saye for himselfe then he can saye againste sixe otheres. All the while blind affectione is made overseere of all our owne faultes; wee beinge never without egle's eyes to behould thinges done by otheres, will wee, trowe ye not, do our beste to make our sines none, which do our worste to sett otheres faultes encreased? Men be as children which doe but counterfeite well doinge, onely affraide of learnynge. We when persecutyon houldeth the whipp over oure heads doe crie to God, do call upon him for feare many tymes, because love is a fitt not hatched in us. God oft turneth his wroath awaye, loth when he may not chouse to bend his wholl displeasure on us. This is the waye that his mercie hath alwayes gone, this is the gate that his goodnes hath alwaies trampled in; he did thus when in the wildernes the people of Israell did so often sturre him to wrath; he neverthelese did [turn] his eye awaye and would not suffer his hole displeasure to fall upon them. God doth consider man is but fleshe, is but a lumpe of sinne, and therfore all the while there is hope to save a peece of the worke of his owne hands he doth never so spill. "As truly as I lyve (saith the Lord,) I have noe pleasure in the death of the wicked, but much rather have pleasure that the wickede doe turne from his waie and do live. Turne you, turne you, O ye house of Israell! O wherfore will ye dye?" He asketh this question of us all, and eich of us looke upon an other as though the faulte beinge theirs no peece of it coulde touche us. Theves stande by and see trewe men goe to the gallowes. Aske their mynde, they will all saye that theves be worthely hanged; so theye may be theves and be none of them that are truste up. Our noble Kinge is dead. Which of us is there but sinne might drawe us to the barre, and proove us giltye of his death? We crie out, every man of us, againste others, and findinge sines enough in them we leave out our owne, as who should saye there are already plenty, not onely to force God to take away our Kinge, but plenty to distroy after him as many as he lefte behinde him. Wee doo all agree that when God tooke from us so good a Kinge, one that so earnestly ment his glorye, he ment to send us a bad one, yea one that should have as good will to seduce us as he had to see his rightly led; when he that would rather have loste his realme and life too, then to have stepte one ynch from his consience, was thought no king fitt for us, how could we looke for any other to succeede him, then such a one as hath already gotten the terne into her hand; when he, a sainte, an innosent,—not for want of witt, as the queene for her pleasure dothe call him, but for his well-ordered heart to God and love to men,—was pluckt from his people, could any good be

looked for? when one so good was thought not fitt for us, knowne by all men fitteste for the settinge forth of God's glorye; when he by all gentlenes did in vaine intreat us everi waye to knowe God, to feare him, to love him, and then to serve him aright, was it not like that an other should succeede him that might desire nothinge more then to carry us farr of from the knowledge of God, and then force us by violence to serve an idoll? when wee by no rewards could be wone to serve God rightly.

Edward had his tabures in every good towne, his trumpets in every good cittye, his drumes in every village, which every weeke for the moste parte by their sound did lustely and truly call men to Christes tentes, did by all meanes sturre men to fight under his bannere; but, alas! it was in vaine, where lust and lucre had then so much to doe with men and women, that they nether had leasure, I would not saye to followe the good and houlsom admonitiones of godly preacheres, but no will to harkne to them when they were wher they could not chose but heare them; no, they that should have honoured them moste, did what they could to have godly pastores esteemed for the vileste men that then did live in England; such contempt of Godes word, in a tyme when beste to followe it was to be biggest in the Kinges favoure, deserved no lese punishment then is sithence worthely happened uppon us all.

The greater change was never wroughte in so short space in any countreye sith the world was. Had we not a Josias, a Kinge, an Edward, that sought in God's booke first to knowe the will of God aright, and after with all dilligence to see it done? Was it not all his desire to heare what God delyted in, what he would to be done by kinge? Was he ever so occupied in any busenes or pastimes, but they were quite done, and he starke weary of them, yf any came to him to devise with him howe foule idolatry myght be hurld doune, how filthie abominations of the ungodly might be takene awaye.

The Romanists' story of King Edward.

How different a story to the foregoing was circulated among the members of the church of Rome, and (strange and inexplicable as it may seem) generally credited by them, may be seen by the following passages[a] in the memoirs of Jane (Dormer) duchess of Feria:—

For, when he was King, passing by the ruins of goodly monasteries, [he] demanded what buildings were those? It was answered that they were religious houses, dissolved and demolished by order of the King his father for abuses. He replied, "Could not my father punish the offenders, and suffer so goodly buildings to stand, being so great an ornament to this kingdom; and put in better men, that might have governed and inhabited them?" seeming to lament that lamentable course.

And when the lady Mary his sister, who ever kept her house in very Catholic manner and order, came to visit him, he took special content in her company (I have heard it

[a] In continuation of those already given in p. xxxix.

from an eye-witness), would ask her many questions, promise her secrecy, carrying her that respect and reverence as if she had been his mother; and she again, in her discretion, advised him in some things that concerned himself, and in other things that touched herself; in all shewing great affection and sisterly care of him; the young King would burst forth in tears, grieving matters could not be according to her will and desire; and that the duke his uncle did use her with that straitness and want of liberty; besought her to have patience until he had more years, and then he would remedy all. When she was to take leave, seemed to part from her with sorrow, kissed her, called for some jewels to present her, complained that they gave him no better to give her; which noted by his tutors, order was taken that these visits should be very rare, alleging that they made the King sad and melancholy; and consulted to have afflicted her, her officers and servants, for that contrary to the then made law she had public mass in her chapel, if they could draw any assent from the King. But he, upon no reasons, would never give way to it, and commanded strictly that she might have full liberty of what she would, sent to her inquiring if they gave her any trouble or molestation, for if they did it was against his will, and would see her contented. But it was not safe, nor did it stand with prudence, as the times went, for the lady Mary to complain.

All this, though so palpably at variance with the King's personal evidence to his own sentiments, is very curious, as showing how inclined the Romanists were to interpret the King's disposition according to their own hopes and interests, and how such belief was perpetuated by the assertions of their writers; as especially by the Jesuit Parsons, who, fifty years later, had the boldness to misrepresent Edward's opinion of his sister's religion in the following terms:

The Jesuit Parsons on King Edward.

Truly I have heard a very wise and honourable man affirme, from the mouth of Q. Mary herselfe (of whose councell he had byn) that she with teares would often lament the memory of her dere brother King Edward, saying that, yf he had lyved, she hoped verily to have seene him a good Catholike, and to have punished examplarly all those men that so egregiously abused his youth and realme in his name. For that in divers speaches which she had with him, wherein she recounted to him what deadly hatred their father K. Henry did beare against heritiks in his dayes, but especially against the Sacramentaryes, whome now they had brought into England under his authority, and that he was the first Kinge of all English bloud that ever allowed or imbraced the same, or admytted yt into that realme, and that all this would remain upon his soule afterward: these things (I say) and other the like, when she tould the yong King, with those effectuall words which she well could, the innocent child would fall a weepinge with her, and say that he was privy to none of these doyngs, but yf ever God gave him life, he would take accompt of them all some day; and further promised his said syster to remember his father and grandfather, and to keep secrett that she had told him, without utteringe any of their conferences to his uncle the Protector, or others; as indeed he did not (which shewed his

discretion and fidelity to his sister), albeit those of his chamber, seeing him sadd after such talke, began to suspect some such thing, and thereupon in his later yeares would not permitt her to have accesse unto him but very seldome, and with great jealosy. (The Third Part of a treatise intituled of Three Conversions of England. By N. D. 1604, 12mo. p. 360.)

The interviews between the King and his sister Mary, after his accession to the throne, were indeed few and far between. In the three last years of his life he certainly saw her only three times: first, on the 17th or 18th of March, 1550-1, when he distinctly intimated to her his views on the mass, and showed himself quite as much in earnest as she was[a]; secondly, on the 13th of June, 1552[b]; and thirdly, on the 10th Feb. 1552-3.[c]

The lady Elizabeth.

Edward's intercourse with his sister Elizabeth, whilst he was King, was scarcely more than with Mary, notwithstanding the presumed coincidence of their religious sentiments. The course of the King's education, and that of the princess, which was not completed, did not permit their frequent association.[d] Each had their respective households, and that of the lady Elizabeth was not kept in or near the King's court, but usually at Hatfield in Hertfordshire.[e]

Sir Robert Naunton, in his Fragmenta Regalia, though living little after the time, evidently entertained very erroneous notions of these circumstances, when he says of Elizabeth, that

"Under Edward she was his and one of the darlings of Fortune, for, besides the consideration of blood, there was between these two princes a concurrency and sympathy in their natures and affections, together with the celestial bond, conformity in religion, which made them one, and friends. The King ever called her his sweetest and dearest sister, and *was scarce his own man, she being absent*, which was not so between him and the lady Mary."

Camden states that Edward used to call Elizabeth his sweet sister Temperance.[f]

[a] See his Journal, p. 308. [b] See p. 428, note. [c] See p. clxxvii.

[d] I have previously (p. cxci) noticed a similar misapprehension as to the lady Jane Grey.

[e] Her letter to the King accompanying her picture, and commencing, Like as the rich man, &c., is dated "From Hatfield this 15th of May." There is a passage in it, begging the King "to think, that, as you have but the outward shadow of the body afore you, so my inward mind wisheth that the body itself were oftener in your presence." See this letter in Strype's Eccles. Memorials, ii. 234.

[f] — qui non alio nomine quàm *dulcis sororis Temperantiæ* nomine salutavit. (Introduction to Annales of Elizabeth.) In the same strain Lloyd states that the King said to Cardano, "I have two tutors, Diligence and Moderation," meaning Cheke and Coxe. Again, Lloyd relates of the marquess of Northampton, that "King Edward called him his honest uncle, and King Henry his Integrity." And, according to the same biographer, Elizabeth in turn had her Temperance, for he says of sir John Pakington that "queen Elizabeth called him her Temperance, and Leicester his Modesty." (State Worthies.)

The King's death kept secret.

It is beyond the scope of this Memoir to enter into the history of public transactions which were the immediate consequences of King Edward's death.[a] It may however be considered as part of our proper subject to notice, that, in order to gain time for the accomplishment of Northumberland's scheme for the succession, the event of the demise of the Crown was kept secret for nearly two days; and that, when it first became known in London, a belief was very prevalent that the King had died from poison.[b] This report is said to have been spread especially by the Romanists, in order to heap odium on Northumberland. Julius Terentianus, or Santerentianus, an Italian who had accompanied Peter Martyr to England, writes as follows:

Rumour that he was poisoned.

> The most godly Josiah, our earthly hope, died—the 6th of July—of consumption, as the physicians assert; by poison, according to common report, for this is rumoured by the papists for the purpose of exciting a general hatred against Northumberland; nor, to tell the truth, were there wanting many and strong suspicions; but still, if I may say what I think, I believe the papists themselves to have been the authors of so great wickedness, for they have expressed no signs of sorrow, and no inquiry has been made respecting so great a crime. (Zurich Letters, iii. 365.)

Prejudiced writers revived this suspicion from time to time; among others, Osorius, bishop of Sylves in Portugal, in a letter written to Queen Elizabeth; to whom doctor Walter Haddon thus indignantly replied:

> Can you, being a Portugal born, so impudently defame our region with that horrible crime, without all likely or probable proof, now that twenty years be spent and gone, whereas no sober or discreet Englishman did ever conceive any such thought in his mind? The physicians reported that he died of a consumption; the same was affirmed by the grooms of his privy chamber, which did keep continual watch with the sick King. All his subjects did believe it for a confessed truth; neither could your slanderous fable have been blown abroad, but among tattling women, foolish children, and such malicious English losells like unto you. Nor yet could this rotten unsavoury cavil have had any discreet author, had it not been whispered into the ears of Osorius. (A Sight of the Portugall Pearle, translated into English by Abraham Hartwell. 1565. 8vo. p. 27.)

The rumour had however been very widely diffused, as Bishop Cooper says in his Chronicle:

[a] I have already made some contribution to this period of our history in the Chronicle of Queen [illegible] and Queen Mary, edited for the Camden Society, in 1850.

[b] One contemporary Londoner writes, "Some say he was poisoned." (Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 78.) Another, "He was poisoned, as everybody says." (Machyn's Diary, p. 35.)

In this time many were punished in England for talkyng rashly that the Kyng should be dead,[a] and divers also for saiynge that he was poysoned. For that rumour was spred throughout the realme. (Cooper's Chronicle, 1560, p. 357 verso.)

Bishop Bale, in 1557, could not forbear alluding to this public belief;[b] and, even after another generation, sir John Hayward did not disdain to revive the same suggestion.

Still later, the story was reasserted by a Jesuit named Matthew Pattison, with the following details:—

"It is said that the apothecary who poisoned him, for the horror of the offence and disquietness of his conscience, drowned himself, and that the laundress, which washed his shirt, lost the skin of her fingers; but this is certain, there are some yet living in court who can tell how many weeping eyes they have seen for the untimely and treacherous loss of such a Prince. See Heyward, Hist. Edw. VI."—Jerusalem and Babel; or, the Image of both Churches, by *P. D. M.* (Matthew Pattison) (first dedicated to Charles Prince of Wales in 1623), second edit. 1653, p. 423.

To whom Fuller replied in his Church History that, "if his history be no better than his divinity, we that justly condemn the one can do no less than suspect the other."

Funeral.

The funeral was celebrated on the 8th of August. The King's body had been removed on the preceding day[c] from Greenwich to Whitehall, where a herse was erected in the chapel for its reception. There is no official record of the ceremony,[d] but the fullest description that has been found is that given, as follows, in Machyn's Diary:

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[a] As before shown in p. clxxxv. [b] See p. cciv.

[c] "Item the vij day of the same monyth was the Kynge Edwarde the vj removed unto Whythall unto Westmyster by the byshoppe of Caunterbery, withoute any crose or light; and berryd the nexte day with a comynyone, and powely (poorly), and the byshoppe of Chester he prechyd a good sermon." Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London, p. 82.

[d] Mr. Stephen Martin Leake, Clarenceux, remarks in his third volume of Ceremonials (MS. in Coll. Arms,) "We have not the particulars of this funeral, but it was like his father's, though not so much of it, nor so pompous and expensive." The only document respecting it in the College of Arms, is (I. 11. f. 117,) a portion of the accounts of the expenses incurred, being the Paynters' charges for standards, banners, bannerols, &c. and other decorations of the two herses in Whitehall chapel and Westminster church, and funeral chariot. In the Archæologia, vol. xii. pp. 334—396 is printed at length, "The accompte of Sir Edward Waldegrave, knighte, oone of the Quenes highness prevy counceile, and Mr. of her M^ties greate warderobe, as well of all receiptes of monye, of clothes of golde, velvetts, and other sylkes owte of the Quenes Ma^ties stoore, as also of all the empcions, provisions, and deliveries for the Buryall of the late

The viij. day of August was buried the noble King Edward the Sixth; and at his burying was the greatest moan made for him of his death as ever was heard or seen, of all sorts of people, weeping and lamenting. And first of all went a great company of children in their surplices, and clerks singing. And then his father beadmen.[a] Then two heralds; and then a standard with the Dragon. Then a great number of his servants in black; and then another standard with the White Greyhound. Then, after, a great number of his officers; and after them came more heralds, and then a standard [of the Lyon[b]]. Next, the head officers of his house; and then heralds. Norroy bare the helmet and crest on horseback. Then his great banner of arms in embroidery, with divers other banners. Then came riding master Clarenceux, with his target, his garter, and his sword, gorgeous and rich. After, Garter, with his coat-armour in embroidery, and then more heralds of arms. Then came the chariot, drawn by great horses trapped with velvet to the ground, and every horse having a man on his back in black, and every one bearing a bannerol of divers Kings' arms; and with scocheons on their horses; on the chariot lay a picture[c] (or effigy) of the King, with a crown of gold, and a great collar, and his sceptre in his hand, lying in his robes, and the garter about his leg, and a coat

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famous Prince of Memory Kinge Edwarde the Syxte of that name," &c. &c. communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1794, by Mr. Craven Ord from the original in the Exchequer. The sum total of the expenses incurred was 5946*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.* (p. 356), besides the stores from the wardrobe. Strype, in his Eccles. Memorials, ii. 432, asserts that "The whole charge of the funeral amounted to 475*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.*—too thrifty and penurious an expense for the last respect due to so brave a prince:" but those figures were derived from "The Paynters' book" only (abovementioned). The same account is included in that of sir Edward Waldegrave (pp. 349-353), but from some slight variations the total there amounts to 434*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

In the library of Exeter college, Oxford (MSS. XCII. 64,) is a petition addressed to queen Mary by (the officers of arms?) relative to their perquisites of the black cloth used at King Edward's funeral, which were detained by the dean of Westminster.

[a] Strype, Eccles. Memorials, ii. 431, has printed this, "his Father Bedeman." The epithet "father" was familiarly applied to all old men. The beadmen at King Henry's funeral are fully described as "two hundred and fifty poor men in long mourning gowns and hoods, with badges on their left shoulders, the red and white cross (*lege* rose) in a sun shining, a crown imperial on that. In each of their hands a large torch burning: and on each hand of them went two carts laden with torches, to restore them always as the old wasted." The ceremonial of king Henry's funeral is printed at length in Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. ii. appendix A.

[b] "Item, for the workemanshipe of iij standertes, the Lyon and the Dragon at ix. li. the pece, xviij. li. the Greyhound at viij. li. being wrought in fyne gold, xxvj. li." Paynters' Book.

[c] Machyn adds, "lyeng recheussly," which Strype interpreted "piteously." The meaning of the writer, himself a furnisher of funerals, and enthusiastic admirer of pompous pageantry, but no great scholar, seems rather to have been "gorgeously rich," as a few lines above.

in embroidery of gold. About the corps were borne four banners, a banner of the order [of the Garter], another of the red rose, another of queen Jane [the King's mother], and another of the queen's mother [Katharine of Arragon]. After him went a goodly horse, covered with cloth of gold to the ground, and the master of the horse; with a man of arms in armour, which was offered, both the man and horse. There was set up a goodly herse in Westminster abbey, with bannerols and pensils, and hung with velvet about.

From another source[a] we have the following list of the principal mourners:[b]

The lord marquis of Wynchester chefe morner.

Other xij morners:

| | |
|---|---|
| Th'erl of Oxford. | The lord of Burgaveny. |
| Th'erl of Shrewesbury. | The lord Wyndsor. |
| Th'erl of Worcester. | The lord Borough. |
| Th'erl of Sussex. | The lord Barkeley. |
| Th'erl of Bathe. | The lord Sturton. |
| Th'erl of Pembroke. | The lord Cobham. |

Noailles[c] describes the funeral at Westminster as taking place with but little attendance, without any lights burning, or other ceremonial of the good and ancient religion, and without invitation to any foreign embassadors. He adds, that on the same day the queen caused to be sung in the Tower a high-mass for the dead, with deacon and sub-deacon,[d] at which from three to four hundred persons were present. Thus—

[a] It is prefixed to the Paynters' book before noticed.

[b] At the funeral of Henry the Eighth the marquess of Dorset had been chief mourner, and the twelve assistants were the lord St. John (lord president of the council), the earls of Arundel, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Derby, and Sussex, the lords Morley, Dacre of the North, Ferrers, Clinton, Grey, and Scrope.

[c] —— hier à Ouesmestre fut faict l'enterrement du feu Roy vostre bon filz avec peu de compagnie, sans aucun luminaire, ni observance de ceremonie de la bonne et ancienne religion, et n'y ayant appellé aucun des ambassadeurs qui sont de pardeça. Toutesfois, sire, ce mesme jour cestedicte Royne ne pouvant sitôt conduire les choses qu'elle desire faire à l'honneur de Dieu, fit chanter en la Tour une messe haulte des trespassez à diacre et soubz-diacre, et assisterent de trois a quatre cent personnes. Ce que je n'ay voule obmettre vous escripre, sçachant bien, sire, que ce vous sera nouvelle bien agreable, et nonobstant que beaucoup de gens en murmurent, si cuyde-je que bientost il s'en fera de mesme en la plus grand part de ce royaulme. Ladicte dame a fort voulu reduire sa sœur madame Elizabeth à semblable devotion; mais elle est si obstinée en ceste nouvelle loy, qu'elle n'a sceu encores vaincre son opinion. (Ambassades de Noailles, ii. 108.)

[d] Described by Stowe as "an obsequie in the Tower for King Edward, the dirge being sung

The most godly King is buried. The good archbishop of Canterbury performs the funeral service at Westminster according to the established form, that is, in English, or in a Christian way, with many tears ;[a] but before the queen Winchester himself performs the obsequies after the popish fashion. (Julius Terentianus, in Zurich Letters, iii. 367.)

A sermon was preached at the funeral by doctor George Day, the lately deprived bishop of Chichester, [b] and who also preached shortly after at queen Mary's coronation.

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in Latin; and on the morrow a masse of *Requiem*, whereat the Queene with her ladies offered." Stowe incorrectly places both the funeral and the obsequy at the Tower on the 9th instead of the 8th of August.

[a] Bishop Burnet remarks, "It is rather strange that they allowed him such funeral rites: for the Queen kept a solemn exequie, with all the other remembrances of the dead, and masses for him, used in the Roman church, at the Tower on the eighth of August, the same day that he was buried at Westminster; the lord treasurer, (who was the marquis of Winchester, still continued in that trust), the earls of Shrewsbury and Pembroke being the principal mourners. Day, that was now to be restored to his see of Chichester, was appointed to preach the funeral sermon: in which he commended and excused the King, but loaded his government severely; and extolled the Queen much, under whom he promised the people happy days. It was intended that all the burial rites should have been according to the old forms that were before the Reformation; but Cranmer opposed this vigorously, and insisted upon it, that, as the King himself had been a zealous promoter of the Reformation, so the English service was then established by law. Upon this he strictly hindered any other way of officiating, and himself performed all the offices of the burial; to which he joined the solemnity of a communion. In these, it may be easily imagined, he did everything with a very lively sorrow; since, as he had loved the King beyond expression, so he could not but look on his funeral as the burial of the Reformation, and in particular as a step to his own." (History of the Reformation, vol. iii. p. 244.)

Machyn mentions, at the latter end of November, 1553, "a goodly herse for the late King Edward, hung with cloth of tissue, and a cross, and a pax, silver candlesticks, and xiij beadmen holding of tapers; and the dirge in Latin, and the mass on the morrow.' (Diary, p. 49.) This appears to have been in the cathedral church of St. Paul.

In "The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossorie" he describes how, upon Saturday the 9th of September, he was visited, at Kilkenny, by the treasurer of that church and other priests, who "proponed unto me that they were all fully minded to have solempne exequies for Kynge Edward, lately departed, lyke as the Quenes highnesse had had them in Englande. I axed them how that was? They made me answere, with a *requiem* mass and dirge. Than asked I of them agayne, who shulde singe the masse; and they answered me, that it was my bounden dewtie to do it, beinge their bishop." Bale, of course, evaded the demand, and relates at some length how he managed to do so.

[b] He is designated as preacher in the list of attendants (Archæologia, xiii. 386). He had been released just before, by a royal letter dated the 4th of August, from the custody of the

The spot where King Edward's body was deposited was in Henry the Seventh's chapel, between the tomb of that monarch and the high altar of brass which then stood there. No monument was ever erected to his memory.[a]

William Baldwyn's Funeralles of King Edward the Sixt.

These biographical collections may now be brought to a close with a slight notice of a book already in the hands of the Roxburghe Club, but the literary history of which, though remarkable, has never been hitherto unravelled. William Baldwyn, the author of various poetical essays,[b] composed, immediately after King Edward's death, a poem descriptive of all its circumstances,[c] as well as commemorative of the King's excellent qualities and the nation's sincere grief upon his loss. Baldwyn, it seems, did not venture to publish this composition at the time. It was printed in 1560 under the title of

The Funeralles of King Edward the Sixt. Wherin are declared the Causers and Causes of his Death. By William Baldwyn. London: printed for Thomas Marshe. 1560.

and reprinted in 1817 as the contribution of the Rev. James William Dodd to the Roxburghe Club.

But in the year 1610 another copy of this composition went through the press, and was published, under the name of sir John Cheke as its author, with the following title:

A Royall Elegie. Briefly describing the Vertuous Reigne, and happy (though immature) Death of the most Mightie and renowmed Prince, King Edward the sixth, King of England, France, and Ireland, &c. who died in the Sixteenth yere of his age, and in the seventh yeere of his Reigne. Written by Sir John Cheke, Knight, Anno 1553. Never before published, but most worthy to be Read of all Estates in these our dayes.

A very neat woodcut of the King's portrait, and at its sides the motto,

BREVIS VITA LEVIS CULPA.

Imprinted at London for *H. Holland*, and are to be sold at Christ Church-doore. 1610.

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lord chancellor Goodrich, in which he had remained from June 1552 (see note in p. 345). I have not discovered whether bishop Burnet derived from any other source than conjecture what he states of the contents of the funeral sermon.

[a] That being the case, Sandford has, in lieu, inserted in his Genealogical History of the Kings of England, a representation of the altar, "as it stood entire before the late Fanatical Zeal destroyed it." Subsequent writers, following Strype (in Kennett, ii. [328]), have called this the altar monument of King Edward the Sixth; but in truth it was the high altar of Henry the Seventh's chapel, and King Edward had no monument whatever.

[b] See the note in p. clxxv.

[c] A quotation has been already given in p. ccxxiii.

This edition has also been reprinted, (from the copy in Mr. Grenville's library,) as an appendix to Mr. Trollope's History of Christ's Hospital, 1834, 4to. It has a dedication, unsigned,

To the condigne praise and memorial of the thrise noble and much honoured Lady, the Lady Barbara Vicountesse L'Isle; this princely Poeme be consecrated; by him who unfainedly wisheth unto her Ladyship, and her worthiest first-borne daughter, the Lady Wrothe, heaven on earth, and everlasting happinesse in the highest heaven.

From the many passages that differ materially from the first edition,[a] we may fairly believe that this was printed from a manuscript copy, and that the statement in the title-page, that it was "never before published," was put forward in good faith: it is also most probable that the manuscript did not preserve the name of the author, and that, consequently, it was by conjecture attributed to sir John Cheke; but there can be no doubt that such conjecture was wholly void of foundation.[b]

A less important poetical production[c] of the day was "An Epitaph upon the Death of Kyng Edward. Imprinted at London, in Holburne, nere to the Cundite, at the Signe of the Sarsin's head, by John Charlewood and John Tysdale." It is, properly speaking, a ballad; and begins— Ballad Epitaph.

Adewe pleasure! Gone is our treasure.

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[a] The various readings are very numerous throughout. The second poem, entitled "An exhortacion to the repentaunce of sinnes and amendment of life, which were the cause of the Kinges death," &c. is omitted; but the third poem, "The death playnt or life prayer of the most noble and virtuous Prince, King Edward the Sixt," is reprinted with this altered title, "An Epitaph, or Death Dole, of the Right Excellent Prince, King Edward the Sixth, who died in the sixteenth Yeare of his Age, and in the seventh yeare of his Reigne; and was buried at Westminster in the Tombe of his Grand father, the eighth of August. Anno Dom. 1553."

[b] In the Heroologia, which was published by the same printer, Henry Holland, the book is thus mentioned in the memoir of sir John Cheke: "Ille etiam olim, tamen non nisi nuper typis editam, conscripsit dulcem Elegiam Anglicam, in qua longè præstantissimi Regis Edouardi VI. ægrotatio: una cum temporis locique circumstantiis, et luctuosus (bonorum omnium) obitus, descripta fuit: Hæc autem Elegia Anno demùm D^ni^ 1610, Londini, per H. Hollandum excusa est." Strype, in his Life of Cheke, could only mention this as a work attributed to the subject of his biography, not having been able to find a copy. It has therefore hitherto kept its place in the list of sir John Cheke's works.

[c] An original copy exists in the Society of Antiquaries' collection, and it is reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, edit. Park, 4to, 1813, vol. x. p. 252.

# ADDITIONS TO THE BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR.

P. xlviii. The passage here quoted from Bale's Scriptores, relative to the excellence of *Cheke's instruction of the King*, was derived by Bale from the dedication prefixed by Cœlius Secundus Curio to Cheke's disputations on the Pronuntiation of Greek, printed at Basle in 1555.[a] It was addressed to sir Anthony Cooke, then Cheke's survivor. After remarking that among those who had endeavoured to effect a reform in the pronuntiation of Greek, Erasmus of Rotterdam and John Cheke had been conspicuous, Curio alludes to Cooke's intimate acquaintance both with the controversy and with Cheke himself, from their joint charge of King Edward :—"Vobis enim duobus Regis Eduardi pueritia literis, moribus, religione instituenda tradita et commissa erat. Vos communibus votis, consiliis, industria, summæ et planæ (*sic*) divinæ spei Regem formabatis : a vobis ille divinus puer institutionem, qua neque Cyrus nec Achilles, neque Alexander, neque ullus unquam regum politiorem sanctioremque accepit: qua si adultus uti potuisset, si ad regni gubernacula cum ea pervenisset, et ante tempus immatura morte præreptus non fuisset, quodnam regnum in terris felicius ? quæ gens beatior unquam extitisset ? Sed ostendere hunc terris tantum fata volûere, neque ultra sinere. Nimium enim gens Angla visa felix, propria hæc si dona fuissent."

P. xlix. Among the verses inscribed on the tomb of *sir Anthony Cooke* were the following lines :—

A worthy knight, whose life in learning led
Did make his name to mount above the sky,
With sacred skill unto a King he read,
Whose toward youth his famous praises spred;
And he therefore to courtly life was call'd,
Who more desired to be in study stall'd.

See the rest of the inscriptions in Strype's Annals, vol. ii., and in the Athenæ Cantab. i. 352.

P. l. I have ascertained the fact of Cheke's temporary disgrace at court, and its date, though not its cause or the circumstances. Among the particulars of his history which he communicated to Cardano was this : "Anno 1549 die undecimo Januarij a pristino honore fermè decidit." (Cardanus de Genituris, p. 37.) On this occasion Cheke retired to Cambridge, where he wrote at the end of May the letter printed in p. l., in which he

[a] Joánnis Cheki Angli de Pronuntiatione Græcæ potissimum linguæ disputationes cum Stephano Vuintoniensi Episcopo, septem contrariis epistolis comprehensæ, magna quadam et elegantia et eruditione refertæ. (Basileæ, per Nicol. Episcopium juniorem, 1555.)

speaks of enjoying the calm of quietness, after having been tossed in the storms of ambition. It must also have been about the same time that he addressed the following letter to the duke of Somerset; because the visitation of the university mentioned at its commencement began early in May, 1549, and terminated about the beginning of July. This letter, which was first published (without any date) in Harington's Nugæ Antiquæ, relates almost entirely to the King's moral education:—

"The letters whiche your Grace sent to the Universitie for the better expedition of the Visitation, hath encouraged men's studies merveilouslye to the further desyre of learning, and established the doubtful mynds of some wavering men, which tooke all unknown matters to the worst, and feared shadows of mistrusted things, whereof they had no cause; wherefore your Grace, in myne opinion, hath done a verie beneficial deed to the schooles, whose head and Chauncellour you be, in speeding out of hand this Visitation; and shall make herebye a nomber of honest and learned men to serve the King's majestie faithfullie in their callinge another daye, which is one chief point of everie subject's dewtie to labour in: and hereby all sortes of students knowing the King's majestie toward in hope of all excellencie to learning, and your Grace holding the stearne of honor, not only ordering all matters of counseille with wisdome, but also consydering the furtherance of learning with favour; be stirred and enabled to attaine to a greater and perfecter trade of learning, not unbehovable for the commonwealthe, nor unserviceable for the King's majestie, nor unpleasant to your Grace, by whose authoritie it now the better springeth.

"For which cause I suppose, among other, the King's majestie hath great occasion to give God thanks, that not onlye in his minoritie his realme is governed at home with your sage auncient counseill, and defended from the foreigne incursion of great and powerfull adversaries, but also provision is made for learned men to serve his Grace hereafter; whose use shall be necessarie for the realme, not onlie for religion, but also for civill causes. And therefore, as I may say boldly to your Grace, I, often thinking of his Majestie, trust he will now make hym (according to all men's certain expectation) worthie another day so noble an unckle; and so toward a nomber of youthe prepareing themselves aforehand to serve his Majestie's commonwealthe hereafter: which he cannot do onlye by greatness of naturall witt, whereof he hath suffityent, except he adjoyne also experience, (the very ground-worke of all wisdome,) wherein his Majestie best shall be advertised by you. For all learning, be it never so great, except it be sifted with moche use and experience to the fynest, can be no wisdom, but onlye a voide and a waste knowledge; and therefore this kynde can be learned by no booke, but onlye by diligent hearing of sage and experient counseillours, and following more their good advice, who dothe foresee the greatnesse of daungers to come, unconceived and unthought of by others, then their owne suddeine fancies, whoe, for lacke of farther insight, do judge their own conseile best, because they do perceive in themselves no reason againste themselves;

althoughe there be in the thing itself, and wise men's heads, never so moche to the contrary. Wherefore, as his Majestie hath alwaies learned, so I trust he laboureth daylie to avoide the grounde of all errour, that self-pleasing which the Greeks do call Φιλαυτια; when a man delighteth in his own reason, and despyseth other men's conseill, and thincketh no man's foresight to be so good as his, nor no man's judgment compared to his owne: for, if there be any wisedom, it is conferringe with many wise heads, and of divers good counsells to choose out one perfect, and so to follow that whiche reasonable experience leadeth a man wittie unto. And, if there be any hynderaunce and stoppe to wisedome, it is wheare fancie favoureth a man's owne invention, and he hath a better opinion of his own reason then it deserveth indeede, and so alloweth it to be good, and sticketh to his sence by self-love, or ever he know what it is worth by proofe of reason; and therefore is not constant therein by judgment, but headstronge by willfullnesse.[a]

"And this thing is to be avoyded diligentlye of all, and especiallye of the King's majestie, now in this tendernesse of his youth; because everie fault is greatter in a King than in a meane man, and also faults rooted in this age do not onlye grow to a greatnesse, but also they utterlye take away the likelihoode of divers good virtues, which ellse would spring freshlye in it. I do wish therefore oftentymes, that which the King's majestie was wont to labour in, that he contynewed to be an Academike, slow to judge, glad to heare all men, mistrusting his owne reason, takeing trouthe to be hidden, and so not to be founde at the first sight; thinking wisdom either to be in men of experience, or ellse in no men; and alwaise perswading hymself in his youthe, whiche Socrates belived when he was olde, *that he knoweth this onlye thinge, that yet he knew nothing;* and so shall he best avoid the bottomless dangers, unknowen faults, which will ellse unwarse[b] creepe into his minde. Not only in warrfare, but also in peace, it is daungerous for a publique person to say, Had I wist,[c] to excuse the matter, with a *putavi* to maintaine on that reason whose beginninge is grownded on an errour. The King's majestie knoweth herein half what I meane, and the sure safegarde of wisedom and happinesse is, to avoide the first fault which is first commanded to be avoyded in Tullies Offices.[d]

"But what meane I to wryte this to your Grace? especially knowing the King's majesties nature, how gladd he is follow your Grace's good advertisements, and willing

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[a] From what is asserted of the Duke of Somerset's character, and the errors of conduct by which he is said to have contributed to his own ruin, it appears not unlikely that Cheke was induced to address to him those observations for his own special benefit, though disguised under the form of advice for the instruction of his royal nephew. They may, however, have made no such impression, as the expostulations more directly and openly addressed to the Protector by Paget were not successful in abating his self-confidence.

[b] unawares.

[c] *Had I wist*, i. e. *known.*

[d] Viz.—"The taking up of things upon trust, and flattering ourselves that we know more than effectually we do." Lib. i.

to obaye all those whoe be put in truste about hym. I have no cause to mistrust, but love is full of feare when there is no cawse; and my dewtie to admonishe aforehand for fear of a cawse; and yet my hope is there will be no cawse, for I cannot (by nature as a subject, by dewtie as a servant,) but contynually wyshe to his majestie daylye increase of God's merveilous guifte well begunne in hym, and to your Grace moche honour for the great bourdeine of unsufferable paynes which you sustaine in his minoritie for his cawse; not doubting but, as God of his goodnesse dothe prosper all your affaires with good successe, so will the King's majestie, as he is moste bounden, thankfullye consyder and liberallye recompence, another daye, theise your infinite trevailes in his commonwelthe."

P. lx. The *earl of Hertford's* education with King Edward is mentioned in his epitaph in Salisbury cathedral, where he is characterised as "vir integerrimus, nobilitatis norma, morum ac disciplinæ priscæ conservator, eloquio, prudentia, innocentia, gravitate, nec minus virtute et doctrina quàm generis splendore nobilis, *ut qui una cum Edwardo principe Reg. Hen. fil. in studiis adoleverat*, religionis acerrimus vindex, recti ac justi perpetuus assertor," &c. &c. See the Description of Salisbury Cathedral, 1774, 4to. p. 71.

P. lxix. note. The *earl of Ormonde's* schoolmaster in 1552 was William Johnson, afterwards dean of St. Canice, Kilkenny, of whom a memoir is given in Athenæ Cantab. i. 445.

P. lxxxiii. Another scene in the negociations for constituting a *Protector* is disclosed in a letter written by William Wightman, who had been a servant of sir Anthony Browne, and after his death, as it seems, connected with the lord Seymour of Sudeley, by whose statements he was involved in trouble. On the 10th May, 1549, Wightman addressed to Cecill (then master of the requests to the lord protector) a letter, in which he not only relates some very important passages of Seymour's behaviour, but, among the rest, affirms, "that, as he was of himself all untrue, so are his wicked allegations utterly false; for, as touching myne olde master the master of th'orsses (sir Anthony Browne), albeit, as is commonlye knowne, he did muche dissent frome the procedinges in matters of religion, yet was I long sins by himself right well assured that he, *commoning with my lordes grace in the garden at Endfielde at the Kinges majesties cooming frome Hartforde, gave his franke consent, after communication in discourse of the state, that his grace should be Protector*, thinking it (as indede it was) bothe the surest kynde of governement and most fyt for this common welth." State-paper office, Domestic, Edw. VI. vol. vii. (The remainder of the letter, in a modernised form, will be found in Tytler's Edward VI. and Mary, i. 168.)

P. ci. *Sermons at Court.* The only sermon of any kind attributed to Cranmer that is now extant is one entitled A Sermon concerning the Time of Rebellion, which is printed in his "Remains," edited by Jenkyns, ii. 248: but of which the editor admits that his claim to it is not indisputable. It is founded in part on two Latin sermons by Peter Martyr. "Its contents prove it to be the same which Burnet (History of the Reformation, ii. 244) says was preached by Cranmer on a fast-day at court, and which he asserts he saw at Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, under the archbishop's hand, being the only sermon of his he ever saw. He must have been mistaken with regard to the hand-

writing." The MS. is written by a secretary, but corrected throughout by the archbishop. Mr. Jenkyns agrees in opinion with Strype (Life of Cranmer, p. 187), that it was prepared for general use in consequence of the insurrections of 1549.

P. cxxxvi. Lever was buried in the chapel of Sherburn hospital, co. Durham, where he was master, and his simple epitaph is as follows: "THOMAS LEVER, *preacher to King Edwarde the Sixte.* He died in July, 1577."

P. clxii. Line 1, for "Lever in a letter to Ascham," &c. read "Ascham, who was then at Villacho in Carinthia, wrote to Cecill." This error arose from a misapprehension of Strype's account of this circumstance: but the letter itself is preserved in the MS. Lansdowne 3, art. 1. It commences, "Mr. Leaver wrote unto me a joyfulle lettre of mr. Cheek's most happie recovery, praying to God in his lettre that England may be thankfull to God, for restoring soche a man ageine to the King, and welle prayed trewlie; but I am thus firmelie perswaded that God wist and wold we wold be thankfulle, and therefore bestowed this benefite upon us. God's wroth I trust is satisfied in punishing divers orders of the realme for ther misorder, with taking away singuler men from them, as Lernyng by mr. Bucer, Counsell by mr. Denny, Nobilitie by the two yong Dukes, Courting by gentle Blage, S. John's by good Eland. But if Lerning, Counsell, Nobilitie, Courte, and Cambridge shold have bene alle punisshed at ones, by taking away mr. Cheke to, then I wold have thowght owr mischeef had bene so moche as did crye to God for a generalle plage, in taking away soch a general and onely man as mr. Cheeke is."

P. clxxvi. The following was Bernard Gilpin's answer to mr. secretary Cecill, on being summoned to preach at court. It is dated Oxoniæ, pridie B. Thomæ apostoli. Ad tempus quod mihi tua præscripsit dominatio, diem nimirum dominicam, festum epiphaniæ proxime sequentem, (Deo volente) injunctum mihi concionandi munus pro virili exequar; quo peracto, si non omnino videbar indignus, tuam bonitatem iterum atque iterum oratam velim, ut prædicandi potestatem (*i. e.* a general licence for preaching) mihi a regia majestate velit impetrare. Qua me usurum spero ad Dei gloriam et honorem, evangelii fructum, animarum salutem. Quod faxit Christus, &c. (MS. Lansdowne 3, art. 14.) Gilpin procured his licence in the following month, "Feb. 6. A licence of preaching to Barnarde Gilpin, bachelour of divinitie." (MS. Reg. 18 C.XXIV. f. 295 b.)

P. clxxxvi. The King's temporary amendment early in May is confirmed by a letter from secretary Petre to secretary Cecill, dated from Greenwich on the 7th of that month, in which he states,—"That which I know will rejoice you and is most true, that the King's majestie (thanks bee to Almighty God!) is very well amendyd, and that so apparantly as, contynuyng to kepe hym self close, as his Majestie hath don, a few dayes longer, there is no doubt his Majestie shall be well hable to take the ayere in better case then he hath byn a good while." (Haynes's Cecill Papers, p. 149.)

P. cc. In the same year (1548) that Nicholas Udal wrote his Epistle dedicatory to the Paraphrase of Erasmus, Thomas Cooper (afterwards bishop of Lincoln, but then the schoolmaster of Magdalen college, Oxford), addressed to the King a new edition of sir

Thomas Elyot's Bibliotheca, or Dictionary. This address is as remarkable as that of Udal for the testimony it bears to the reputation which Edward had already acquired for a regard both to religion and to learning; and as the book (in this edition[a]) is very rare, I have extracted the whole of it.

THE PROHEME.

To the most puissant and mightie prince Edward the vi. by the grace of God kyng of Englande, France, and Irelande, defender of the faith, and of the churche of Englande and also of Irelande in earth the supreme head: your most humble and obedient subject Thomas Cooper hartely wyssheth all grace and peace from God, with long reigne, honour, helth, and prosperitee. When I had atchived my labours (such as they be) in castigatyng and augmentyng this Dictionarie, in time past compiled by sir Thomas Eliote, and dedicated to the most renoumed prince your deare and lovying father, I long doubted with my selfe (most gracious soveraigne lord) whether I now in like maner might be so bolde as to exhibite the same to your Imperiall maiestee. My lowe estate and base condicion a longe tyme did beare me backe and greatly abashe me. For in dede I thought it a thynge verie unsemely and a great presumption in me, so simple a person, to set abrode the castigacion of suche a worke under the name, title, and protection of so noble and great a prince: yet, considerynge and weighyng in my mynde the benigne clemencie that so brightly shyneth in your most gracious countinance, and the excellent towardnesse of vertue, godlie zele, and fervent desyre of good learnyng that already appeareth in your hyghnesse, I was wonderfully encouraged and conceived a great boldnesse hardily to adventure the same. And this also did comforte and put me foorth greatly, that your highnesse (as all noble princes are wont) not onely in the geftes and presentes, but also in other woorkes and enterprises of your faithfull subjectes, doeth undoubtedly more weighe and consider the harte, true meanyng, and honest endevoir, than the power or woorthinesse of the person: the benefite and profite that maie grow therby to your realmes and dominions, than any other cause or qualitee that can be imagined to commende and sette forth the thyng. So that now (by consideracion of these thynges) I am throughly persuaded, that I can not accomplish the duitie of a kynde and lovyng subjecte, unlesse I dooe with this simple token or poore earneste peanie geve due testimonie of my good hert toward your maiestee, and glad mind for the wonderfull grace and towardnesse that doeth so aboundantly shew and declare it selfe in your highnesse minoritee and childhode. For what subjecte indued with common sense and reason doeth not even now, in these your tendre yeres, clerely perceive your godly inclinacion, disposed so to rule and governe us in vertue and true religion, that of all nacions we maie judge our selfes to be most happie and fortunate? For this thyng chiefly, we are bounde daiely on our knees, with lowly

[a] I have found it in the Bodleian Library, but not in the British Museum. Strype, when he gives an extract from it in his Eccles. Memorials, ii. 433, assigns it to the year 1551 instead of 1548.

hertes, to give most humble thankes to God; who, pitiyng our estate, of a singular favour and mercie towards this realme of Englande, sent you to reigne over us. Secondly we ought to love and honourably favour in our hertes your moste noble and deare uncle, Edwarde duke of Somerset, who, besydes the protection of all your realms and lovying subjectes, is not onely still carefull to preserve your roiall person from all maner perilles and jeoperdies, but also that you be in suche wise and so godly traded up in all kindes of vertuous doctrine, as you maie be most woorthy and hable to bear the governance of your most noble realmes and dominions. And for this cause were ryght prudently provided for your highnesse such and so excellent instructours as scantly the like in vertue and learnyng maie in any place be founden. Whose godly instructions and vertuous counsails how effectually thei take place in your sacred maiestees breast, it doeth right well appeare to all them that attende upon your roiall person, by the sage and godly talke that proceedeth from your most gracious mouth. We here abrode by your most godly proceedynges evidently perceive, how your grace willeth that your deare uncle, and other most honourable counsailours and ministers, should endevoir and applie them selfes, first to set up true religion to God's honour and glory, to abolishe idolatrie and superstition; and than consequently to proceed foorth to the advauncement of the common weale: that is, truely to minister justice, to restreigne extorcion and oppression, to set up tillage and good husbandrie, whereby the people maie encrease and be mainteined. Your godly herte wolde not have wilde beastes encrease and men decaie; grounde so enclosed up, that your people shoulde lacke foode and sustinaunce; one man by shuttyng in of fieldes and pastures to be made, and an hundred therby to be destroied. O godly herte, O prince most woorthy to reigne, not over two or three realmes, but over the whole worlde! Such talke hath seldome been heard of princes of full age, perfite discrecion, and longe reigne.[a]

"Wherfore the unestimable comforte and joye that all your lovyng subjectes do take at this your wise and discrete devising and communyng, and many other lovely sparkes and certeine tokens of vertue and Christian regiment can not be sufficiently expressed. Yea, undoubtedlye many Englishe hertes have conceived an unfeigned hope, that your majestee shewyng yourselfe so sage, so grave, so prudent in your tendre youth, should, as verie Salomon, by wisdome bringe the worlde from tumultie and rufflyng to restfull quietnesse; from warre to peace; from hatred and discorde to love and amitee; from contencious sectes and opinions to one Christian unitee and true religion. Surely, I saye, many are fully persuaded that the eternall wisedome and secrete counsaile of God hath ordeined your highnesse this to doe, to his great honour, your immortall praise, and the

[a] It appears from this that Edward was known to have expressed himself in conversation as opposed to the system of inclosures, and agreeing with his uncle in those popular views which led to the Protector's ruin. This is quite in consistence with the arguments which the King adopts in his Discourse on the Reformation of Abuses (see pp. 481, 483).

weale and profite of your lovyng subjectes. Some perchaunce will mervaile why I speake not of your high magnificence, of your great and large geftes of fortune, realmes, dominions, palaices most richely adorned, treasure, precious stones and jewels: for whiche kynges are wonte to be highly magnified and praised. Those (most benigne and gracious Soveraigne) shine not so bright, nor are so beautiful in mine eies, nor yet to be so greatly estemed of any Christian hart, as are the divine geftes with the whiche your moste royall breast is indued. The precious margarite Sapience, whom you so lovyngly embrace, whiche shall make your kyngdome strong for ever: Science of God's worde most gracious, that you so ernestly favour, whiche shall cause you ever to love and dreade hym, and know still whose minister ye be: Love so great to God and your commons, that shall alwaie kepe and surely defende you: Justice, so upryghtly weighyng as well the cause of the poore as the riche, whiche shall alwaie fortifie and establishe your most noble kyngdomes. These thinges do most adorne the maiestee of great monarkes, and rulers of the worlde, these thinges (most gracious prince) dooe more magnifie and sette foorth your royall name a thousande folde than all the richesse of the worlde and geftes of fortune, whiche, notwithstandyng, your highnesse hath in great abundance: wherto, our continuall praier is, that the almightie lorde will vouchesalfe to graunt yet still more and more encrease of all grace, long life, wealth and condigne felicitee, and finally make perfite in you that excellente image of a Christian governour, that his wisedome and gracious hand hath already wonderfully framed and begunne, to our great comforte. Amen."

P. cciii. The parallel of King Edward to King Josias, together with the extraordinary enumeration of the popish ceremonies which occurs in this part of Bale's character of the King, had before appeared in his native language, and we may say in his peculiar form of employing that language, in a little book now very rare. It is entitled "An Expostulacion or complaynte agaynste the blasphemyes of a franticke papyst of Hamshyre. Cōpiled by Johan Bale." It is without date, but was certainly published in 1552,[b] being dedicated "to Johan Duke of Northumberlande, Lorde Greate Maister of the Kinges most honourable householde and Lorde presydent of his Maiestyes most honourable prevye counsell."

In his address to Northumberland, Bale remarks :—

"That our sayde seconde and most valeaunt Josias hath thus pourged hys Juda (hys Englande I meane) from the abhomynable buggeryes and ydolatries of the great Baal Peor of Rome, earnestly sekynge for the true God of David his forefather, to the most lyvely ii. Paaral. xxxiii.

[b] The incident which occasioned it occurred "on the xxix daye of Decembre last past" (see p. cclii). Before that date in the year 1552 Bale had already left Hampshire to take possession of the bishopric of Ossory: and as Dudley was not advanced to the dukedom of Northumberland before October, 1551, it is clear the offence given by the "franticke papyst" was during the Christmas of that year, and the publication no doubt very shortly after.

example of all other prynces, their ungratyouse and noughtie eyes are not a lyttle offended. That hys ymages, rellyckes, roodes, torches, candels, copes, ashes, palmes, waxe, water, oyle, creame, and holy bread, that hys bulles, bedes, belles, bablinges, masses, purgatory, processions, confessyons, exorcysmes, hallowynges, shavings, gresynges, sensyngs, slaveringes, slumberynges, and a great sort of Popish toyes more, are banyshed hence, in conscyence they are dysquyeted."

Subsequently Bale makes the following comparison of Edward to Constantine:—

Edward vi Kynge. "What shall let me to thinke as much of our present Constantine, Kinge Edwarde the VI. for our time? consyderynge that the hande of God is not yet abbreviated, Esa. lxi. He commeth as wele from the rysinge of the sunne, as he [*i. e.* Constantine] did. He hathe as wele hys authorytie of God, and is now a christen magistrate, as he was than.

A kyng. So wele is he kynge of thys realme, and a Brytayn borne, as he was. As wele is he gyven to good letters and careth for the christen relygyon, as he ded. As wele hath he

Godly. set Christes gospell at lyberte, from the daunger of tyrauntes, and by proclamacion commaunded it frely to be preached, as he ded. So wele hath he made a generall destruction of supersticiouse Idolls and other abhominations, as ded he. As Constantyne's face in all hys coynes of golde and sylver was erected towardes heaven, by report of Eusebius *in vita Constantini*,

Libro iiii. so is the vysage of hys [Edward's] harte elevated unto God in all hys daylye studies and princelye procedynges. If the good frutes maye shewe what the tree is, than maye oure most vertuouse and godly King Edward the vi. for thys age so wele resemble

Angell. that good angel of God, as mighte our great Constantyne for that age."

The story of the speeches made by the Hampshire papist against the King's proceedings in religious matters is thus narrated:—

Conventicles. "Now to thys frantyck papyst than, whych on the xxix. daye of Decembre last past [1551] in the house[a] of a gentylman of hys affynyte within Hamshire, beynge in the full

Blasphemy. heate of hys frenesye, brast out into thys unreverent, blasphemouse, and contemptuouse talke of the Kinges maiestie and of hys mooste godly procedynges. Alas, poore chyld! (sayd he,) unknowne is it to hym what actes are made now a dayes. But whan he cometh ones of age, he wyll se an other rule, and hange up a hondred of such heretyke knaves. Meanynge the preachers of our tyme, and their maynteyners by lyke. For at

A rayler. the same season he had most spyghtfully rayled of one of them, beynge absent [here Bale probably means himself], whych never in hys lyfe ded hym dyspleasure, nether in dede nor in wurd, that he was able to burden hym wyth. The fyrst part of this blasphemouse clause toucheth the Kinges hyghnes, the second hys honourable Counsell, and the thyrd the true ministers of God's wurde."

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[a] I have not discovered any allusion that might identify the parties, but they were doubtless in the vicinity of Bale's own residence, which was at the rectory of Bishop's Stoke, five miles from Southampton.

Bale then proceeds to discuss each of these divisions at length, and in the course of his arguments in reply to the Papist's speech about the King, he thus comments upon the excellence of his education:—

"Hys wurthie educacion in liberall letters and godly vertues, and hys naturall aptenesse in retayning the same, plenteously declareth him to be no *pore child*, but a manifest Solomon in princely wisdom. Hys sober admonicions and open examples of godlines at this day sheweth him mindfully to prefer the welthe of his commens, as wele gostly as bodyly, above all foren matters. Marke what his majestie hath done already in religion, Relygyon. in abolishing the most shameful idolatries of Antichrist, besides his other actes for publyque affayres, and ye shal find at this day no christen prynce lyke to hym."

See other extracts from this very scarce work of Bale in "Narratives of the Reformation," (Camden Society,) 1858.

An incident of the King's sojourn in Southampton is thus related by the same writer in the narrative of "The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the bishoprick of Ossorie." "Upon the 15. daye of August, 1552, being the first daye of my deliverance, as God wolde, from a mortall ague which had holde me longe afore, in rejoyce that his majestie was come in progresse to Southampton, which was five myle from my personage of Byshoppes Stoke within the same countye, I toke my horse about ten of the clocke, for very weaknesse scant able to sytt him, and so came thydre. Betwixt two and three of the clocke the same daie, I drew towardes the place whereas his majestie was, and stode in the open strete ryght against the gallerye. Anon my frinde Johan Fylpot, a gentylman, and one of hys previe chamber, called unto him two more of hys companyons, which, in moving their heades towardes me, shewed me most friendely countenaunces. By one of these three the Kynge havynge informacion that I was there in the strete, he marveled therof, for so much as it had bene tolde hym a lytle afore that I was bothe dead and buried. With that hys Grace came to the wyndowe, and earnestly behelde me, a poore weake creature, as though he had had upon me, so symple a subject, an earnest regarde, or rather a very fatherly care. In the very same instaunt, as I have bene sens that tyme crediblie infourmed, hys Grace called unto him the lordes of his most honourable counsel, so many as were than present, willinge them to appoint me to the bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande. Whereunto they all agreeably consentinge, commaunded the letters of my first callinge thereunto by and by to be written and sent me. The next day, which was the xvj. day of Auguste, the lettre beinge written by B. Hamptone a clarke of the counsell, they very favourably subscribed to the same (of which he gives the copy). Thus was I called, in a maner from deathe, to this office, without my expectacion, or yet knowledge thereof. And thus have ye my vocacyon to the bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande."

P. lxxxii. The King mentions in his Journal, p. 210, the preparations made for his creation as Prince of Wales. In Milles's Catalogue of Honor, 1610, folio, p. 49, will be found a document entitled *Thinges required unto the creation of the Prince of Wales*, being a Robe, Surcote, Sword, ("shewing him to be Duke of Cornwall by birth and not by creation"), Cap, Coronet, Virge or Rod, Ring, &c. "All these things," it is stated, "were almost with royall sumptuousness prepared for Edward son of Henry the viii to have been created Prince of Wales; but, prevented by his father's death, he was crowned King, sixt of that name." In the preceding page is a translation of the charter creating Edward Prince of Wales, dated 15 March, 32 Hen. VI. but in the side-note inaccurately entitled "the letters patents of King Henry the eight."

Page cxcix. Sir Thomas Wrothe and sir Henry Sidney are mentioned by Foxe as the gentlemen of the privy-chamber present at King Edward's death. The following occurs among some other passages in the same handwriting in the Clarendon MSS. (Brit. Mus. Addit. 4797), f. 142 :—

*Sir Henry Sidney his memoryes touching King Edward's death and Queen Mary's reigne.*—This young Prince, who dyed within my armes, had almost caused death to penetrate his darte even into my one soule, for to behould him, and how like lambe he departed this life, and when his voyce had left him, still he erected his eyes to heaven, it would have converted the firsist (fiercest) of papists if they had any grace in them of true faith in Christ. He would call upon none saveing his Saviour. He prayed that God would be pleased to bestow the ghospell on his subjects, for his glory and their salvation; he alsoe in his sickness made a prayer to God to deliver this nation from that uncharitable religion of Popery, which was the chiefest cause for his election of the Lady Jane Gray to succeed before his sister Mary, though she was the heires aparent to his succession,—not out of spleen unto his sister for her religion, but out of pure love to his subjects, that he desired they might live and dye in the Lord, as he did.

(This passage is stated to have been transcribed in the year 1657 from some memoirs by sir Henry Sidney then existing in the Cottonian Library, but which are not now remaining in that collection.)

# APPENDIX.

## I.

### THE CHRISTENING OF PRINCE EDWARD, 1537.

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 6113, f. Lxvj: with insertions from M. 6 in Coll. Arm.]

This paper is printed from a volume of ceremonials that formerly belonged to Sir Robert Cotton (whose autograph is on the first leaf), though it is no longer part of his collection. The entry is contemporary with the event of Prince Edward's christening, or nearly so. In the MS. Egerton (Brit. Mus.) 985, a book which formerly belonged to the libraries of Mr. Ives and the Hon. Horace Walpole, is an old but somewhat later transcript, in which the allusions to the Virgin and St. George at the beginning and end are omitted, and several verbal errors are made.

In the College of Arms are various other copies all more or less imperfect. The oldest, those in I. 14, fol. 135, and M. 6, fol. 23, commence with the order of procession (overleaf); and in the latter MS. at fol. 135, is a tricking from a roll representing the whole Procession: followed by a drawing of the mount or stage with the Font. The same procession was engraved in the Antiquarian Repertory, in 1782, from a tricking then in the possession of Richard Bull, esq. It is there called the procession to the christening of Prince Arthur, son to Henry VII.; but, from the costume, it appears to have been made at the time when queen Mary was expected to give birth to an heir, in 1554. It exhibits, however, all the various personages which are enumerated and described on the present occasion, including those who carry the gifts of the sponsors, &c.

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The Christynnyng of Prince Edward the moost derest sonne of Kyng Henry the viij$^{th}$ of that name.

By the provisyon of God, our Lady S. Mary, and the glorious martir S. George, on the xij$^{th}$ daye of October, the feast of Sainct Wilfride, the vigill of Saint Edwarde, wiche was on the Friday, abowte ij of the clocke in the mornynge was borne at Hampton Courte Edwarde sonne to king Henry the viij$^{th}$, in the yere of our Lord a M$^{l}$ v$^{c}$ xxxvij, the Dominicall letter was G, in the xxix$^{ti}$ yere of the raigne of our said souveraigne lorde King Henrie the viij$^{th}$. Wiche was not christenyd till the monday nexte folowing.

Incontynent after the birthe *Te Deum* was song in the cathedrall churche of Paullis right solempnely, and in all the other parishe chirches of the citty. And many greate fyers in every strete, and so contynued till nighte. And then was there goodlie banc-

ketting and tryumphyng there, with shotyng of gunnes all day and night in the goodliest maner that might be devised. And messengers[a] sent to all the astates and cytties of the realme of the most joyfull and comfortable tydynges, to whom were given greate and large gyftes. And over al *Te Deum* was song with ringing of bellis. And in the most parte fyers made in praise of God, and rejoysing of all Ynglishemen.

The preparacions ordynned for the said Christynnynge at Hampton Courte.

Furste, the goyng to the churche began at the Prince's lodging, convaied through the counsell chambre to the gallery leading through the kinges great chambre, and so through the hall and the ij$^{de}$ courte to the gallery that goith to the chapell,[b] standyng all that waye torches borne by the kinges servauntes and other noblemen's servauntes, and all that waye barriast where no wallis be, and richely honge and strawed with russhes.

At the chapell dore a large porche, and the same coverid with riche clothe of golde or arras, and doble hangid with arras riche, and the floore bordid and coverid with carpettes.

Item, all the bodie of the chapell hangid with riche arras, and in the same a foonte of silver and gilte, set upon a mounte or stage, made of iiij degrees in heighte, and viij square in compasse, inclosed with double barriars made of tymber, with ij or iij entries, one to come in, an other to pass to the travers, the iij$^{rde}$ to the awter. The same barriars to be coverid with red say, and tacked with small latyn nailes. And all the degrees of the same mount to be coverid with carpettes, and the barriars to be hangid with riche clothe of golde, and over the said foont a riche canapie.

And upon the south side a litill from the mounte was prepared a traverse of damaske for making redy the Prince to the christynnyng. The same traverse under foot coverid with carpettes, and theryn a fyer pan of coollis (coals), with a good perfume, basyns and chaffers of silver and gylte with water (wherof the sayes surely taken), to wasche the Prince if nede be. And all the time of the Prince's christynnyng the bishope and godfathers, saving the lady godmother, to be under the canapie over the foonte, there to abyde the commyng of the Prince.

Item, the quere of the chapell was richely hong on both sidis with arras, and the highe awter richly garnishid with stuff and plate. And on the sowth side of the said awter a rich traverse of clothe of golde hangid, coverid under foote with carpettes and furnishid with cushons, and likewise, under foote, betwene the foonte and the high awter coverd with carpettes.

Item, ij yemen hushers kept the chapell doore nexte the porche.

Item, ij gentilmen hushers of the kinges kept the entrees of the barres about the foonte.

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[a] See note on this before, p. xxi.

[b] It is remarkable that at the doorway of the chapel of Hampton Court there still remain large bas-reliefs of the arms of Henry and queen Jane, with their initials intertwined in a love-knot, and her motto BOWND TO OBEY AND SERVE.

Item, ij gentilmen hushers kepte the travers nexte the foonte.

Item, sir John Russell, sir Frauncys Bryan, sir Nycolas Carowe, and sir Antony Browne, with aproons and towels, were apoyntid to take charge of the foonte, and kept the same till thei therof were dischargid by the lorde stewarde, or in his absense the treasarour of the kinges howse.

Item, ij gentilmen hushers kept the quere doore.

Item, ij gentilmen hushers kepte the travers nexte the awter.

Item, the sergeant of the ewry deliverid at the nurcery doore the basyns, cuppe of assaye, and towellis, and gave his attendaunce in the chapell, receyving the same aftir christynnyng doone.

Item, the sergeaunte of the chaundry was redy at the said chambre doore, and deliverid the tapers and towels, and in the chapell receyvid the towill ageyne aftir christynnyng doone.

Item, the sergeaunte of the pantry was redy at the said chambre doore, and deliverid the salte and towell, and at the chapell dore likewise reyceyvid the same after christynnyng doone.

Item, the sergeaunte of the trumpettes with all the company of that offyce were redy with their trumpettes, and did sownde as by the lorde chamberlan thei were commaundid.

Item, Gartier Principal King at Armes, and all other of the same office, gave their attendaunce as to their office apperteynith.

Item, the deane of the chapell and the quere to be redy to geve their attendaunce in such service as to them apperteynith.

Item, the sergeaunte of the vestry prepared the foonte, and alle thinges that to his office apperteynid.

Item, the lord marshall of Ynglonde and his servauntes with tipstaves in redynes makyng place as to that offyce apparteynith.

Item, the knight marshall and his men gave their attendaunce, and did, as in the absence of the lorde stewarde, the treasorour of the kinges howse appoynted.

Item, all th'officers of howseholde were redy to do service to them appoynted.

Item, all states, knightes, and gentilmen had their warning as aforesaid to make their reypaire to the courte by the kinges lettres, to do service to them apoynted.

Item, all sergeauntes of armes had like warning to reipair, doing their service as thei were appoyntid.

Item, all such of the kinges chaplens as were meete to do service thei were writon for, to reipaire to the court, and gyve their attendaunce.

Item, after the said orders of provision put in their perfection, and the said assembly made, gatherid, and put in redynes, this order was folowed for going from the Prince's lodgyng to the christynnynge:—

Furste, certein gentilmen, esquyers, and knightes, ij and ij, standing still, bearing every one a torche in his hande, not lighted unto the Prince be christyned.

Then the children and mynisters of the Kinges chapell, and the deane, in their surplus and coopis, not singying goying owtwarde.

Then gentilmen, esquyers and knightes, ij and ij.

Then chaplens of dignytie, ij and ij in order.

Then abbottes and bushops.

Then the Kinges cowncellours.

Then lordes, barons, viscomtes, and erlis, ij and ij.

Then the comptroller and treasorour of howsholde.

Then the imbassators, accompanied with personages convenient.

Then the iij lordis chamberlaines, and the lorde chamberlayne of Ynglond in the middist.

Then the lorde Crumwell, being lorde privey seale, and the lorde chauncellor.

Then the duke of Norfolke, and th'archbischope of Caunturburie.

Item, nexte them a pair of coverid basons, and a towill upon that, with a cuppe of assaye, borne by the erle of Sussex, supportid by the lorde Mountague.

Item, next after, a tapour of virgyn waxe, borne by the erle of Wilteshere, with a towill about his necke.

Item, then a salte of golde richely garneshed with perle and stone, borne by the erle of Essex, with a towell about his necke.

Item, then the crysome richely garneshed, borne by the lady Elizabeth the Kinges doughter; the same lady for hir tender age was borne by the viscount Beauchampe with the assistance of the lorde [Morley].

Item, then the Prynce, borne under the canopie by the ladie marques of Exeter, assisted by the duke of Suffolke, and the lorde marquese hir husband. The lady mistres went betwene the Prince and the supporter. The trayne of the Prynce's robe borne by th'erle of Arundell, and susteined by the lorde William Howard.

The nurse to go equally with the supporter of the trayne, and with her the mydwiefe.

The canopie over the Prynce borne by sir Edward Nevylle, sir John Walloppe, mr. Richard Longe, mr. Thomas Semere, mr. Henry Knyvet, and mr. Ratclyffe, gentilmen of the Kinges privy chamber.

The tortayes of virgyn waxe borne about the canopie by sir Humfrey Foster, Robert Turwytt, George Harper, and Richard Sowthwell.

Item, next after the canopie my ladie Marie the Kinges doughter, being the ladie Godmother, her trayne borne by the ladie Kingeston.

After my lady Marie all other ladies of honour and gentilwomen in ordre after their degrees did folowe.

This order aforesaid observed, whan the Prince was crystyned, than all torches were light, and Gartier Principall King at Armes proclaymid his name and stylle in forme following: "God of his Almightie and infynyte grace gyve and grawnte good lyffe and long to the right highe, right excellente and noble Prynce, PRINCE EDWARDE, duke of Cornwaill, and erle of Chester, most dere entirely belovyd sonne to our moste drade and gracious lorde, King Henry the viijth. [Larges! Larges!]

This doone, this service folowing was, in tyme the Prince was making ready in his traverse, and *Te Deum* song:—

Firste, to the lady Mary the lorde William to gyve the towill, and the lorde Fitzwater to beir coverd basons, and the lorde Mountagew to uncover.

Item, to the bischope that doth admynister the lorde Bousher to beir the towell, the lorde Braye to beir the basons, and the lorde Delaware to uncover.

Item, to the bischope of Caunturbury, and the duke of Norffolke, Godfathers to the Prynce, the lorde Sturton to beir the towell, and the lorde Waintworth to gyve the water.

Item, to serve the lady Mary and the lady Elizabeth with spices, waffres, and wyne, the lorde Hastinges to beir the cuppe to the lady Mary, and the lord Delaware another to the lady Elizabeth; and the lorde Dacres of the Sowth to beir the spice plates to them bothe. The lorde Cobham the waffres, and the lorde Mountagew to uncover the spice plate.

Item, the bischope that doith admynister to be servid with spice, wyne, and waffres, with iij of the awncient knightes appoynted by the lorde chamberlain.

Item, the archbischope of Caunturbury and the duke of Norfolk, being Godfathers at the foonte, and the duke of Suffolke Godfather at the confirmacion, to be servid with like spices, waffres, and wyne, with iij such knightes as by the said lorde chamberlain were appoyntid.

Item, that all other astates and gentils within the churche and the courte were servid with spice and ypocras, and all other had breade and swete wyne.

Item, after this doone, the goyng homwarde with the Prince was like to the coming owtwarde in everything, saving that the taper, the salt, and the basen were there delivered, and the giftes that were gyvyn by the gossepps were caried in ordre again as foloweth:—

Firste, the lady Mary,[a] a cuppe of golde, borne by the erle of Essex.

The archbischope of Caunturbury, iij grete bollis and ij great pottes silver and gilt, borne by the erle of Wilteshire.

The duke of Norfolke like to th'archbischope of Caunturbury, borne by the erle of Sussex.

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[a] On the day the Prince was christened the princess Mary received from mr. Henege, gentleman of the King's privy-chamber, the sum of 100 li., probably to meet the expenses she incurred on the occasion. (Privy-purse Book, edited by Sir F. Madden, 8vo, 1831, p. 1.) She

The duke of Suffolke, ij great flagons, and ij great pottis, silver and gilt, borne by the viscounte Beauchampe.

Item, the lady Elizabeth did goo with my lady Mary her sister; and the lady Herbert of Troys to beir the trayne.

[Item, after the Prynce his stile proclaymed by the kynges of armes and herauldes, then they retornyng to the quenes chamber wering on their cotes of armes and the sergeauntes at armes berying their masys and all the torcheis then lyghted, every man kepyng ordre in his place; so procedid forthe to the quenes chambre, the trympyttes blowing all the waye; and, the Prynce commen in the said chamber, then the trumpettes standing in th'other courte within gate, there blowing, and the mynstrelles playing, which was a mellodious thing to heare.]

Memorandum, that no assayes were taken to ony state at that tyme, but onely to the Prince, and the same were taken from officer to officer, that wer chargid with any thinge for the Prince, and surely and savely kept by them till every such officer was therof dischargid by the lorde stewarde, and in his absense the treasorour of housholde, by whom the assayes were takyn for the said Prynce.

Memorandum, that at the goyng of the Prince the chapell sang the service and the ceremonies therunto belonging by all the waye.

Wiche things above said in their due order doone and finished, then he was borne to the Kyng and the Quene, and had the blessing of Almighty God, our Lady, and S. George, and his father and mother. And the same daye the Kyng gave great largesse.

[Item, then the said presentes which (were) afore geven to the Prynce, were then delyvered to such as pleased the Kyng to appoynte.]

The names of all astates and gentilmen present at the said christynning of the moost excellent Prince Edwarde.

| | |
|---|---|
| The lorde chancellour. | The viscount Beauchampe. |
| The duke of Norfolke. | The lorde Hawarde. |
| The duke of Suffolke. | The lorde admyrall. |
| The marques of Exeter. | The lorde Delaware. |
| The lorde Crumwell, being lord privey seale. | The lorde Sandes. |
| The erle of Arundell. | The lorde Braye. |
| Th'erle of Oxenforde. | The lorde Montagewe. |
| Th'erle of Essex. | The lorde Sturton. |
| Th'erle of Wilteshire. | The lorde Hungerforth of Hechbury. |
| Th'erle of Sussex. | The lorde Cobham. |

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gave to the myddewife, and nurce, and rockers, at the cristenyng of the Prince xxx li., and "payd to Peycocke for a kyrtle of clothe of silver agaynst the cristenyng of the Prince x li." She also gave in alms the day the Prince was born xl s. (Ibid. p. 43.)

The lord Dacre of the Sowthe.
The lorde Montjoye.
The lorde Fitzwater.
The lord Hastinges.
The lorde Butler.
Th'archbischoppe of Caunturberye.
The bischope of London.
The bischope of Lyncoln.
The bischope of Rochester.
The bischope of Chechester.
The bischope of Saint Asse.
The bischope of Carlill.
The abbot of Westminster.
Th'abbot of St. Albon's.
Th'abbot of Waltham.
Th'abbot of Towrhill.
Th'abbot of Stratford.
Mr. Hennage.
Sir John Russell.
Sir Frauncis Bryan.
Sir Nicholas Carowe.
Sir Thomas Cheyny.
Sir Anthony Browne.
Sir John Walloppe.
Richard Long.
Thomas Semere.
Henry Knyvet.
Peter Meutas.
Sir Homfray Forster.
George Harper.
John Welsborne.
Roger Ratclife.
Antony Knyvet.
Robert Turwytte.
Sir Homfray Ratclife.
Sir John Sentjohn.
Sir Thomas Rotheram.
John Williams.
Rauffe Verney.
Sir William Essex.
Sir Antony Hongerforde.
Sir William Barnden or Barantyne.
Sir Walter Stoner.
Sir John Browne.
Sir John Bouchier.
Sir Edward Baynton.
[Sir Henrye Bayngton.[a]]
Sir Henry Long.
Sir William Kingiston.
Sir John Briggis.
Sir Nicholas Poyntes.
Sir Walter Deynis.
Antony Kyngston.
Sir John Sentlowe.
Sir Heugh Paullet.
Sir Giles Strangwishe.
Sir Thomas Arundell.
Sir John Horsey.
Sir John Rogers.
Sir William Paullet.
John Paullet.
Sir John Gage.
Sir William Goryng.
Sir Edwarde Neville.
Sir John Dudley.
Sir William Haulte.
Sir Edwarde Hutton.
Sir William Kempe.
Sir Thomas Poyninges.
John Norton.
Sir Richard Weston.
Sir Richard Page.
Sir Giles Capell.
Sir John Rainsforth.

[a] *Inserted by a second hand.*

Sir Thomas Darcye.
Sir John Sentleger.
Sir John Tirrell.
William Suiliarde.
Sir Christopher Willoughbye.
Sir Richard Sandes.
Sir George Somerset.
Sir Arthur Hopton.
Sir Anthony Wingfelde.
Sir William Drury.
Edward Chamberlain.
Richard Sowthwell.
Sir Henry Parker.
Sir Griffith Dunne.
Sir Philip Butler.
Sir Robert Payton.

Sir Giles Alington.
Thomas Meggis.
Thomas Wriothesley.
Richard Maners.
The Deane of S. Stephen's.
Th'archdeacon of Rychmonde.
The Deane of Exeter.
The Deane of Wyndisour.
The Deane of Sarum.
Doctor Bell.
Doctor Thurlbee.
Doctor Turryt.
Mr. Pate.
Doctor Wilson.
Doctor Skippe.
Doctor Daye.

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Notwithstanding the long list of nobility appended to the preceding document, it appears that the general concourse of the people was restricted, by the following

Proclamation prohibiting accesse to the Courte on the day of the Baptizing of Prince Edward, by reason of the infecion of the Plague in London. And limiting and appointing how manie attendants every Duke, Marques, Earle, Baron, Knight, Esquire, Bishop, Abbott, or the King or Queene's Chaplyns shall then have wayting on them.

(MS. Harl. 442, f. 149.)

*Rex Majori et Vicecomitibus London: salutem. Vobis mandamus quod immediate post receptionem, &c.*

Forasmuch as yt hath pleased Almighty God of his infinite goodness to send unto the King our most dread soveraigne lord a noble Prince, to the great comfort and wealth of this his realme, and that his Majestie intendeth by the grace of God the said noble Prince to be christened upon Munday next coming, his highnes being credibly informed that there is and hath byn great infeccion of the plague within the Citie of London and the suburbs of the same, doubting that a great multitude of his loving subjects, being joyous (as they have cause) of the helth of the said noble Prince, would make their accesse to his grace's court, whereby perill might ensue, doth therefore straightlie charge and command all and singuler his subjects of whatever estate, degree, or condicion soever he or they be, that they nor anie of them shall repayre or resorte unto his said grace's court upon Munday next, but onlie such as be appointed by his special letres from his highnes

or some of his councell. And furthermore that no Duke repayring thether shall bring in his companie or familie above the nombre of sixe persons; no Marquesse above fyve persons; no Earle above foure persons; no Baron above three persons; no Knight or Squire above two persons; and that no Bishopp or Abbott repayring or resorting thether shall bring in his companie and familie above the nombre of foure persons; nor anie of the King's or Queenes grace's Chaplyns above the nombre of two persons; upon paine of the offendors of this his grace's Proclamacion to incurre into his Majesties most highe indignation and displeasure. *Et hoc sub periculo, &c. Teste me ipso apud Westm. xij die Octobris Anno regni nostri vicesimo nono.*

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## II.

### NEW YEAR'S GIFTS TO PRINCE EDWARD, 1538-9.

[MS. Cotton. Appendix XXVIII. fol. 39.]

Certeyn nwe yeres gyftes gevon unto the Prynce grace the first day of January A°. R R. viij. xxx°. as followeth: viz.—

The Kynges Majestie.—A bason all gylte, with a rose in the bottome, with the kynges graces arms in the rose, poiz. . . . . lx ozces iij qrters.

An ewer all gylte chased playne, with the kynges armes upon it, poiz. . xli ozces di.

Twoo pottes chased with panes, one pane chased and another playn, poiz. lxxiij oz.

A stondynge cuppe with a cover, gylte, wrought with antique woorke, with a man on the topp, poiz. . . . . xxviij oz. qrtr.

The Lady Mary is grace.—A cote of crymosen satten[a] enbrowdered with golde, with paunses of pyrles, and sleves of tynselle, and iiij aglettes of gold.

The Lady Elizabeth is grace.—A shyrte of cameryke of her owne woorkynge.

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[a] The lady Mary's first New-year's gift to her brother was a cap which cost lxv s. Privy-purse Expenses, p. 49. And on the same occasion she paid for "a bonet geven to maistres nurce to the Prince, xx s." Ibid. p. 54.

The following are other extracts from the same accounts:—

April, 1540. Item, payed to the Kinges brawdrer for embrawdring a cote for the Prince's grace, liij s. iiij d. (p. 89.)

1542-3. Item, geven to Madokes bringing from the Prince a litle tablet of golde, xxx s. (p. 96.)

Item, geven to Henry Whelar bringing from the Prince a standing cup, silver and gilt, for a new yeres gifte, xxx s. (p. 99.)

Item, paid to the boke-bynder for a boke lymmed with golde, the same geven to the Prince's grace for a new yeres gifte, xxix s. (p. 108.)

1543-4. Item, for the Prince a standing cup, xxx s. (p. 143.)

Paid to Bastian for making a new clock, the same geven to the Prince, lx s. (p. 149.)

The Lorde Chauncellour[a].—A stondynge cuppe with the cover, all gyltte, chased with antique, with a man on the toppe, poiz. . . . xxxv oz. iij quarters.

Th'Archbushoppe of Canterbury[b].—A salte of gold pownsed and enameled with redde roses, poiz. . . . . vj oz. iij qurs.

The Lorde of Norffolke.—Twoo gylte cruses with the covers chased with panes, one playn and an other chased, poiz. together . . . . . xlvj oz. di.

The Lorde of Suffolke.—A gylte bowlle with a cover, and an antique hedde in the bottom with an helmett theron, poiz. . . . . xlviij oz. di.

The Lorde Pryvye Seale.[c]—A stondynge cuppe with a cover, all gylte, garnisshed with antique, and iij dragons at the foote, poiz. . . . . lxxj oz. di.

Th'erle of Oxforde.—Seven Portuues.[d]

Th'erle of Shrewsbury.—A salte of sylver and gylte, with the seller of byralle enameled blewe, with iij ostryche fethers sett in a coronett and ℭ. ℬ. garnysshed and sett with xv perles and vi granatts and hanged in the toppe with xij small perles and a shepeherd on the topp, poiz. alltogethers . . . . . xxj oz. dj.

Th'erle of Essex.—A belle of golde with a whistell, poiz. . . . j oz. qr.
Twoo oxen and xx muttons.

Th'erle of Rutland.—A stondynge cuppe with the cover, gylte, chased with antique and a flower in the toppe, poiz. . . . . xxxij oz. qrt.

Th'erle of Wylteshire.—A bowlle with a cover all gylte, with an antique hedde in the bottome and chased with antique, poiz. . . . . iiij$^{xx}$ oz. di.

Th'erle of Hartford.—A stondynge cuppe with the cover gylte, chased with antique, and ℍ. ℜ. in the toppe, poiz. . . . . xxxj oz. di.

Th'erle of Suthampton.—A bonett of black velvett, with a whyte fether, and a brouche of gold, sett with ix buttons of gold, and xviij knottes enameled with whyte.

The busshopp of Wynchester.[e]—A stondynge cuppe with the cover, gylte, chased with longe knorres and antique, poiz. . . . . xliiij oz.

The busshoppe of Duresme.[f]—A gylt bowlle with the cover pownsed, with ij reasons in Frenche wrytton aboute, and a lyon on the toppe holdynge the kynges armes, poiz. xxxv oz. qrt.

Syr William Paulett.—A crewse playne with the cover all gylte, chased on the swage of the foote with antique, poiz. . . . . xviij oz. qrt.

Th'abbott of Waltham.—Twoo oxen, xx multons.

Mr. James Morrys.—Twoo oxen.

A cuppe gevon by my Lorde of Wynchester at his first secyng of the Prince grace.—A stondynge cuppe with the cover, gylte, enameled blewe in iiij places with dyverse saynges, one is, SEQUERE JUSTICIAM ET INVENIES VITAM, poiz. . . xlv oz. quarter

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[a] Thomas lord Awdley. [b] Thomas Cranmer. [c] Thomas lord Crumwell.
[d] Gold coins of Portugal. [e] Stephen Gardyner. [f] Cuthbert Tunstall.

# III.

## NEW-YEAR'S GIFTS TO PRINCE EDWARD, 1539–40.

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 11,301, f. 11.]

Newe yeres gyftes geven to the Prynce' grace, the fyrste daye of January, anno R. R. H. viij. xxxj°.

The Kynges Majestie.—A payre of flaggons, pois' . . . Clxxviij oz. di.
A payre of salttes, wythe a cover gylte . xxxviij oz. iij qrt. di.

The Ladye Mary.—A brouche of golde, wythe the image of Seynt John Baptyste, sett wythe a rubye.

The Ladye Elizabethe.—A braser[a] of nedle worke of her owne makyng.

The Lorde Chauncellour[b].—A standyng cupp, wythe a cover gylt and antquyke xxxvj oz. di.

Th'arche byshopp of Caunterbury[c].—A cruse of golde, with a cover, and the Prynce badge[d] in the topp of the cover . . . . . xj oz. iij qrt.

The Duke of Northefolke.—A standyng cupp, wythe a cover, garneshed and gylte wythe images and antyke leaves . . . . . xlv oz.

The Duke of Suffolke.—A standyng cupp, wythe a cover, gylte of antquyke worke, pois' xlvj oz. iii qrt.

The lorde privie Seall[e].—A standyng cupp, wythe a cover, gylt, wrought wythe a fountayne, and antyke, pois' . . . . . xlix oz.

The lorde Admyralle[f].—A cappe of velvet, garneshede wythe xxvj payre of aggeletts, and a brouche of golde, sett wythe an emeraude and a rubye.

The Erelle of Shrovesbury.—A standyng cuppe, wythe a cover, gilte, wrought antyke, and the prynce' badge in the topp of the cover . . . . xxix oz.

The Erelle of Rutlande.—A standyng cuppe, wythe a cover, gylte, wrought wythe knourres xxj oz.

The Erelle of Hartforthe.—A standyng cuppe, wythe a cover, gylte, wrought wythe a fountayne and antyke . . . . . xxxj oz. di.

The bysshopp of Wynchester[g].—A standyng cuppe, wythe a cover, gylte, wrought wythe knourres . . . . . xxxvj oz.

The bysshopp of Duram[h].—A standyng cuppe, wythe a cover, gylte, wrought wythe antyke, pois' . . . . . xxix oz.

The lorde Seynt John.—A playne jugg, wythe a cover, gylte . . xx oz. iij qrt.

Th'abbot of Waltham.—Too oxen ande tenne multons.

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[a] To be worn on the arm.
[b] Thomas lord Awdley.
[c] Thomas Cranmer.
[d] *i.e.* the plume of three ostrich feathers.
[e] Thomas Crumwell, earl of Essex.
[f] William Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton.
[g] Stephen Gardyner.
[h] Cuthbert Tunstall.

# IV.

## PROCLAMATION OF KING EDWARD'S ACCESSION.

[From the Black Book of Lincoln's Inn, as transcribed in MS. Harl. 353, fol. 2.]

Memorandum that An°. Dni. 1546, and An°. 38 H. 8, &c. in the Fryday in the 28 daye of January, beinge the first daye of Hillary terme in the morninge, dyed the most excelent, virtuous, and noble King of famous memory Kinge Henry the Eight, at his paleys at Westminster, upon whose soule Jesus have mercy! And upon the Monday next ollowinge, which was the 31 daye of the sayd moneth, in the morninge about 9 of the clocke, there stoode in the paleys yarde a paire of buttes length distant from Westminster hall dore, lookinge towardes Westminster halle, 5 or 6 herauldes in theire coates of armes, and then imediatlie there came rydinge out of Westminster hall the archebishoppe of Canterbury, the lord Wrothesleye lorde chauncelor of England, the lord Saint John lord great maister, the lord Russell lord privie seale, the lord Lysley lord admirall of England, the bishoppe of Durham, with many other as well lordes as gentlemen, to the said herauldes; and then one of the same herauldes in the presence of the said lordes, and afore a greate multitude of people there being assembled, did openlie reade a comission[a] under the greate seale in the name of Kinge Edward the Sixte, rehearsinge the daye and howere of the death of the said King Henry the Eight his most dere father; therefore he takinge uppon him, as of right moste justly and lawfully he mought doe, to bee Kinge of this Realme, and of all other the kingdomes, dominions, ryghtes, and tytles, &c. which late were Kinge Henry the Eight his father's, did then straythly charge and comaunde all his subjectes, that his peace might be surelie kepte, &c. The same comission was dated at Westminster the said 31 daye of January, in the first yeare of the said King Edward the Sixtes raigne, and then all the people cryed *God save the King!* And soe all the Lordes departed, and did ryde from thence to the pallays at Westminster.

[The heralds then proceeded, having the like commission under the great seal, to proclaim the same in like manner in the accustomed places of the city, assisted by the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs.—MS. I. 17 in Coll. Arms.]

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[a] This commission, or proclamation, is printed in Strype's Eccles. Memorials, vol. ii. p. 12, together with another account of the ceremony of the Proclamation, from the volume I. 17 in the College of Arms. Strype also gives, in p. 13, a copy of the proclamation sent to the sheriffs of counties.

# V.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL, RELATIVE TO THE WILL OF HENRY VIII.

[From Gregory King's transcript of the Register of the Privy Council, MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 14,024, f. 1.]

In the Name of God, Amen.

Where it hath pleased our late soveraigne lord and maister King Henry the viij$^{th}$ of most noble and famous memory, father to our most gracious soveraigne lorde King Edward the Sixte that now is, by his last Will and testament bearing date the thirtieth day of December, in the xxxviij$^{th}$ year of his most fortunate and victorious reigne, to constitue and ordaigne us the archbusshope of Canterburie, the lord Wriothesley chanceller of Englande, the lord Seinct John great maister of his houshold, the Lord Russell lord privy seale, the earle of Hertforde lord great chambrelein of Englande, the viscount Lisle heigh admyral of England, the lord busshop Tunstall of Duresme, sir Anthony Brown knight of his order and master of his horses, sir William Paget knight, his chiefe secretarie, sir Edward North knight, chancellor of the augmentations of the revenues of his crown, sir Edward Montague knight, cheife justice of his common pleas, [sir Thomas ?] Bromley one of the justices of his bench, sir Anthony Denny and sir William Harbert knights, chiefe jentilmen of his privey chambre, sir Edward Wotton knight, treasourer of Calais, and doctor Wotton dean of Cantourburie, his ambassadour resident with the French king, to be his Executors, and to be of the Privey Counseill with our said sovereign lord that now is, untill he shalbe of the full age of eighteen yeares; yeaving unto us and the more part of us, or to the more part of the survivours of us, full power and auctorite, not onely to take the charge upon us of th' order and governaunce of our said souvereigne lord's personne that now is till he come to th'age aforesaid, with th'order of all his affaires in all his realmes, dominions, and cuntreys, but also to doe any act or acts whatsover may tend to the honour and suretie of our said sovereigne lord's personne, or to th' advancement of his affaires, with many other poincts of great truste, both towching his succession in the imperial crown of this realme, and sundry other things in the same Will more at large conteigned: We the said Archbusshope, Thomas lorde Wriothesley chauncellor of Inglande, William lord St. John, John lord Russell, Edward earle of Hertforde, John viscount Lisle, Cuthbert busshope of Duresme, sir Anthony Browne, sir William Paget, sir Edward North, sir Edward Mountague, sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Harbert, knights, being all assembled together in the Tower of London the last daye of Januarye in the furste year of the reign of our said sovereigne lord King Edward the Sixth that now is, have reverently and diligently considered the great charge committed unto us, and calling to Almighty God the only giver of all grace for ayde and assistance in all our proceedings, have fully resolved and agreed with one voyce and con-

sent, not onely to stand to and mayntaine the said laste Will and testament of our said maister, and every part and article of the same, to the uttermost of our powers, wytts, and conninges; but also that every of us present, and the rest named executors with us which be now absent, if they will likewise take th'execution of the said Wille and testament upon them according to the earnest and hearty desire of our said late sovereign lord and maister, shall take a corporal othe upon a boke for the more assured and effectual accomplishment of the same.

[*Here follows the passage relative to the election of the Protector, already given in p. lxxxix.*]

And to th'entent we might the more assuredly answer and satisfie the charge committed unto us, It was ordered also this daye, that we sholde forbear the taking our othes to the perfourmance of the Wille tille the nexte morowe, and then apon another deliberate reading of it to procede first to the geving our othes to the King's majestie, and then to swere to th'observacion of the Wille as is aforesaide. And being the point agreed upon in maner and fourme expressed, it was then considered that, forasmuch as all th'offices of the justices of the realme were determyned by the death of our late maister, whereby all processe did cease, which was necessary for the good direction of the realme and the staye of the people to have his course and order; it was also agreed by the whole number of executors whose names be here subscribed, that the lord Wriothesley shulde, for avoiding of all questions and doubts of such processe as shulde passe hereafter, yeald up the seale and office of the chauncellorship of Ingland into the King's majesties hands, and the same presently resume and take again of his highness, to th'intent he might execute th'office of chauncellor of Ingland by good and sure autoritie in the same maner and fourme as hath been accustomed, which in the presence of th'executors underwritten, and of sundry others whose names appeare in th'acte made thereof, was delivered into the King's majesties hands, and by his highness redelivered unto the said lord Wriothesley, with the nomination and appointement to th'office of lord chauncellor of Englande, with the fees, proufitts, and commodities to the same belonging or in any wise appertaininge; which being done, it was ordered by the King's majestie, with th'advice and consent of all the said executors then present, that the said lord Wriothesley shuld ymmediately make out new patents to all the justices of the realme and of Wales, to the barons of the exchequer, to the presidents of the counceill in the North and in Wales, justices of the peace, to all the King's serjeants, attourneys, clerks of the crown, and sollicitors; and the same sweare to the King our sovereign lorde that nowe is, the nexte morowe, or assone after as might be conveniently, to th'intent they might execute their rowmes and places for the quiete ordre of the realme and the due administracion of justice as apperteigneth.

*Signed*, E. Hertford.

T. Cantuarien. Thomas Wriothesley, *cancel.* W. Seint John. J. Russell. John Lisle. Cuth. Duresme. Antone Browne. William Paget. Antony Denny. W. Herbert. Edward North. Edward Mountagu.

The first day of February, being Tuesday, all the executors before written assembled againe together in the said Tower of London, and there according to their former appointement herde the Wille eftesones deliberately redde from the beginning to th'ending. And concluding with oon voice to adhere and sticke to their performance of it, did firste take their othes to the King's majestie our sovereign lord, and after ymmediately sware to the due and faithfull observation of the said Wille, as the day before they had resolved; and forasmuch as this day all the lords spirituall and temporall, and all others appointed by the King's majestie our late sovereigne lord (whome God absolve!) to be counsaill with our sovereign that now is for the aid and assistance of the executors and privey counsaillours in all cases wherein the same shulde have neade of advise and counsaill, were appointed to have their accesse to the King's majesties presence, It was also ordered, that the hole number of executors present shulde repaire to the King's majestie and disclose to him what they had done touching the nameing and placeing of the said earle of Hertford his uncle to be Protector of his realmes and dominions, and governour of his persone, and to require his consent to the same; and that doon that we shulde declare the same furste to the counsail not being executors, and after to all the lords in the presence of the King's majestie. Whyche was doone in every poyncte as we determyned; and furste the King's majestie by th'advise and consent of all the said executors being present with him gave his royall assent that the said earle of Hertford shuld be Protectour of his realmes and domynions and governour of his persone; next it was declared to the counsail, and thirdly to all the lords, being the same declared unto them by the said lord chancellour, who with oon voyce gave their consents to the same.

Which being done, and the lords again departed, which were appoincted that day to see the King's majestie and to kiss his hands, which they accordingly did, the lord protectour, with the rest of his co-executors, repaired again to their counsail chamber, and there dispeched the letters written in the name of the King's majestie, with advise of the said lord protectour, and the rest of his highness' privy counseil, to the Emperor, French king, regent of Flanders, etc. undre th'ande and subscription oonly of the said lord protectour; and divers warrants for clothe for the mourning lyvery, and for oon hundred pounds for mr. Bellingham, being sent to th'emperor and regent, and oon hundred markes for sir Peter Mewtes, being sent to the French king, under th'ands of the said lord protector and others of his co-executors as apperteigned.

This day it was also ordred that on Thursday next all the temporall lords shulde take their othes to the King's majestie before the lord chancellor and others to be appoincted for that purpose at the Starre Chambre; and on Friday all the busshopes to do the like in the same place.

*Signed*, E. Hertford.

T. Cantuarien. Thomas Wriothesley, *cancel.* W. Seint John. J. Russell. John Lisle. Cuth. Duresme. Antone Browne. William Paget. Antony Denny. W. Herbert. Edward North. Edward Mountagu.

Wednesday, the ij[d] of Februarie, the said lord protector and others his co-executors, whose names be underwritten, assembled againe togwither in the counseil chambre in the Tower aforesaid, and there ordeigned these personnes following to have the speciall charge of all things necessarie for th'enterrement of our late sovereigne lord and maister King Henry th'eight, whom God pardon; vizt.:—

My Lord Greate Maister, Sir Anthony Browne, Sir Rafe Sadleyr, Sir John Baker, Mr. Cofferer.

Item, they ordeigned theis personnes following to have the speciall charge of all things necessary to be provyded for the King's majesties owne persone that now is against the Coronacion; vizt.:—

The Lord Protector himself, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir William Herbert.

Item, they ordeigned the personnes following to have the speciall charge of all other things mete to be put in ordre and provided for the said Coronacion; vizt.:—

My Lord Great Maister, My Lord Privey Seal, My Lord High Admyral, My Lord Chamberlen, My Lord of Essex, Mr. Treasourer, Sir Thomas Cheyney, Mr. Comptroller, The Maister of Th'orse, Mr. Ryche, Mr. Cofferer.

Item, they appointed to be in commission for the Claymes theis personnes following; vizt.:—

My Lord Chancellor, My Lord of Shrewsbury, My Lord of Essex, My Lord Admyrall, the two Chief Justices.

Item, they ordeigned theis personnes following to be in commission for the levying of fines of such as be called up to receive th'ordre of Knighthood; vizt.:—

Sir Richard Ryche, Sir Richard Sowthewell, Sir Thomas Moyle.

Item, they condescended and agreed that the lord protector shulde use th'office of the Steward of England for the daye of the Coronacion.

Item, that the lord marquess Dorset shall that daye use th'office of the Constable of England; and that th'erle of Arundel shall that day use th'office of Marshall of England, as deputie to the lord protector, to whome the King's majestie our late sovereign lord gave the same, and also the treasourership of England before his decease.

And it was condescended and agreed that the lord chancellor shall for all these things make out commissions, patents, and other wrytts and things necessary, and receive warrant again from the King's majestie under his signe,[a] with th'ands of the protector and his co-executors, when the signe of his majestie shall be agreed upon.

Item, they ordeigned that letters shulde be addressed to the deputies of Calais, Bulloigne, and Newhaven, conteyning the sorowfull chance of the death of King Henry the viij[th],

[a] *i.e.* signature. See the "signe" of the clerks of the privy council, mentioned at the close of this day's proceedings.

our late soveraign lorde of most noble memory, with commandment to have a good eye to their neighbours, and to such sedycious persones as would attempt any busynes; and to them and to all the shireves of the shyres were sent proclamations to be proclaimed of the King's majesties style, and for good order. Letters of like tenor for a good eye to their neighbours and sedycious persones were written to the deputie of Irelande, the presidents of the North and Wales, and the wardens on the borders; to th'erle of Bathe, sir Thomas Denys, sir Hugh Pollarde, and sir Hugh Pawlet, for the good orders and the sheres nere unto them in the Weste; and to sir Roger Townsend, sir William Paston, sir John Heydon, and sir Edmund Bedingfield, for Norfolk and the sheres thereabouts; and also letters for opening the ports at all such places as were lately by former letters restrayned from passage. * * * * *

Item, the lord protector and the rest of the co-executors then present, having the laste Wille and testament of our said late soveraigne lord deceased, made request with oon voyce unto the lord chancellor of Ingelande to cause the same to be recorded and enrolled in fowrme accustomed: and thereupon each of them to have exemplificacion and the great seale of the same; for the doeing whereof the said Wille was presently delivered by them unto the said lord chancellor. Item, the said lord protector and other his co-executors then present ordeigned that it shuld be lawfull to the clerks of the privey counseill or any oon of them to deliver upon commandment from time to time to any of the said executors and counseillors any act or thing passed by them and entred in the register under the hand and signe of the clerke so delivering the same, with theis speciall words in the ende, *Concordat cum Originali.*

*Signed*, E. Hertforde.

T. Cantuarien. Thomas Wriothesley, *cancell.* W. Seint John. J. Russell. John Lisle. Cuth. Duresme. Antone Browne. Willm. Paget. T. Seymour. Antony Denny. W. Herbert. Edward North. Edward Mountagu.

[At the afternoon sitting of Sunday the 5th of February.]

Whereas divers noblemen and others of late made sute unto sundrie of us the executors of the testament of our late soveraign lord the king that dead is, King Henry the Eight, of most worthy fame and memory, father to our soveraign lord that now is King Edward the vjth, to have such things paid and performed as was partely owing to them and partely promised by his Majestie; And among the rest some demanding th'assurance of lands to a certain yearly value to them and their heirs, which they say was promised to them by the said late king deceased, and desire for proof thereof that sir William Paget, knight of the order, late chief secretarie to the said king deceased, and sir Antony Denny and sir William Harbert, knights, late the two chiefe gentilmen of the prevy chamber to the said king deceased, may be required to declare what they know towching their demands: We

the lord protector and councell have thought convenient to call the persons before named to depose what they can say on this behalf, who have delivered in writing, subscribed with their hands, this declaration hereafter ensuing:—

"Forasmuch as I William Paget, knight, and late secretarie to king Henry th'eight, of most worthy memory, deceased, and we sir Antony Denny and sir William Harbert, knights, late chief gentilmen of his prevy chamber, think it not onely a bond in conscience to declare the truth in certain matters ordeyned and determined by the King that dead is, wherein we have been required to declare what we know by those which have interest in the same, but also see it more then necessary for th'advancement of the King's majesties affairs our soveraign lord that now is (whom our Lord long preserve and maynetein in grete felicitie!) so to doo, Therefore we do truely and certainly, without respect, depose and say each one of us for his knowlege, as followeth:

"Furste, I the said sir William Paget do affirme for truth that after the time that the late duke of Norfolk and his son the late erle of Surrey were apprehended, and their offences so evidently and directly appearing to be such as wherefore they were in daunger of the lawes for high treason, the said King devysed with me aparte (as it is well knowen he used to open his pleasure to me alone in many things) for the bestowing of the landes belonging to the said duke and erle, thinking it expedient that the same shulde be liberally dispensed and given to divers noblemen and others his majesties good servants. Whereupon his majestie, considering that the nobilitie of this realme was greatly decayed, some by atteynders, some by their owne misgovernaunce and riotous wasting, and some by sickenes and sundry other meanes, he entred also devise with me for th'advancement of divers to higher places of honour. Wherein when I had said to him I thought mete, he willed me to make unto him a booke of such as he did chose to be advaunced, which I did, and therein was named,—th'erle of Hertford to be a duke, th'erle of Essex to be a marquess, the viscount Lisle to be an erle, the lord Seint John to be an erle, the lord Russell to be an erle, the lord Wriothesley to be an erle, sir Thomas Seymour, sir Thomas Cheynye, sir Richard Ryche, sir William Willoughbye, sir Thomas Arundell, sir Edmond Sheffield, sir John Sentleger, sir [Thomas?] Wymbisshe, sir [George?] Vernon of the Peke, sir Christopher Danby to be barons.[a] Which booke being redde unto him I then moved him for the bestowing of my lord of Norfolk and my lord of Surrey's offices, which he caused me to tot upon each man's hedde as

[a] The higher peerages were all conferred soon after (see p. xcii.), but only four out of the ten baronies. Sir Thomas Cheney remained a Knight of the Garter only; but his son Henry was summoned to parliament by queen Elizabeth in 1572. Sir Thomas Arundel was only a knight when beheaded in 1551-2. The four last named also were not made barons. Sir [Thomas] Wymbish was probably the same who had been disappointed of the barony of Tailboys which he claimed *jure uxoris*, but was denied because he had no heir born of the baroness. See Banks's Extinct Peerage.

hereafter doth appear in this deposition. This done, I moved his majestie, seing he had advanced these men to honour, and was minded to distribute by way of gift the said duke and erles londes, that it might please him to bestowe liberally upon such as shulde like him; whereunto he accorded and willed me to bring him a titeling of the lordships and valuacions of the same, which I did, but he liked it not, and in my presence called master Gates[a] and bade him fetche such books as he had of the duke of Norfolke and erle of Surrey's londes, which he did, and his majestie delivered them to me, and bad me tot upon my lord of Hertford's hed a thousand markes a yere, upon my lord Lisle's head two hundred pounds a year, my lord Sent John cc[li] a yere, my lorde Russell cc[li] a yere, my lord Wriothesley c[li] a yere, sir Thomas Seymour ccc[li] a yere: all which I said was too little, and stode muche with him therein; and then he bade me speake with them, and know their dispositions, and he would after tell me more, wherewith I satisfied myself. And then, considering what painful service mr. Denny did take daily with him, and also moved of honestie for that mr. Denny had divers times been a suter for me, and I never for him, I beseeched his majestie to be good lorde unto him and give him Bungaye, which I had heard he much desired. His majestie moche comended my sute, and said he mynded before to be good unto him and to mr. Herbert and mr. Gates also, and also to sir Thomas Carden,[b] and bad me put upon mr. Denny's hed cc[li] lond a yere; to mr. Herbert cccc marks lond a yere, which he sayd he had promised him to help him out of debt withall; upon sir Thomas Carden c marks londe a yere; and upon mr. Gates c markes londe a yere; which I did, and departed; and according to his majesty's pleasure spake with so manye of them whome he had appoincted to advance as was in the courte, and found them not well satisfied, some labouring to remaine in their olde degrees, and th'others thinckeing the lande to little for their mayntenance which was appointed to them. All which at my returne to his majestie I declared not onely faithfully and to the most advantage of every man, but also induced his majestie the best I could to encrease the same; and in this mean season his majestie haveing been informed that the duke of Norfolke knowledgeing himself worthy of th'extremitie of the lawe, desired his majestie to give his londes to the King's highnes that now is being then Prince, for that as he said 'they were goodlie and stately gere,' his majestie altered his determinacion for gevinge any of the duke's londes except a certain in Sussex and Kent, but said he wold keep them to himself, and forthwith apointed th'officers to the same, and granted some part thereof to farme, partly at my suit and partely at other men's, as to sir Edward Warner, Castleacre; sir Edmond Knyvet the lordship of Windham; to Henry Gates the manor of Stooke; and then began to devyse how to serve their turnes to whome he had appoynted londes, but I prayed him to agree upon those whom he would advance, and upon the yerely londes that he disposed to geve, and his majestie might afterwards assigne where they should

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[a] Sir John Gates.

[b] Sir Thomas Cawarden, the master of the revels.

have it; whereupon, entring into a praise of every of those which were then of his counsail, and th'others of his chamber beforenamed, sayeing that he felt himself sickelie, and that if ought should come to him but good (as he thought,) he said, that he could not long endure, he mynded to place us all about his sonne, as men whom he trusted and loved above all others specially, 'and therefore I must (said he) consider them the more.' And after divers devises both for the placeing of men in higher dignities and some others to continue as they were before, and the assignement of yerely revenues of londes, he willed me to make up the book as followeth:

"My lord of Hertford to be treasurer and earl marshall of England, and duke of Somerset, Exeter, or Hertford, and his son earl of Wiltshire if he be duke of Hertford, with viii c$^{li}$ lond a yere, and ccc$^{li}$ lond more of the next bishop londes that shuld fall void. My lord of Essex to be marquess of Essex, and to have c$^{li}$ lond a yere. The viscount Lisle to be great chamberlain and earl of Coventrie, with ccc$^{li}$ lond a yere. The lord Wriothesley to be earl of Winchester, with ccc$^{li}$ lond a yere. Sir Thomas Seymour to be baron of Sudeley and admyral of England, with v c$^{li}$ lond a yere. Sir Richard Riche to bee a baron, with lxvi$^{li}$ xiij$^{s}$ iiij$^{d}$ lond a yere. Sir John Sellinger to be a baron. Sir William Willoughby to be a baron. Sir Edmond Sheffield to be a baron. Sir Christopher Danby to be a baron. My lord privy seale to have c$^{li}$ lond a yere. My lord Sent John to have c$^{li}$ lond a yere. The m$^{r}$ of the horse to have c$^{li}$ lond a yere. Mr. Denny to have cc$^{li}$ lond a yere, Bungaye, &c. Mr. Harbert to have cccc marks lond a yere. Sir Philip Hobby to be master of the ordenaunce. Sir Thomas Paston steward of the duchy of Lancaster and keeper of Riseing Chase. Sir Thomas Darcy steward of the liberties of Burye and of all my lord of Norfolk's landes, and also the bussop of Norwich's in Suffolk, and keeper of Framlingham castle and park, and th'other offices thereabouts. My lord Wentworth to have the stewardship of all my lord of Elye his londes, and master of his game in Norfolk and Suffolk. Mr. Goodricke in Cambridge and Huntingdon. Sir William Peter to have the c$^{li}$ free of my lord of Winchester. Sir Richard Sowthewell to have the keeping of Kennynghale House, with the parkes, and steward of all my lord of Norfolk and the busshop of Norwiche londes in Norfolk. The stewardship of all my lord of Lincolnes londes,

| | |
|---|---|
| Sheffield house and parke.<br>The forest of Worthe.<br>The house and park of Horsam.<br>Segewecke parke.<br>Beawbusse park.<br>St. Leonard's forest with a park in it. | Sir William Goringe.<br>Sir Raff Phane. |

Kaeper park to master Mason.[a]

[a] Sir John Mason.

" And his majestie was further pleased that, where he had granted to the said erle of Hertforde at the sute of the chauncellor of the augmentations sixe of the best prebends in any cathedral church in England, excepting the deaneries and treasurerships, that the said erle shuld have, at the sute of me sir William Paget, one deanerie and one treasurership in lieu of the vj prebends. Which when I had made and reade to him, he took it of me and putt it in his pocke, and upon my request was content I shuld declare unto every man what was by his majestie determined unto him, and soo I did, and all were pleased.

" But ere this could be acheaved God toke him from us, and hereupon was it that being remembered in his death-bed that he had promised great things to divers men, he willed in his testament, that whatsoever shulde in any wise appear to his counsell to have been promised by him, the same shulde be perfourmed. All which discourse aforesaid we sir Anthony Denny and sir William Harbert know and depose to be true in effect, and for the substance of them. For his majesty, God hath his sowle! wold alwayes when mr. secretary was gone, tell us what had passed between them, as well in that matter as for the most part in all other things, and caused me, sir Anthony Denny, to read unto him the Bill which mr. secretary had delivered to him; which being redde, I sir William Harbert said, that mr. secretary had well remembered all men save one; and his majesty answering wherewithal, You mean himself, we the said sir Anthony Denny and sir William Herbert answered, Yea, sir, and soo praised the said mr. secretary, and soo did also his majestie, saying, that he remembered him well ynough, and that he must needs be helped; wherewithall, I, sir Anthony Denny, toke his majesties standisshe thereby and axed what his pleasure was I shuld putt in, and his majesty bad as much as he had given to me sir William Herbert, which was done in his presence, and the bill eftsoones delivered to him, and he soo put it in the pook of his night gown; and this we depose and affirm to be true."

Whereupon we the said lord protector and others of the privey counsaill, considering, First, that the King's majestie our late soveraigne lord had determined the foresaid things deposed (which also in his lifetime was spred abroad to the world and by his own mouth declared also to some of us, soo much as apperteigneth to ourselves,) and we thereupon after his death, partely for the conservacion of our owne honesties, and specially for th'onour and suretie of our soveraign lord that now is, King Edward the Sixte, took upon us the degrees of honor, and entred into the charge of attendance and service in the greate and weighty affaires of our soveraigne lord, his realme, and subjects; And secondly, knowing ourselves bound in conscience to perfourme the Will and testament of our said soveraigne lorde his father in all thinges that shulde not be prejudicial to the honour and surety of our soveraign Lord that now is; we think we cannot otherwise discharge ourselves towards God and the worlde then if we either paid that which was geven or promised, or the value thereof in money, plate, juells, or stuffe. And doubting further upon the experience of the world which we have lerned in the mayneng heretofore of the

affairs of the realme, lest if the French king, our new reconciled friend (being our soveraign lord left young and of tender age,) shoulde make us warre for the recovery of Bulloyn, or th'emperor, our old imperfect friend, shulde doo the like to sett in auctoritie again the busshope of Rome above our soveraigne the King's majestie, which shulde be to the great dishonour and disadvantage of his majestie, and the subversion of the whole state of the realme, we shulde in these cases be unfurnished of money for the defence of his majestie, his realmes, and subjects, if we shoulde perfourme the legacies and promises of our late soveraigne lorde with such money as was remaining at the time of his deathe, and such as was due to him of his revenues, debts, subsidies, and by other meanes; and on the other side, if we shulde have solde such juells, plate, and other rich hangings for the said perfourmance of the will, the King's majestie, our soveraigne lorde that now is, shulde not onely have had great losses as well by the sale of them, for hereafter he shulde, for sundry respects occurring, had occasion to bring need to his great charge, but also marvelous great dishonour wolde have followed, first to him that is gone, whose soul God hath, and next to the King's majestie that now is, and to the whole realme; and no less danger to those, for that forthwith shulde have appeared to all the worlde a present lacke within the realme, which hitherto hath been reputed to have been the most riche and wealthie: and so the terror which our sleeping enemies have thereof always had to trouble or molest us shulde have been taken away, and great courage given to them to enterprise that against the King's majestie and the realme which else they would not, ne durst to have attempted ; We therefore, depelye wayeing, debateing, and considering all the premisses with our determinacions to serve our soveraigne during our lives, as far forthe as shall like his majestie, according to our most bounden duties (in which case also we doubt not his majestie will hereafter see that it shulde have been necessarie for his honour and suretie that the Will of his father in these and some other points be observed, and we to be of abilitie and power to serve him at this present time, specially of his young age), and knowing that, if we want money for the defence or service of him and the realme, we cannot alwayes have it ready, whereas such land as now is disposed by his majestie, or hereafter, shall be redye, with all the rest that every honest true subject hath, to serve his majestie, or to do him hereafter pleasure when he shall commaunde ; and being induced by good reason, and by the example in the days of some of the King's majesties most noble progenitors, when they were in tender age, we have thought good to performe the promise of land made by our late soveraigne lord, and to ordeyn a warrant to be made to the chauncellor and other officers of th'augementacions court, for the doing of all suche thing or things as shall be necessarie for the perfection of the same, nothing doubting, but verily assureing ourselves that our soveraign will, when he cometh to th'age of knowledge and judgment of the worlde, graciouslye waye our consideracions and accept benynglie both that we do in this and in all other things dureing his said mynoritee; seeing we doo and shall do the same in respect of th'onour of himselfe, th'onour of his late father, and for the service of them both and the realme.

Wednesday, the xvj$^{th}$ of February, in the place aforesaid.

This day, upon assembly of the lord protector and others of the privey counseill whose names are hereunto subscribed: Forasmuche as the King's majestie, our late soveraigne lord and master King Henry the viij$^{th}$, before his decease apoincted certain of his counseill and others to be advanced to honour,—that is to say, th'erle of Hertford, now lord protector, to be made a duke; th'erle of Essex to be made a marquess; the viscount Lisle to be an erle; the lord Wryothesley to be an erle; sir Thomas Seymour to be a baron; sir Richard Riche to be made a baron; and sir William Willoughby to be a baron; and sir Edmund Sheffield to be a baron; it was ordered by the King's majestie, with th'advice of his hole counsaile, that the persons before specified shall procede as the said late King determined, and have the names and titles following,—that is to say, the said earle of Hertford to have the name and title of the duke of Somerset, th'erle of Essex to be marquess of Northampton, the viscount Lisle to be earle of Warwyke, the lord Wryothesley to be earle of Southampton, sir Thomas Seymour to be lord Seymour of Sudley, sir Richard Ryche to be lord Ryche, sir William Willoughby to be lord Willoughby of Parham, and sir Edmond Sheffield to be lord Sheffield.

Whereupon it was further ordred that their creations shuld proceede upon the next daye at the Towre, and that the lord chancellor shuld make out letters patents for the said creations in foarme accustumed.

And it was further ordred that a patent shuld be made out to th'erle of Hertford afforesaid for a confirmation to him of the baronry of Seymour.

Wednesday, the 9$^{th}$ of March, at Westmynstre.

According to the former order, this day about ix of the clock in the morning the last Will of our said late soveraign lord, deceased, was delivered by the hands of the lord protector, in presence of the reste of the counseill, to sir John Godsalve, knight, who, repayring with the same to Westmynstre, and bestowing it in place of the Treasory, where he alleaged the last Will of King Henry the Sevynth to remaine, brought for testification of delivery thereof a bille written in parchment, subscribed with the hands of Thomas Danyell, William Walters, and John Lambe, officers of the said Exchequer.

# VI.

## CORONATION OF KING EDWARD.

The ceremonies of the Coronation usual in the days of communion with Rome were materially altered on this occasion, in pursuance of resolutions thus recorded in the register of the privy council:

"February xij. This day the lord protector and others his co-executors, whose names be hereunto subscribed, upon mature and depe deliberation had amongst them, did finally resolve, that, forasmuch as divers of the old observances and ceremonies toforetimes used at the Coronacion of the Kings of this realm were by them thought mete for sundry respects to be corrected, and namelie for the tedious length of the same, which should wearie and be hurtsome peradventure to the King's majestie, being yet of tendre age, fully to endure and bide oute, and also for that many poinctes of the same were such as by the lawes of the realm at this present were not allowable," &c.

A new formulary was consequently drawn up, which will be found printed at length in Burnet's History of the Reformation, and in the new edition of Collier's Church History, 1840.

The description of the ceremony, and of the pageantry exhibited during the King's passage through London on the day preceding, together with the feasts that followed, are now given from manuscripts in the College of Arms, having been heretofore published only in a very imperfect and inaccurate manner, in the 1770 edition of Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. pp. 36 *et seq.*

[Coll. Arm. I. 7, f. 32, and I. 18, f. 74.]

On Saturday, being the xix$^{th}$ day of February, aboute one of the cloke in the afternone, the Kinges royall ma$^{tie}$ proceeded from the Tower of London, through his cytee of London, in moste royalle and goodly wyse, towards his paleys of Westminster, in the which was made dyvers and goodly provisyon for the recepte of his most royall person, as hereafter shalbe declared.

First, The strettes through all the way where the Kynge should passe were well graveled, in every place thereof, and rayled on the one syde from Grace church strete to the Lyttell Coundeth in Chepe, to th' intente that the horsses showld not slyde on the pavement, nor the people showlde not be hurt by the said horsses in the high stretes. Within these rayles stode the crafts alonge in ther order, to the Lytel Coundyth aforesaid, wheras stode the alldermen. On the other syde the stretes in many places stode prestes and clarkes, with their crosses and sensers, and in their best ornamentes, to sense the

Kynge; and by all the way where the Kynge showld passe, on either syde the way, was the windowes and walles goodly garneshed with clothes of tapesetry, arras, clothe of gold, and clothe of tisshewe, with quysshyns of the same, garnyshed with stremers and banners as rychely as myght be devysed. And in many places were ordeyned goodly pagents, and devyses, and therein goodly melody and eloquent speches of noble historyes, treating of the joyfull welcominge and recepte of so noble a Kynge, as here after more plainly shalbe declared.

THE ORDER OF THE PROCEEDING.

Imprimis. The Kynges messengers, ij and ij.
Gentelmen, ij and ij.
Then Strangers Ambassadors' servants, ij and ij.
Then the Trumpetes, clothed all in redde damaske, ij and ij.
Then Chaplens without dyngnety.
Then all Squyers of the body.
Then all Knyghtes.
Then Chapelens of dyngnety.
Then Gentelmen and Noblemen's sonnes upon sterring horses.
Then Barons, after their estates.
Then Bushopes.
Then Erles sones.
Then Marquesses' sones.
Then Dukes' yonger sones.
Then Erles.
Then Marquesses.
Then Dukes.
Then the Comptroller of howsholde,[a] and the Secretary of Venyce.
Then the Treasorer of the Kynges howse,[b] and one of th' embassadors of the Protestantes.
Then Sir William Peter, secretary, with another embassador of the Protestantes.
Then the King's Amner,[c] with another embassador of the Protestantes.
Then Sir William Paget, secretary, with Duke Phelyppe of Almany.
Then the Lord Admirall,[d] with one of the Scotyshe embassadors.
Then the Lord Prevy Seale,[e] with another of the Scotyshe embassadors.
Then the Lord Great Master,[f] with Pooley Baron de le Garde of France.
Then the Lord Chauncelour,[g] with the French Kynges embassadors.

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[a] Sir John Gage. [b] Sir Thomas Cheney. [c] Bishop Coxe.
[d] Lord Seymour of Sudeley. [e] Lord Russell. [f] The earl of Arundel.
[g] The earl of Southampton.

Then the Archbushop of Caunterbury, with the Emperour's embassadors.

Then Sir Percevall Hart, knyght harbenger, who dyd bere the Kinges Majesties cloke and his hat.

Then ij Gentlemen Ushers, viz., John Norrys and William Raynsford, representing the ij estates of Normandy and Gwyon, clothed in robes of scarlet fourred with mynevir, and cappes of estate on their hedes, carying about them in bawdrikewyse ij mantilles of scarlett velvet.

Then Garter in the Kynges cote of armes on the right hand, and the mayre of London carying a mace on the lyft hand.

Then the Serjentes of Armes, with their maces, going on ether side the waye.

Then the Sworde borne by the Constable of Ingland for that tyme, viz. the lord marques Dorset.

Then on the right hand the same, the erle of Warwyke, Lord Great Chamberlen of England.

And on the lyft hande, the erle of Arundell, lord chamberlen, supplyinge the rome as Earle Marshall, in the lew of the lord protector.

Then a lyttell before the Kyng on the left hande, the duke of Somerset, Lord Protector.

Then the Kynges Royall Maj^tie^, walking a lytell before his canapy, because the people might the better see his grace, his highnes being richly apparelled with a riche gowne of clothe of silver all over embrodered with damaske golde, with a girkyn of white velvett, wrought with Venyce silver, garneshed with precious stones, as rubies and diamondes, with true-loves of pearles, a doblet of white velvet according to the same, with like precious stones and perles, a white velvet cappe garneshed with lyke stones and perles, and a pere of buskenes of white velvet. His horse caparison of crymoysyn sattyn, imbrodered with perles and damaske gold.

Then his fotemen in their riche coates, goinge aboute his grace, and on either syde the canapy.

Then the canapy borne by vi knightes, with certayne assistantes to them.

Then sir Anthony Browne, master of the horse, leadyng a goodly courser of honor very richly trapped; and on every side of hym the estwery.[a]

Then came ix henchmen on ix goodly horses, with saddells of estate, and riding bare hedded, every of them aparelled in cassockes parted in the middest, one halfe clothe of golde, the other clothe of silver, and their horses trapped with lyke trappers of the same.

Then came sir Francis Bryant, Master of the Henchmen, ryding alone.

Then gentlemen and gromes of the Privy Chamber, riding ij and ij.

Then the Pensyoners and men of armes with their pollaxes, going on ether side the

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[a] The equerries.

way on foote, from the begynning of the ij estates of Normandy and Guyon, and so contynewing tyll the gentyllmen of the Prevy Chamber.

Then next after the gentilmen and gromes of the prevy chamber, the Captayne of the garde ryding alone.

Then next after folowing all the gardes, v on a rancke, on foote, with their holberdes in their handes.

Then all noblemen and gentilmen's sarvantes going in order after the degrees and estates of their masters, on foote.

Memorandum, that on either syde the way, from the beginninge of the trayne to the pencioners, officers of armes did give order, and gentylmen with other typstaves made rome by all the way, and thus in goodly order proceeded.

By the tyme the Kynges highnes was entered into Marke Lane, there was a very great peale of ordinance shote at the Tower.

Then at Fane church strete was ordened a scaffolde riche honge with clothe of Arras, and therein dyvers singing men and chyldren, synging and playing on the regales as the Kynges highnes came by.

### At the Condyth in Cornhill

was ordeyned a goodly pagent, hanged and garnished with rich Arras, and had upon the same a proper coundyth which ran with fayre swete wyne; and in the same were dyvers instrumentes and goodly synging; and ij. cheldren rychly apparelled pronounced to the Kynges highnes these speches following:—

### The First Speche.

Hayle noble Edward, our Kynge and soveraigne,
hayle the cheffe comfort of your comunaltye;
hayle redolent rose, whose sweetnes to reteyne
ys unto us all such great comodity,
that earthely joy to us none more can be;
blessed therefore be our Lorde omnipotent
which hath so noble a kynge to us sent.
Hayle comly Kyng! the cause of all our myrthe,
hayle flourishing flower in your royall estate,
whose pryncely presence our hartes to upstart,
for that God hath made us so ffortunate.
Jesu with grace your highnes illuminate,
and graunte unto us our hartes requeste,
which is healthe to your highness, peace and rest.

THE SECOND SPEECH.

O noble Edward! the vjth of that name,
whom God hath provided for our great comfort
to reigne in this realme of excellent fame,
the only cause of unity and concord,
thanks be therefore unto our heavenly Lord,
which doth not fayle his servants in distresse,
as here doth appere in your noble highnesse.

THE SONGE.[a]

Kinge Edward, Kinge Edward,
God save Kinge Edward,
God save Kinge Edward,
and longe to continewe
in grace and vertu
unto God's pleasure,
his commons to rejoyse;
whom we ought to honour,
bothe love and to drede
as our moste noble kyng
and soveraigne lorde,
next under God, of Englonde
and Irelonde the Supreme hede,
whom God hath chosen
by his mercy so goode,
King Edwarde the vjth
to have the swerde,
his subjectes to defende,
his enemys to put downe,
accordinge to right, in every towne.
Good Lord, in heaven, to thee we sing,
grant our noble King to reigne and sprynge
from age to age lyke Salomon the sage,
whom God preserve in peace and warre,
and savely to kepe hym from all daunger.

Then they proceded in goodly order unto Cheapsyde.

At the Great Coundethe in Chepe were ordeyned these thenges folowing:—

First, before the entree of the foresaid coundethe stode ij persons resemblynge Valentyne and wylde Urson, the one clothed with mosse and in leves, having in his hand a great clobb of yew-tree for his wepone, the other armed as a knight, and they pronounced theise speeches following:

THE SPEECHE OF URSON.

All those that be enemyes to Edward the Kynge
I shall them clowte with great confusyon,
and make hym myghty by virtuous lyvinge
his mortall foo to oppresse and bare downe,

[a] In this Song some resemblance will be detected to our modern "National Anthem" of *God save the King*. In connection with this subject I am not aware that notice has been hitherto taken of one of the orders of the King's fleet, issued in 1545: "The watchworde in the night shalbe thus, *God save King Henrye;* th' other shall answer, *and long to raigne over us.*" (State Papers, i. 814.)

and hym to encrease as Chrystes champion,
that all injuryes from hym be adnychelate
by Godes grace at the entre of this gate.

For I wylde Urson dothe here syngnefye
an emperour's son of excellent majestye,
notwithstanding in a forest noryshed by a bere,
where many knightes I dyd there conquere;
thus I am come, being nothing afrade
of all rebelles to defende Kynge Edward;
whensoever they come, early or late,
I shall them thrasshe here at this gate.

The Speche of Valentyne.

Also noble Valentyne I doo here represent,
th'emperour's son of Greece, whereof he had regiment,
yet in a forest founde by Pepin the French kinge,
longe brought up by hym in martiall connynge;
and thus shortly after by the kynges monicion
the same Valentyne vanquished his brother Urson;
thus are we both assigned to kepe this gate,
that the Kinges enemyes shall not entre in thereat.

At the end of the same condyth there was paled in a rocke garnyshed with roses, gelovers, and other kinde of floures, upon the which there was a sumptuous founteyne, and upon the top thereof a crowne imperyall of golde, garnished as it stode with ryche perle and stones. Under the same were certaine springes, out of the which came plenty of wyne, red and claret, descending through pipes into the strete amongest divers sortes of people, who, by the space of vj houres, with great diligence feched it away. And nigh unto the same founteyne did stand iiij chyldren, very rychly adorned, representing Grace, Nature, Fortune, and Charity, who, the one after the other, pronounced these speeches folowing:

Grace.

Wee ladyes all, by one consent,
sundry ghostly gifts, heavenly and divine,
to the Kyng as now wee doe present
unto thy Highnes; here we at thys tyme
utterly shew, and then determyne,
as I Grace, first at thy coming,
indew thee with scyens and morall cuning.

NATURE.

And I, Nature, with strength and fayrenesse,
for to be loved and drede of every wight.

FORTUNE.

And I, Fortune, with prosperitie and riches,
thee to defend and geve thee right
long to enjoy and hold thy newe right;
in vertuouse lyfe with honour to proceed,
that all thy sceptres thou may well possede.

CHARITIE.

God geve unto thee a crowne of glory,
and the scepter of clemense and pytie,
with a sword of might and victory,
and a mantell of prudence to clothe thee,
a shield of fayth to defend thee,
with a helme of health to thine encrease,
gyrded with a gyrdell of love and perfet peace.

At a certain distance from thence, as it were about the outer parts of the condythe, stood viij richly apparelled like ladyes, representing Sapience and the seven Sciences liberall,[a] which declared certaine goodly speeches as hereafter foloweth. And first began Sapience.

SAPIENCE.

Loo I, chefe princess, dame Sapience,
shewe unto you this sentence of scripture,
kynges that be of moste excellence,
by me they reigne and most joye endure;
for through my help and besy cure
theire glory encreaseth and high renowme,
havinge of wysedome full possession,
for by the sentence of prudent Salomon
mercy and right preserveth every kynge,
and clemensie with faythe observe above reason
kepeth his throne from perill of fallyng,
and maketh yt strong with long abyding.

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[a] On "the Seven Sciences liberall" see a note in Narratives of the Reformation, p. 151.

So, I conclude we ladyes that here be
a Kynge preserveth in long prosperytie.
Therefore we the vij Sciences lyberall
doo offer our servyce to your grace potentiall.

GRAMMER.

I, Grammer, with the silver key
unlocke the doore to science every way.

LOGICKE.

And I, Logick, dyrectly
discusse all thinges uprightly.

RHETORICKE.

And I, the adorned Rhetorick,
to bewtefy speeches is much pollityke.

ARSMETRICKE.

And I, Arsmetrick, through exercise
in numberyng maketh men wise.

GEOMATRIE.

I, Geomatry, ordained for measuring,
and as necessary for building.

MUSICKE.

Yet I, pleasant Musicke,
for kynges pastime am most lyke.

ASTRONAMY.

I, prudent Astronamy,
describeth of planettes the mystery.
Therefore noble kyng of high magnificence
beholde yonder clowde of your Grace's benignity,
with the sunn, the sterres, and the byrd descending thense,
whom the godly quene, your mother, doth signify,
by the vertue of the Lyon, you are descended lynally,
through God's provision and his devyne powre,
to succede Henry the VIIIth to Englandes great succoure.

For the Phenix bright
that downe taketh her flight
from the clowdes above,
is for to behold
that Lyon of gold,
that long was her love.

To have your Highnes crowned
her most derely beloved,
and then to ascend upright
from whence she came above,
unto Chryst her speciall love,
whear is no darknes but light.

And also for to sey
your kingly majesty
prosperiously to reigne,
from the throne celestiall
with dyademe imperiall
she is come hether againe

The noble Kyng your father
of late is fled up thether
to joy in God allway,
as the most Christen Kyng
that on the erthe was lyving
his ransome for to paye.

Then at the end of the saide coundethe towardes Chepe there was a doble scafolde one above the other, which was hanged with cloth of golde and silke, besydes rich arras. There was also devised under the upper scafolde an element or heaven, with the sunn, starrs, and clowdes very naturally. From this clowde there spred abroad another lesser clowde of white sarsenet, frenged with sylke, powdered with sterres and bemes of golde, out of the which there descended a Phenyx[a] downe to the nether scafolde, where as setting herselfe upon a mount there spread forth roses white and red, gelo-flowers, and hethorne bowes. After that the said Phenyx was there a lyttell, there approched a Lyon of gold crowned, makeing semblance of amyty unto the bird, moveing his head sundry tymes, between the which familiarity as it seemed there came forth a young Lyon that had a crowne imperiall brought from heaven above, as by ij angelles, wich they sett upon his head. Then the old Lyon and the Phenix vanished away, leaving the young Lyon, being crowned, alone.

Also there was upon the nether scaffolde a sumptuous throne, whereupon sat a chylde apparelled with ryche clothe of gold, with a robe of crymsyn sattyne, representing the Kinges Ma^tie^. The which throne was upholded with iiij other cheldrene, who represented—Regalitee having a regall[b] in his hand, Justice having a sword, Truth having a book, and Mercye having a lytell curtana, who speak these speeches or words following:

Regalitee—Rule and govern prudently,
Justice—And do justyce condignely,
Mercy—But mixt with mercy,
Truth—That the truth may stand surely,
[All—] and thus your throne shall endure permanently.

[a] The Phœnix was the emblem assumed for the King's mother, because she had died at his birth. It became the crest of the family of Seymour.

[b] *i. e.* a sceptre, not the ancient musical instrument called a regal.

And towardes the Chepe behynde the throne the golden fleece was kept by two bulles and a serpent casting out of their mouthes flaming fire, according to the story of Jason. Also there were vj children richly apparelled, which plaid upon the regalles, and sang with great melody dyvers goodly songes.

### At the Standard in Chepe.

And then they proceded in goodly order to the Standard in Chepe. The same was hanged very richly rounde abowte with clothe of tyshew and arras. Upon the upper part was trompettes blowing melodiously, wheare should have been pronounced this speche in the name of

### England.

Most noble Kinge, to whome by very ryght
God hath commytted of me England the crowne,
insew (*or* followe) your father's grace by day and night,
whose onely care was for my good renowne,
when forren powers had got me under yoke,
through Goddes trewth he onely me dyscharged
of vice, which well nigh did me choke,
he hathe me ryd, and left with vertue England.

Wherefore, good Kyng, your father's steppes inswe
and as he dyd so shall you allwayes fynde
England your realme both faithfull, just, and trewe
subjectes to God and to your godly mynde;
from which because I purpose not to starte,
to rewle by right I geve to you my harte.

How be yt, because his grace passed by spedely, there was sett upon the clothes and cast abrode in prynted papers these wordes folowing:

E. R.

Davides sete unto thee we commend,
Salamon's wysdome God thee send,
Jehu's valyauntnes in thy rest,
these iij in one be in thy brest!

The hart of a kyng is in Goddes hand,
the strengthe of a realme is in a ryghtous kyng;
a kyng oughte to kepe hym in the band
of the love of God, in the same redynge

a kynges wysdome of God omnipotent
to dyscerne good from an evell thynge.
Take away ungodlynes from the kynge,
and his state shalbe stablished with right jugement.
Let us pray for the Kyng and hym honour,
Edward the vj$^{th}$ our earthely succour.

GOD SAVE THE KYNG!

They then proceeded to the Crosse in Chepe, which was very well painted and gylded. And at lytell beyond the Crosse the mayor of London with his brethren the aldermen, attendant upon the Kynges highnes in their seemely apparell, received his grace with a proposition pronounced by master Broke, recorder, and master chamberlayn of London. And there they presented his highness with a purse having a thousand markes of gold in it, the which his grace received and gave them thanks. And then he proceeded to the Litell Coundyth in Chepe.

The same was hanged with cloath of Arras garnished with a target of Seint George and the King's arms, vj great streamers, xx small banners, xxiiij targets, and at the top of the said condythe in a towre stode the waytes playing. Where there was also an auncyent man setting in a chere, apparelled with a gowne of clothe of gold, and a crowne imperiall upon his hede, who had in his right hand a scepture of gold, and in his left hand a ball with a crosse, representing the state of Kyng Edward the Confessor, and before him there lay a lyon of gold, which moved his head by vices. At the foote of the same condythe there was sett a stage, whereupon was seint George on horsebacke in complete harnes, with his page in harnes also, holding his speare and shelde, and a faire mayden holding a lamb in a stryng. Nighe unto whom also there was a childe appointed in ryche apparell to have pronounced an oration in Latyn, and seynt George with a speche in Englysh as hereafter followeth:—

SAYNT GEORGE.

Most royall King of England, Edward the syxte,
it is thy lott at this time of dewty to be crowned,
by the ordynaunce of Gode long before prefyxte,
that thou wast gotten and borne into this world rounde;
wherefore you men of England to God are greatly bound
to praise, honour, lawde, and worship hym above all thyng
that hath geven unto you such a noble and puissant kynge.

I am George of England, under God the trewe guide
to ancyent kinges, of the same most lovinge and kynde,
as it is manifestly knowne to all on everye syde;

for to accomplysh their honours I ever inclined;
and now, good King, it is my faithfull mynde
thee to honour and magnifye now as thow shalt understand,
under God thee to defend ever ready at thy hand.

Goo now, good Kyng, to be crowned with honour and joy,
as thy foresaid ancestours have ben in lyke manner;
thyne enemyes that wolde thee at any time hurt or noye,
I shall in the field for thy defence set fourth my banner,
and deliver thee from hurt, damage, or any daunger
against thy foes which shall stirre debate or stryffe;
and thus fare well, good Kyng Edward, God send thee longe lyffe!

This speech in English, with the other in Latine, should have been pronounced, but for lacke of time it could not be done, his grace made such speed. Howbeit there was a song, the ditty [whereof] was thus,

Sing up heart, sing up heart, sing no more downe,
but joy in King Edward that wereth the crowne.

A Ballet of the King's Majestie.

Your songe in tyme past hathe byn *downe a downe*,
and long yt hath lasted in towne and towne,
to very moche myter[a] *downe* hath been added,
but *up* is now sweter, to make our hartes gladded.
Syng up harte, &c.

King Edward up spryngeth from puerilitee,
and towardes us bryngeth joye and tranquilitee;
our heartes may be lyght, and of mery cheere,
he shall be of such might that all the world may him feare.
Sing up harte, &c.

His father late our sovereign both day and also houre,
that in joy he might reigne like a prince of high power,
by sea and land hath provided for hym eke,
that never Kynge of England had ever the lyke.
Sing up harte, &c.

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[a] Metre. The meaning is that *downe a downe* had been the burthen of many ballads.

Hee hath gotten already Boullen that goodly towne,
and biddeth syng speedily up and downe;
when he waxeth wight, and to manhood doth sprynge,
he shalbe streight of iiij realmes the Kynge.
Sing up harte, &c.

Yee children of England, for the honour of the same,
take bow and shafte in hand, lerne shewtage to frame,
that you another day may so do your partes,
as to serve your Kyng as well with handes as with hartes.
Sing up harte, &c.

Ye children that are towardes, singe up and downe,
and never play the cowardes to him that weareth the crown,
but alway doo your cure his pleasure to fulfyll,
then shall you keep right sure the honour of England still.
Sing up harte, &c.

And when the Kynge came almost to scynt Gregories[a] church in Powles churchyard, there was a rope as great as a cable of a ship, streched in lengthe from the battlementes of Powles steple, and with a great anker at one end fastened a little before master deane of Powles house gate. And when his Majestie approached neere the same, there came a man, a stranger [being a native of Arragon,] lying on the same rope,[b] his head forward, casting his armes and his legges abrode, running on his brest on the said rope from the said battlementes to the grownd, as it had been an arrowe out of a bowe, and stayed on the grownd. Then he came to the Kinges ma^tie and kyst his foot, and so after certaine words to his highnes, departed from him again, and went upwards upon the said rope till he was come over the midst of the said churchyard, where he, having a rope about him, played certaine maystreys on the said rope, as tumbling and casting hymself from one legg to another. Then tooke the said rope and tyed it to the cabell, and tyed himselfe by the right legg a little beneath the wryst of the fote, and hong by the one legg a certayne space, and after recovered himselfe up again with the said rope, and unknyt the knott and came downe again, which staid the kynges ma^tie with all the trayne a good space of time.

And then proceeded in goodly order to the Great Condith in Flete strete.

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[a] George's *in the MSS.*

[b] A similar exhibition was made at the same place by one Peter a Dutchman, when queen Mary went through the city to her Coronation (see Stowe's Chronicle, and the Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 30, also Anecdotes of the Reformation, p. 154); and again in 1554 when King Philip went in state through London (see Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, p. 150).

At the Great Condith in Flete Strete.

The same was hanged about with Arras, and there was spred dyvers streamers: upon the which was also made a stage, wherein sate a chylde in very rich apparelle, which represented Truth, and was accompanyed with two other children before him in red, and they represented Faith and Justice, whose names were before them written in their places. As the Kinges grace passed by, Trewth saluted him with these words following:

I, auncyent Trewth, which long time was suppressed
with hethen rites and detestable idolatrye,
have in thy realme been in great part refreshed
by God's servant my defender king Henry,
who moe than once, tendering God's glory,
hath made me free, whom abuses long kept bound,
and hath therefore God's mercy allways found.

Wherefore if you wyll me lykewise embrace,
as did your father, most loving kynge Edward,
then shall the God of Truth give you his grace
to bryng your devices luckely forward.
Then shall England, committed to your gard,
rejoyce in God, which hath geven her nation,
after old David, a yonge kynge Salomon.

And as sone as the Kynges grace was past there were let runn ij hogshedes of wyne to the people, take who wolde.

And then proceded in goodly order to Temple barre. The gate was paynted, and fashioned with battlementes and bottresses of dyvers colours, rychely hanged with clothe of Arras, garnyshed with xiiij standardes and flaggs, withe viij French trumpetts blowinge their trumpettes after the fashion of their countrey. And besides them a payre of regalles, and chyldren singing to the same.

And then proceded in goodly order untyll they came to Westminster, to his grace's palais, whereas stode all the noblemen in order as they had conducted his highnes, where he lyghted; and at the hall dore he tooke his leave of the ambassadors, geveng them thanks for their paynes; and so proceeded in goodly order untyll his chamber, whereas all things was prepared for him according as apperteyned to his estate and highness; and that night warning was geven to all noblemen to be at Westminster the next day by seven of the cloke in the mornynge in their best array, to geve their attendaunce upon the coronation.

PREPARATIONS MADE REDY AGAINST THE SAME TYME.

First, The great hall of Westminster was newly paynted and glased, well strawed with ushes, and hung about with very rich clothe of Arras; and at the upper end of the same above the stayres was well encarpeted. The said stayres with the railes and barriers were covered with red say, and over the Kynges ma^ties^ seat was a very rich clothe of estate.

Secondly. Upon the right hand of the said hall was a cubbard, of the height of the viii. rankes, garnished with plate of gold, silver, and precious stones, as rychely as might be devised.

Then every officer was placed in his place there accordingly.

SUNDAY, the 20th day of February, being Shrofte Sonday, and the day of the Kinges Coronacion, anno dom. M.v^c^.xlvj.

The Kynges royall ma^tie^, being accompanyed with my Lord Protector, and certayne other of his counsell and prevy chamber, with ii. barges full of noble men, about ix. of the cloke in the morning, landed at the prevy stayres, where were the pencioners, being apparelled all in red demaske, holding their poll-axes, and the garde in their ryche cotes, likewise with their holbardes, standing on either side by all the way where his grace shulde passe. His highness, with all the nobilitee proceeding before him, was conducted through the Whitehall unto the chamber of the Court of th'Augmentation, which was rychly hunge with clothe of Arras and a cloth of estate. There the Kynges royall ma^tie^ put on his apparell, viz. a robe of crimsen velvet, with a longe trayne, furred with powdred ermynes throughout; a cyrcote of the same, furred with mynever pure, the coller, skyrtes, and sleeve-hands garnished with rybandes of golde, with ij. taberdes iiij. fingers brode, with a hode likewyse powdred, which were called his parlement robes, wering on his hede a cappe of blacke velvett. Then all the nobilitee, as dukes, marquises, erles, and barons, put on their robes of estate, and came unto the Kynges ma^ties^ outter chamber, and toke order for the proceeding into the hall, going before his highnes, the ambassadors accompanied with divers noble men, as folowith:

Fyrst. From the Kynges seat royall in Westminster Hall, unto the mounte with the throne in Westminster church, was spred on the ground say cloath by the Kynges amner, which clothe was brought from the King's great wardrope.

And then in the great pallys all along rayled on either syde the way from Westminster Hall unto the said pallys gate.

The order of the proceeding from Westminster Hall to the church:

First. All gentlemen, ij. and ij.

Then esquiers, ij. and ij.

Then knights, ij. and ij.

Then the aldermen of London.

Then the French and Latin secretaries.

The serjeant porter alone.

Then the iij. crosses.

Then the quyre of Westminster in their best copes.

Then the subdeane of the Kynges chappell, and the quyre of the same, in lyke manner.

Then all the bushopps, *in pontificalibus*.

Then sir Edward North, chanselour of the augmentacion, and the secretary of Venys.

Then sir Ralph Sadler, master of the Kynges great wardrobe, with duke Phelype.

Then sir John Gage, comptroller of the Kynges household, with one of the Scottish ambassadors.

Then the treasurer, viz. sir Thomas Cheney, lord warden, with another of the Scotyshe ambassadors.

The amner, with Polyn, ambassador of France.

Then sir William Peter, secretary, with the other ambassador of France.

Then sir William Paget, secretary, with the emperour's ambassador.

Then Garter in the Kynges cote, and the mayre of London with his mace

Then seynt Edwardes spurrys, borne by th'erle of Rutland, and with him seynt Edwardes staffe.

Then iij. naked swerdes, borne by iij. noble men, viz. ij. of the said swordes representynge Justice—oone for the spiritualty, an other for the temporalty; and that in the mydes, called *curtana*, representing Mercy, th'erle of Darby beryng *curtana* in the myddes. The other sword on the right hand, borne by the lord seynt John, lord great master, and the other sword on the left hand, borne by the lord Russell, lord prevey seale.

Then the sword in the scabbard, borne by the erle of Southampton, and on the left hand thereof went the earl of Arundell, as high marshall, with the marshall's rodd, in the lieu of the lord protector.

Then the crowne, borne by the duke of Somerset, lord protector; on the right hand thereof the ball of golde, with the crosse, borne by the duke of Suffolke; and on the left hand the sceptre, borne by the marques Dorset.

The King's Royall Majestie went under a goodly canapy, borne by the barons of the Cinque Portes, his highnes assysted by th'erle of Shrewesbury [on his right hand], and by the bishop of Durham on the left hand of hym.

Then th'erle of Warwyke, lord great chamberleyn of England, beryng the Kynges trayne, assisted with the marques of Northampton, and the lord Seymour of Sudley.

Then gentlemen of the prevy chamber.

Then all the nobles in their robes of astate, with their capps of estate and coronalles on their heads after their degrees and auncyennetye, and the greatest estates next unto the Kyng's persone.

Then the pencyoners.

Then the captayne of the garde.

Then the garde.

Then all the other noblemen's servantes after the degrees and estates of their lordes followed the trayne; and these proceded in goodly order unto the cathedral church of Westmester.

At the cathedral church of Westminster, before rehearsed, preparacions was made in this manner:

First. The quere was very rychely honge with clothe of Arras, and well strowed with rushes, and the place between the high alter and the chayre also.

Then was there made and ordeyned a mountyng scaffold, with stayres up to the same, and downe to the alter, on the which there was a throne of vij. staires, whereof iiij. of the uppermost were covered with fine bawdekyn, and the other staires covered with carpettes; and upon the middest of the throne there was sett a great whyte chaire covered with bawdekyn, damaske, and gold, with ij. coshyns; whereof one was blacke velvett embrodered with gold very rychely, and the other of clothe of tyssu. The said chaire had ij. pillers, at the backe whereof there stood ij. lyons of gold, and in the middest a turret with a flowre de lyce of golde. The said place was guarded with iiij. gentlemen ushers, dayly wayters, viz. mr. William Raynsforde, mr. John Norrys, mr. Rychard Greenewey, mr. Rychard Bluntt, besides dyvers other gentelmen ushers to assyste them.

Thus the Kynges majeste betwene x. and eleven of the cloke was conducted to his throne to Kyng Edwardes chair as aforesaid, wherein after his grace had reposed a lyttell tyme, he was removed by his said lordes into another chair, garnyshed with ryche clothe of tissew, wherin he sitting the iiij. gentlemen usshers carryed his grace unto the iiij. partes of the mount that he might be seen of the people; besides whome the archbushope of Canterbury standing did declare unto the people in all the aforesaid partes the Kynges ma^tie^s free election, with these words following:—

"Sirs, here present is Edward, rightfull and undowted inheritour by the lawes of God and man to the crown and royal dignety of this realme, whereupon yee shall understand that this day is prefyxed and appoynted by all the peers of this realme for the consecration, enunction, and coronation of the said most excellent Prynce Edwarde. Wyll ye serve at this time, and gyve your wylles and assentes to the same consecration, enunction, and coronotion?" Whereunto the people answered all in one voice, Ye, ye, ye, God save Kynge Edward! Then his grace was brought unto the said throne again, and immediately was conveyed in the said chaire by the gentlemen ushers before the high alter, upon the which he offered up his pall of bawdekyn and twenty shillings; verifying the wordes of scripture, where as yt is wrytten, "Thou shalt not appere voyde before the Lord God." Then a lytell after he retorned to his chaire, the quoshion of velvet was laid before the alter, upon the which his grace laid prostrate whylest certaine orysons were said over hym.

Then the archbishop of Canterbury declared certeyne othes unto him to be by him kept; the which othes he solemnely made, being led unto the high alter, upon the sacrament layd on the said alter, in the sight of the people, to observe and keepe.

Then the said archebushop knelyng, and the Kynge lying groveling afore the said high alter, the archbishop began *Veni Creator Spiritus*, saying certaine other orisons over him; then the quier and the organs sange and plaid the same.

Then after that done, ij bishops began the Lateny.

Then after that done, and certaine orisons ended, the Kynge did rise and was set in his chaire, and after he had somewhat rested hymselfe there, he was led into his travers, being on the left hand of the high alter, and there he was unarrayed and unclothed, of his great chamberleyn.

Then his highnes was newly apparelled in a cote of crymesyne satten open and bottoned before, behind, on the shoulders, and the elbows, with a coyfe of gold on his hede. And during the space of his said apparelling, the erle of Southampton, lord chauncelour, in three partes of the aforesaid mount, declared unto the people a goodly, large, and ample pardon for all manner of offences, except certaine persons and conditions contained in the same, not worthy to be pardoned. Which done and ended, the King was brought againe to his said chaire and laid downe on the quoshions aforesaid before the alter, and there having a pall holden over him by sir Anthony Denny and sir William Herbert, he was anoynted by the aforesaid archbishop with holy oyle and creme, saying unto him certaine wordes, with divers orysons and prayers as therunto apperteyned.

After the Kynges enunction the said archbishop dried every place of the same with cotton and lynnen clothe, and laced agayne the Kynges cote and shurt, puting on the Kyng's handes a paire of lynnen gloves and on his head a lynnen coyfe, delivered him by the lord great chamberlaine.

Then they conveyd hym againe into his travers and put upon hym ryche robes, and brought hym to the alter againe, whereas he offered up his sword that he was girt withall, which after was redemed agayne for C s.

Then was hallowed the Kinges ornaments and regalles.

Then they set hym agayne in his chaire before the high alter, and the archbushop of Caunterbury and my Lord Protector, with great reverence, brought him three crownes, viz. one, Kynge Edwardes crowne, the other the imperyall crowne of his realme of Englande, the third a very ryche crowne which was pourpossely made for his grace. Then they set them one after another upon the Kynges hede, and betwixte the puttyng on of every crowne the trumpetts blewe.

Then, immedyately after, the quere with the organs dyd syng *Te Deum*, and in the meane season the same was synging there was a rynge of golde sett upon the Kynges grace's maryinge fynger.[a]

Then sir Anthony Auger, master of the jewell howse, brought the Kynges brace-

[a] The Rev. William Maskell, in his Ritualia (vol. iii. p. xxxv.), has erroneously stated that this and some other parts of the ceremony were omitted.

lettes of golde and precyous stones. Then dyvers other thynges was geven to his Grace, as,—

The earle of Shrewesbury delyvered the Kyng his scepter.

The archebushope of Canterbury delyvered the Kyng St. Edwardes Staffe.

The earle of Rutland delyvered the spurres.

The duke of Suffolke delyvered the ball of golde.

The earl of Oxford delyvered the regall of golde.

And the Kynge thus sytting in the chaire apparelled in his royall robes, havinge his crowne imperiall on his hede, his scepter in his ryght hand, and the ball in his left hand, was againe conveyed to his throne and into seynt Edwardes chaire.

Then the Lord Protector kneled downe before his grace and made his homage thus:—

"I *N.* become your liegeman of lyfe and lymme, and of earthely worship, and faith and trewth I shall bere unto you, to lyve and [die ?] agaynst all manner of folke. So God me help and all Hallowes."

Then kneled down the archbishop of Caunterbury, and he made his homage, viz.:—

"I *A.* shall be faythfull and true, and faythe and trewth bere unto you our soveraigne lord, and to your heires Kynges of England, and I shall doo and trewly knoledge the servyce of the landes which I clayme to hold of you as in the right of your Church, as God shall help me and all Seyntes."

Then they kyssed the the Kynges cheke. Besydes dyvers other thynges by them spoken for other of their homages aforeseid.

Then folowed all the nobylitie of the realme, as well of spiritualty as temporalty, and kneled downe, and every of them kyssed his highnes' left cheeke.

Then, because that tyme wolde not serve for every of them to declare their homage particularly, they kneled down all together, and my Lord Protector declared their homage in generall unto his Majesty, and they held up their hands and assented unto the same. And with a lowde voyce all togethers cryed, *God save King Edward!*

Th'erle of Shrewesbury all this tyme assystyng the Kyng to hold the scepter.

Then, this done, the offyce of the masse beganne by the archebushop of Caunterbury. And at the tyme of the gospell, the bushop of Winchester browght the boke to the Kinges ma$^{tie}$, who kyssed it.

Then at the tyme of offeryng the Kinge was brought downe and made his offering, viz., an obley of bread laid upon the patten of seynt Edwardes chalyce, a crewet of wyne, and a pownd of gold. Then bowing his hede the archebushop said a prayer over him. Then he was conducted agayne to his said siege royall, and there satt till *Agnus Dei.*

Then the pax was brought to his highnes, who kyssed it.

Then the Kyng was conducted downe to the said alter, and the archebushop of Caunterbury toke off the same crowne from his hede and set it on the said alter.

Then his highnes was conveyed unto the travers aforesaid, and there the great cham-

berleyn received of hym all his regalles, and delivered them to the dene of Westmester to be leyd upon the said alter.

Then he was unclad of his apparell, and other royall apparell gyven unto him by the lord great chamberleyn, viz., a surcote of purple velvet furred with ermyns, and other royall apparell, and a rych crowne was also set upon his hede, assisted as before. Then a goodly canapy borne over him by the barons of the Cinque Portes.

And so was conveyed in goodly order with all his trayne, in like manner to his coming thether in all thinges, saving the procession, unto Westminster Hall to dynner; where he went to the place appointed for his highness in the Augmentation Court, and there pawsed unto the hall was placed, and his royall servyce come in, in order on this manner:—

### The Order of the First Course.

First, came in riding upon ij goodly coursers the marques Dorset, as Constable of England for that time, with his staffe of silver, and with him the earle of Arundell supplying the rome of Earl Marshall, with the marshall's rodde, who were both clad and apparelled with garments of ryche clothe of golde; their horses were trapped to the foote of the same.

Then the earle of Sussex, Sewer.

Then the marques of Northampton, Kerver, received the said service, and gave the assay.

Then after the said service was brought in for the Kynges ma$^{tie}$ borde alonely. Then water brought for the Kynges highness on this manner. The seid water was brought by the erle of Oxford and the erle of Huntingdon. The erle of Huntingdon took the assay as ewerer. The erle of Rutland dyd bere the towell in the lieu of Alen Apsley.

Then there went before the said basons of water dyvers sergeantes of armes with their maces.

Then the Kynges ma$^{tie}$ washed.

That done, the duke of Somerset and the archebushop of Caunterbury washed.

Then the Kynges ma$^{tie}$ went to his seate royall under the clothe of estate to dynner. The erle of Shrewesbury standing by his grace as assistant on the ryght hand, and the bushop of Duresme on the left hand.

Then on the ryght hand of the same table sat the duke of Somerset, lord Protector, and the archebishop of Caunterbury, and the three swords being holden before his ma$^{tie}$ all the dynner tyme.

Then the first cuppe which the Kynges ma$^{tie}$ dranke of was browght to hym by sir Giles Alyngton, whych he had for his fee, and thereby he held the landes of Argentyne.

Then there were placed at the table in the middest of the hall the ambassadors, and bushopps, justiciers, knights, and esquyers.

Then there were placed at the table on the ryght hand of the said hall the barons of the Cinque Ports, counselours, and clerkes of the chauncery.

Then there were placed at the table on the left hand of the said hall the mayre of London, with his bretherne the aldermen, and other noble persons, commoners, and others.

Then in tyme convenyent came in the second course, on this manner.

Then at the end of the same servyce there came in ryding in complete harneyes, armed at all peeces with the Kynges harneys, sir [ . . . . ] Dymoke, upon a courser richly trapped with clothe of golde, holding in his hande a mace, and on either side of him a page, one holding his spear and other his target. Then Yorke went before him and browght him to the upper end of the hall. Then after he had made obeysance to the Kynges highnes, in bowing his hede, he torned hym a lyttell aside, and with a lowde voyce declared these wordes followynge:

"Yf there be any manner of man, of what estate, degree, or condycion so ever he be, that will say and maynetaine that our soveraigne lord Edward the sixte, this day here present, is not the ryghtfull and undoubtfull heyre to the imperiall crown of this realme of England, and that of right he ought not to be crowned Kyng, I say he lyeth like a false traytour, and that I am redy the same to maynetaine with him whilest breath is in my body, ether now at this tyme, or any other tyme whensoever it shall please the Kynges highnes to appoint; and here upon the same I cast hym my gage."

And then he cast his gauntlet from hym, the which no man wolde take up.

Then Yorke took it up and gave it him againe. He then proceeded to another place, and did on this manner in iii. severall places of the said hall.

Then he came up to the upper end of the said hall, and the Kynges ma$^{tie}$ dranke to him and sent him the cuppe, which cupp he had for his fee, and lykewyse the horse and trapper, with all the harneys which he dyd were, by which servyce he held the manor of [Scrivelsby]. Then he retorned to the place from whence he came. And after he was gone, came in Garter with the rest of the offyce of armes, and made iij severall obeysances, and at the upper end before the Kynges ma$^{tie}$, with a lowde voyce, proclaymed his style in manner following:

"De serenissimo, potentissimo, et invictissimo Principe ac victoriosissimo Rege Edwardo Sexto, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rege, Fidei Defensore, et in terra sub Christo Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ Supremo Capite, ac supremo Domino nobilissimi et strenuissimi Ordinis Garterii."

"Du treshault, trespuissant, et tresexcellent Prince, et les treschretien Roy Edward le sixiesme, par la grace de Dieu, Roy de Fraunce, d'Angleterre, et d'Irland, defensor de la foy, et en la terre soubz Dieu de l'Eglise d'Angleterre et d'Irland Supreme Chief, et Souveraigne de la tresnoble ordre de la Jartiere."

" Of the most high, most puissant, most excellent Prince and victorious King Edward, by the grace of God Kyng of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth of the Church of England Supreme Head, and Soveraigne of the most noble order of the Garter."

Larges! Larges! Larges!

And then they returning with reverence, did so in lyke manner in ij. other places of the hall, viz. in the myddes and at the nether end. And then they returned to dynner to the stage prepared for them at the upper end of the hall.

Then, after dynner, when the Kynges ma^tie had dyned, wafers and ipocrase was browght to the Kynges highnes. Then the table was taken up and the surnape drawn. Then water was brought for the Kynges highnes.

Then after his Grace had washed, then washed the duke of Somersett, lord Protector, and the archebushop of Caunterbury.

Then after the surnape was withdrawen, the Kynges ma^tie arose and stode in the myddes of the hall place, with the duke of Somersett, lord Protector, and all the nobylity in order about hym, according to their degrees and estates.

Then was brought unto his highnes a goodly voyde of spyces and confections.

Then the Mayre of London brought a standing cuppe of gold to the Kynges ma^tie, and after the Kyng had drunke, his highnes gave hym the said cuppe.

Then, after that done, it was ordeyned that there shulde be made a certain number of Knightes instede of the Bathe, becawse the tyme was so short that they colde not be made of the Bathe according to the ceremonyes therunto apperteyning.

Then yt was at the same tyme ordeyned by the Kynges royall ma^tie, with the advice of his most noble councell, that they shulde be made by his Highness being crowned, in stede of the Bathe as aforesaid, and so sir William Paget, secretary, did rede their names, and they were called by Garter, principall Kynge at Armes, to receive the same, as after foloweth :

Knights nominate of the Bathe.

The duke of Suffolke.
Th' erle of Oxford.
Th' erle of Hertforde.
Th' erle of Ormond.
The lord Maltravers.
The lord Talbot.
The lord Straunge.
The lord Harbert.
The lord Lisle.
The lord Charles Brandon.
The lord Cromwell.
The lord Hastings.
The lord Scroope's son and heyre.
The lord Windsor's sonne and heire.
Sir Francis Russell.
Sir Richard Devereux.
Sir Anthony Browne, son to the master of the horse.

Sir Henry Seymour.
Sir John Gates.
Sir Anthony Cooke of Essex.
Sir Alexander Umpton of Oxfordshire.
Sir George Norton of Somersetshire.
Sir Valentine Knightley.
Sir Robert Lytton.
Sir George Vernon of the Peke.
Sir John Porte of Derbyshire.
Sir Thomas Josselyn.
Sir Christopher Barker alias Garter.
Sir Edmond Molinieux sergeant of law.
Sir James Hales.
Sir William Babthorpe.
Sir Thomas Brudenall.
Sir Thomas Nevell of Holt.
Sir Angell Marina, Italian, de Cremona.
Sir John Holcroft.
Sir John Cutt of Essex.
Sir Henry Tyrell of Heron.
Sir William Sharington.
Sir Wymonde Carew.
Sir William Snaythe.

And because they were nominate of the Bath, and made with so great royaltye, they were commanded to pay the dewtyes of money every of them after their degrees and estates, dowble the some of other knightes.

Then after the Kynges ma^tie had made all these knightes as aforesaid, his highnes withdrew him to the chamber of the Court of Augmentation before rehersed, where he shyfted hym.

Then all the nobylitie lykewise shyfted them out of their robes, and came in godly ordre through the hall, and in the pallays toke their horses and so ryd in order, dyvers noblemen before hym and some behinde after, accordyng to their estates and degrees; and thus conveyed his highnes to his royall palays of Westmester,[a] where there was that night great feastynge and royall chere, as apperteyned.

Thus ended the royall ceremony on the Sonday the day of the Kynges royall Coronacyon, in great royalty, with great joy and comfort to all his nobylitie, and his loving subjectes in generall.

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Then on the morowe after, being Mounday, and the xxjth day of February, there was holden royall Justes by these vj. chalengers hereunder written, against all comers.

The names of the six Challengers.

The lord Seymour of Sudley, and Admyrall of Englande.
Sir Richarde Devereaux, sonne and heire of the lord Ferrers.
Sir Anthony Kingestone.
Sir Peter Carew.
Francis Knowles.
Mr. Shelley.

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[a] *i. e.* Whitehall.

The names of the Defenders.

| | |
|---|---|
| The marquis of Northampton. | Henry Nevell. |
| The lord William Hayward (Howard). | —— Segrave. |
| The lord Harbarde. | —— Greshame. |
| The lord Fitzwalter. | Walter Bonham. |
| The lord Clynton. | William Elderkare. |
| Sir Thomas Paston. | John Norton. |
| Th'earle of Huntyngdon. | Bagenold. |
| Sir Thomas Speke. | Gates. |
| Sir Morris Barkley. | Digby. |
| Sir Humfrey Ratliffe. | Harleston. |
| George Howarde. | Lyttell Palmer. |
| Clement Paston. | Goodwyne. |

Then at j. of the cloke in the afternone began the said justes, and the Kynges royall ma^tie with my lord Protector and other noblemen were present in his highnes's galary to see the same, which was right nobly done, as hereafter foloweth.

The foresaid chalengers ranne agaynst every one of these defenders vi. courses. And as many as wolde of the said defenders had ij. courses every one of them besydes, for their ladyes sake. And so they passed forthe that day with great valyantnes, and so nobly behaved themselves on ether party, that, thankes be to God, there was nether man nor horse hurt; and brake many speres so redyly, that yt was to their great honour, and praise of all the people there assembled, as they were well worthy.

Then at night they retorned in goodly order as they came to my lord Admirall's house, where they had a goodly supper prepared for them, with great feastes and knouledge.[a]

Then on tewsday the morowe after, beinge Shroufte tewsday, the Kynges ma^tie in the mornyng dubbed these Knightes of the Carpet[b] hereunder written, viz. some of them the same day, and the rest at other tymes duryng the utas of the seid noble solempnisacion:

| | |
|---|---|
| Sir John Ratclyffe. | Sir Edward Sapcottes. |
| Sir William Stanley. | Sir Rychard Cotton. |
| Lord Thomas Grey. | Sir John Mason. |
| Sir John Butler of Glocestershyre. | Sir Thomas Newnam. |
| Sir Anthony Auger. | Sir John Wyndham. |
| Sir John Shelton of Suffolke. | Sir Phelype Calthorpe. |

[a] *i. e.* acknowledgment or thanks.

[b] This list is corrected by the list preserved in the MS. Cotton. Claudius C. III. a handsome folio volume, in which most of the armorial bearings of the knights are beautifully tricked.

Sir John Vaghan of Wales.
Sir Morrys Dennys of Gloucestershire.
Sir Anthony Sherynghan.
Sir Rowland Morton.
Sir John Wentworth of Essex, father to the lady Maltravers.
Sir John Dyer.
Sir John Godsalfe.
Sir Thomas Barneston.
Sir Thomas Gyfford.
Sir Roger Gyfford of Devonshyre.
Sir John Savage.
Sir Edward Rogers.
Sir Walter Buckler.
Sir Roger Blewett.
Sir Humfrey Stafford.
Sir John Hercey of Nottinghamshire.
Sir George Perpoynt of Nottinghamshire.
Sir Frauncis Englefeild.
Sir Thomas Fitzherbert.
Sir John Spryng.
Sir Thomas Hanmer.
Sir John Greville.
Sir John Brockett.
Sir Thomas Bell of Glocestershyre.
Sir John Horsey.
Sir Roger Gryffyth of Wales.
Sir John Salysbery of Wales.
Sir Thomas Gravener.
Sir Thomas Holleys.
Sir William Raynsford.
Sir Thomas Wrathe.
Sir William Pykeryng.
Sir John Cary.
Sir Henry Doyle.
Sir Urien Brereton.
Sir William Drury.
Sir John Butler of Hertfordshyre.
Sir George Harper.
Sir Thomas Kempe.
Sir John Norton of Kent.
Sir Robert Langley.
Sir Thomas Nevell.
Sir John Apryce.

Then in the afternone in the same day began the tourney by the challengers aforeseid agaynst all commers, wherat the Kynge was also present, and so they passed forthe that day right nobly, behavyng themselves in the same as could be devised.

Then, after the tourney was done, there was ordeyned a goodly and a sumptuous bankett in the court.

Then, after the bankett was done, there was a goodly enterlude played in the said hall, where was also made a mounte, with the story of Orpheus right conyngly composed. At the which play the Kynges royall ma$^{tie}$ with many of his nobles and a great nomber of gentelmen and others were present.

Then on Sonday next after was holden agayne at the said palays solempne Justes by xij to xij, whose names hereafter foloweth, viz.:

| | |
|---|---|
| Th'erle of Rutland. | Lord Bray. |
| Th'erle of Huntyngdon. | Lord marques of Northampton. |
| The lord Nevell. | Henry Nevyll. |
| The lord Fytzwater. | Lord admyrall. |
| The lord John Grey. | Lord Herberd. |
| The lord Clynton. | Lord William Howard. |
| Sir Charles Brandon. | Sir Thomas Speke. |
| Cary. | Gresham. |
| Dygbe. | George Howard. |
| Gates. | [John] Norton. |
| Walter Bonham. | [Clement] Paston. |
| Segrave. | William Bonham. |

Then, that Justes done, they departed in goodly order all togethers, and they supped that night all, with mooste parte of the court, at the Gote in Chepe, where they had a ryghte goodly and sumptuous supper.

FINIS.

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[MS. Coll. Arm. I. 18, f. 96.]

THE KYNGES MA^TIES apparell, the Saterday the xix^th day of February, being the day afore his Coronation, at his comyng from the Tower to Westminster.

Imprimis, a ryche gowne of clothe of sylver, all over imbrodred with damaske golde, with a square cape furred with sables.

Item, a gyrkyn of whyte velvet, wrought with Venyse sylver garnyshed with precious stones, as rubys and dyamondes and treuloves of perles.

Item, a dublet of whyt velvet accordyng to the same, imbrodered with Venyse sylver, garnyshed with lyke precious stones and perles.

Item, a whyte velvet cape, garnyshed with lyke precious stones and perles.

Item, a payre of buskyns of white velvet.

Item, his horsse capparison of crymeson saten, imbrodered with perles and damaske golde.

THE KYNGES MA^TIES apparell, from his chamber of the court of augmentacions to the cathedrall churche of Westmyster.

Imprimis, a robe of crymesin velvet, with a long trayne furred with powdred ermynes throughowte, which was his parliament robe.

Item, a cyrcote of the same, furred with meniver pure, the coller, skyrtes, and sleve bandes garnyshed with ryben of golde, with ij tabardes set on the same, furred with powddred ermynes iiij fyngers brode, with a hode lyke wysse powderd.

Item, a cape of blacke velvet.

THE KYNGES MA^TIES furst chaunge of apparell in Westmester churche.

Furst, ij shertes, oone of lawne, the other of crymesyn sarsenet, wyde in the collers.

Item, a breche of camerycke to the myd thighe, gathered to gethers before and behynde, and a breche belt of crymesyn velvet setto the same.

Item, a payre of hosen of crymesyn sarsenet, vaumpes and all.

Item, a cote of crymesyn satenne, furred with menyvere pure, purfled with ermynes, to the small of the legge, opened before, behynd, and on ether shoulder, tyed with small rybend, whereof the coller, skyrtes, and sleve-handes were garnyshed with ryband of golde.

Item, a lytell cappe of estate of crymesen saten.

Item, after his anoyntement was geven to hym a payre of gloves of cameryke. Item, a coyff of fyne lynnen.

Item, a payre of sabetynes[a] of clothe of bawdekyn.

THE KYNGES MA^TIES apparell after his annoyntement.

Imprimis, a robe of crymesyn saten, with a long trayne furred with powdered ermynes,

Item, a surcote of the same, furred with menyver pure, with ij taberdes of the same, eged with powdered ermynes iiij fyngers brode.

With a hode of crymesyn furred with powdered ermynes, as farre as yt was torned downe rownd abowt his neke.

THE KYNGES MA^TIES apparell after the masse done.

Furst a robe of purple velvet, with a long trayne furred throughowte with powdered ermynes, and also on the shoulders, and a lytell benethe, with lyke ermynes.

Item, a cote of the same velvet, furred with menyver pure, with ij tabardes set on the same, furred with lyke ermynes, with a hode of the same, also furred with ermynes so far as yt was torned downe abowte the neke.

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[a] Slippers.

At the Kynges ma^tie^s Coronation aforesaid the offyce of armes had every of them, as Kynges of armes, heroulds and pursuivantes, new cotes of armes, received at the handes of Anthony Tote sergeaunte paynter, viz. Kynges of armes cotes of saten, herouldes of armes cotes of damaske, and pursuivantes at armes cotes of sarsenet.

A warraunte made by the Counsell for the dewtyes and fees belonging to the offyce of armes of auncyent coustome.

After our ryght harty commendationes. The Kynges ma^tie^s plesure, with th' advyce and consente of us the Lord Protector and others of his highnes' counsell, ys, that ye delyver unto the company of his hyghnes offycers at Armes for suche fees and dewtyes as by auncyent record they clayme to have allowed unto them these somes of money folowing, that is say, viz. For his Majestyes Knighthode xl li. For his Highnes' Coronacion C li. For the Justeys royall, and torneyes, viz. for the clowage and hinder partes of theire trappoures and other casualtyes fallynge to the ground, xl li. And thus fare you well. From Somerset house the second day of July.

Your loving friendes,

Edward Somerset.

T. Cantuarien. Wm. Seynt John. H. Arundell. J. Russelle. William Northt. Antony Browne. T. Cheyne. W. Paget. Anthony Wingfelde. E. Northe.

To our trustie and loving frendes the Tresorer and Chamberleynes of the Exchequer.

Sir John Baker, under tresorer of the Exchequer, commanded Mr. Felton to goe to the Tellers and commaunded to pay yt uppon the warrant aforesaid, the which Nicholas Brigham, one of the sayd Tellers, payd forthewithe unto Garter the said some of ix^xx^ li. in testernes and grootes.

23rd Feb. 1547. Item, a warrant was made to Sir Edmund Peckham to deliver to my lord Bray and my lord Latimer, which served joyntly the day of the coronation in the rowme of the King's almonyers, the summe of xxx li. a peace in recompence of their fee of the almes and dishe. (Privy Council Register.)

"To the Kinges trompiters by way of the Kinges rewarde for the Justes holden at the palais of Westminster, the xijth and xiijth [*read* xxjth and xxijth] day of February the summe of xl marcs." (Account of the Treasurer of the Chamber.)

# VII.

## NAMES OF THOSE THAT WERE ADVAUNCED TO THE HONORABLE ORDRE OF KNIGHTHODE IN THE HAPPY REIGNE OF KINGE EDWARD THE SIXT.

[MS. Cotton. Claud. C. III. f. 151.]

[The greater number of the Knights made in this reign are recorded in other parts of this work. The names of the rest will be here taken from the magnificent MS. volume by R. Glover, above mentioned, containing a catalogue of the Knights made, with their arms, from the beginning of the reign of Henry VII. to the year 1586 (with additions).]

On Sonday the 6. of February, 1546–7, at the Tower, Kinge Edward was made Knight by his uncle the lord Protector, and the same tyme the sayd Kinge dubbed these two following:

Sir Henry Houblethorne, maior of London. | Sir John [*lege* William] Portman, justice.

Knights dubbed by the Kinge on Sonday the day of his Coronation, the 20. of February, being crowned, to the nombre of 40, in lieu of the Bath. (See pp. ccxcix—ccc.)

Knights of the Carpett, dubbed by the Kinge on Tuesday the 22. day of February. (In number fifty-five, see pp. ccci.—cccii.)

[For the next three no date is given:]

Sir Walter Mildmay.
Sir John Jermyn, of Suffolke. | Sir Clement Smythe.

Dubbed at Westminster 24. of November anno primo [1547]:

Sir James Bascarville.
Sir Anthony Cope. | Sir James Croftes.

Dubbed at Westminster anno secundo vel primo, Sir Henry Wharton.

Anno primo, Sir Robert Curson of Norffolke.

Knightes Bannerettes and Bacheler Knightes made in the campe besydes Rockesburgh in Scotland, by the handes of the high and mighty prynce Edward duke of Somersett, general of all the Kinges armyes by lande and by sea, and governour of his roiall person, and protectour of all his realmes, dominions, and subjectes. (See their names hereafter, p. 219.)

Knightes made at Newcastle the first day of October in anno primo aforesayde, by the handes of Edward duke of Somerset lorde protectour.

[These were, not only sir Robert Brandling, but also sir Walter Bonham, sir Henry Hussey, and sir Jaques Granado, the three last names of the preceding list (p. 220).]

Knightes made at Berwyke by the handes of John erle of Warwyke, lieutenant of the Kinges armye:—

[This list is in some respects different from that given in p. 220 hereafter.]

Sir Richard Buckley.
Sir Arthur Manwerynge.
Sir Andrew Corbet, dubbed at Newcastle.
Sir Peter Negro.
Sir Anthony Strelley.
Sir John Rybaude, dubbed at Newcastle.
Sir Thomas Nevill.
Sir Alounce de Villeseige.

Dubbed at Westminster the first day of December anno 2 [1548]:—

Sir William Cobham.
Sir Thomas Cornwallis.
Sir Richard Corbett.

[Without date:]

Sir Domynike Bollonus, Embassador of Venyce.
Sir Henry Ayncottes [Amcotes], maior of London [1548-9].
Sir William Locke, Sir John Awlyf } sheriffs of London [1548-9].
Sir Thomas Gargrave, of Yorkshire.
Sir Richard Sakeville, chauncelor of the Augmentacion courte.

[Knighted the 17th of October 1549 (See p. 244, note.):]

Sir John Yorke, shirif of London.

Dubbed at Westminster the 10. day of November in anno 3. [1549]:—

Sir John de la Zouche.
Sir John Pollard.
Sir Arthur Champernoun.
Sir Gyles Stranguishe.
Sir John More.
Sir Thomas Woodhouse.
Sir William Herbert.
Sir Walter Herbert.

Dubbed at Westminster the 17. of November anno 3. [1549]:—

The Duke of Luningborough.
Lord Fitzwarine, sonne and heire to the erle of Bathe.
Sir [Nicholas] Pelham.
Sir Ambrose Dudley, second son to th'erle of Warwyke.
Sir John Parrett.
Sir Thomas Russell.

[No dates mentioned:]

Sir Thomas Essex.
Sir Thomas Pomerey.
Sir Henry Bedingfeilde.
Sir Thomas Goldynge.
Sir Paule Baptist Spynaloe of Geane (Genoa).
Sir William Allerton.
Sir Anthony Gwydott.
Sir Richard Blount.
Sir Gilbert Dethike, alias Garter Kinge of Armes.
Sir Christopher Heydon of Norfolk.
Sir John Sydnam.
Sir Roger Vaughan.
Sir John Saintloe.
Sir Nicholas Arnolde.
Sir Francis Jobson.
Sir Thomas Saunders.
Sir Andrew Judde [lord mayor of London 1550-1].

[On the 11th of October, 1551 (see p. 352):—]

Sir William Cecill, secretary.
Sir Henry Sidney.
Sir Henry Neville.
Sir John Cheeke.

[No dates mentioned:]

Sir William Walderton.
Sir William Fitzwilliam of Ireland, of the privy chambre to the King, who lyeth buried at Wyndesore.
Sir Robert Chester, dubbed at Waltham [Wilton].[a]
Sir Rauf Ellercar.
Sir James Stumpes,[b] buried in St. Gregoryes [Margaret's] churche at Westminster.
Sir Thomas Smythe, secretary.
Sir Thomas Stradlinge.
Sir Thomas Wyatt the yonger.
Sir James Dyer, sergeant at the lawe.
Sir John Sentleger.

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[a] Clutterbuck in his History of Hertfordshire, vol. iii. p. 363, states that sir Robert Chester, who had been one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber to Henry VIII., was knighted at Wilton on the 2d Sept. 1552, and as on that date the King left Wilton for Mottisfont (see p. 450), that place should probably be substituted in the text. His arms were very extraordinary: Gules, two lion's hind feet issuant from the dexter and sinister sides, meeting in fess or, between three hawk's lures argent. Crest, on a wreath argent and azure, a lion's jamb erased holding a broken sword argent, hilted or. Were these allusive to some office in connection with the keeping of the royal lions and hawks? The family arms as given by Clutterbuck are, Ermine, on a chief sable a griffin passant argent.

[b] Sir James Stump was sheriff of Wiltshire in 5 Edw. VI. and again in 2 Eliz. Probably he was knighted during his former shrievalty, whilst the King was in Wiltshire. He desired in his will to be buried at St. Margaret's Westminster; see Collectanea Topogr. et Geneal. vii. 84.

# VIII.

## KNIGHTS OF THE GARTER.

(MS. Harl. 304, f. 130.)

Knightes of the most noble order of the Garter, as they were placed at the beginninge of the reigne of Kinge Edward the vj$^{th}$, and after those that were elect and installed in his tyme, who began his reigne on Mondaye the last of Januarij 1546, and he dyed the vj$^{th}$ daye of July 1553, when he had reigned vj yeres v monethes and 19 dayes; buryed in Henry the 7$^{th}$ chappell at Westminster.

| | |
|---|---|
| The Soveraigne. | The Emperour Charles V$^{th}$. |
| The Frenche Kinge. | The K. of Romaynes. |
| Voyd, by the dethe of the K. of Scottes. | Voyd, kept for the Soveraigne. |
| Voyd, the duke of Norffolke. | Voyd, the duke of Suffolke. |
| Voyd, th'erle of Surrey. | Th'erle of Essex, Will'm Parre. |
| Th'erle of Hertford. | Th'erle of Westmerland, Ralphe. |
| Th'erle of Shrewsbury. | Th'erle of Arrundell, Henry. |
| The lord Russell. | The visconte Lysle, John. |
| The lord St. John. | Sir Thomas Cheynye, l. warden. |
| The conestable of Fraunce. | The L. Ferrers, Walter. |
| Sir Anthony Browne. | Sir John Gage. |
| Sir Anthony Wyngefield. | Sir Anthonye St. Leger. |
| Sir John Walloppe. | Thomas lord Wrythesley. |

[Knights[a] elected during the reign of] the Soveraigne Kinge Edward the vj$^{th}$.

Henry the Frenche kinge, second of that name, elect the 24 of Aprill 1551, and his hacthement sett uppe in the 2 stall of the Soveraignes syd, the 20 of June 1551, and in the v$^{th}$ yere of the reigne of E. 6$^{th}$, and was not installed for that the swettinge sikenes was then greatly encreased in Englond: and he dyed the x$^{th}$ of July, being smot in the forehed with the splintes of a spere at the Justes in Paris, A° 1° Elizabeth R. Here installed after the deathe of Kinge Francis his father, and buried at S$^{t}$ Denys in France the 1 of August 1559.

Henry Grey, marques Dorsett, after created duke of Suffolke, elect the 17 of February and installed the 23 (22) of Maye, A° 1°, in the iiij$^{th}$ stall of the Emperour's syd, after the

A ma puissance. 1547.

[a] These names are not arranged chronologically, but apparently with reference to their rank. The dates are in the margin. They will be found in the order of their election, in Beltz's Memorials of the Garter, p. clxxvi.

deathe of Charles duke of Suffolke, and after translated to the iij[d] stall of the same, then beinge voyd sence the removinge of the duke of Norfolke, kept for Prince Edward, then Soveraigne; and he was beheded Februarye A° 1° Marye Regine.

Esperance me comforte. 1553. Henrye Nevill, erle of Westmerland, elect 23 of Aprell A° 6, and installed the 30 of June the same yere, in the xij[th] of the Soveraignes syd, by the deathe of sir Anthony Wyngfeld; and last in the ix. of the same syd, by the deathe of the lord Darcy; and he dyed A° . . . Elizabeth R. 1563.

1547. Sanz chainger. Edward Standley, erle of Darby, elect 17 February and installed the 23 (22) of May, A° 1°, in th'eight stall of the Soveraignes syd, by the translatinge of the lord Russell; and, after in the v[th] of the said syd, by translating of Francis erle of Shrewsburye; and he died 1572.

La me teindray. 1549. Francis Hastinges, erle of Huntington, elect the 23 Aprill and installed the 13 of December, A° 3°, in the vj[th] of the Imperour's syd, after the translatinge of Henry erle of Arundell; and last the vj[th] of the Soveraignes syd, by translating the marques of Winton; and he dyed the A° 1571.

Ung je serviray. 1549. William Herbert, m[r] of the horse, after erle of Pembroke, elect the first of December and installed the 13 of the same monethe, A° 3°, in the xiij[th] stall of th'Emperour's syd, by removing the lord Paggett; and after in the vj[th] of the same syd, by translatinge of Francis erle of Huntington; and last in ; and he dyed the daye of , and was honorably buryed in Powles churche, at London, the daye of Aprill, A° 1570, A° R. R. Elizabethe 12°.

1547. Thomas Seymour, lord Seymour of Sudly and lord Admyrall of England, elect the 17 of February and installed the 23 (22) of May, A° 1°, in the eight stall of the Emperour's syd, by the translatinge of John viscount Lysle; and he was beheded Marche , A° 2[do].

Jour de ma vie. 1549. Thomas West, lord Delawarre, elect the first of December and installed the 13 of the same, A° 3, in the x[th] of the Prince's syd, by the translating of Thomas Wryothesley erle of Southampton; and he dyed A° 1° Regine Marie.

Espoir en Dieu. 1549. George Brooke, lord Cobham, elect the 23 Aprill, installed the 13 of December, A° 3, first in the xj[th] of the Soveraignes syd, after the deathe of sir Anthony Browne; and last to the ix. stall of the Prince's syde, by removinge of Thomas Darcy, lord Darcy of Chiche; and he dyed 29 of September 1558, A° 5 et 6 Philippi et Marie.

Loyalte n'a honte. 1551. Edward Fynes, lord Clynton and lord Admyrall of Englond, elect the 23 of Aprill and installed the 30 of June, A° 5[th] 1551, in the ix[th] of the Soveraignes syde, by translatinge William lord Pagett; and after in the vij[th] of the Prince's syd, by translatinge Walter Devereux, viscont Hereford; died in the 5 stall on the Soveraignes syd, the 16 of January 1585, at Wynsor enterred.

Per il suo contrario. 1547. Sir William Pagett, lord Pagett of Beaudesert, elect the 17[th] of Februarye and installed the 23 (22) of Maye, A° 1°, first in the xiij of the Prince's syd, by translating of Thomas

Wryothesley, erle of Southampton, and now th'eight of the Soveraignes syd; by translatinge of Edward lord Clynton. He was once disgraced and after restored; obiit 1563.

Thomas Darcy, lord Darcy of Chechey, lord chamberlayne, installed the 9th of October, A° quinto 1551, and elect afore his installation, the 28 of September, at Hampton Court, in the xiijth of the Soveraignes syd, after the deathe of sir John Walloppe; and last in the ix of the same syd, by translatinge sir Thomas Cheyney, lord warden; and he dyed A° 5° et 6° Philippi et Marie, 18 daye of June 1558. Vertu cerche honneur. 1551.

Sir Androw Sutton, al's Dudley, elect the 23. Aprell 1552 and installed the 30 of June, A° 6to, in the xiijth of the Soveraignes syd, by the translatinge of Thomas lord Darcy of Chechey, and he was put downe and attaynted A° 1° Marie Regine. 1552.

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# IX.

## REWARDS GIVEN ON NEW-YEAR'S DAY.

It was customary to offer New-Year's Gifts to the King, (as well as to other great personages,) and several rolls upon which they were duly catalogued are extant of the reigns of Mary, Elizabeth, and James the First, some of which have been published in Nichols's Progresses, &c. The King, on his part, made presents, which were called Rewardes, to the various officers of his household, to the humbler persons who brought Gifts, and to the servants of those of higher rank; besides Gifts in return, usually of plate, to the nobility, &c. The following catalogue specifies the Rewards of the first and second years of Edward the Sixth, derived from the accounts of Sir William Cavendish, treasurer of the chamber, in the possession of Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart. Most of the entries occur in both years: those which occur only in one are marked [1°] or [2°] respectively.

Rewardes geven to dyvers persons on Newyeres-day.

Item geven to Tharoldes at Armes for their largesse on Newyeres-daye, as hath ben accustomed . . . . . vj li.

Item to the sergiant and officers of the Woodyerd, in rewarde . vj li. xiij s. iiij d.

Item to the Kinges watche on Newyeres-day, in rewarde . . . . . xl s.

Item to the Kinges trompiters, in rewarde . . . . . c s.

Item to the porters of the Kinges gate, in rewarde . . . . xl s.

Item to the gromes of the Kinges chamber, who were accustomed to be payed owte of the Kinges purse by the grome of the stole, in rewarde . . . . xl s.

Item to the pages of the Kinges chamber . . . . . xx s.

Item to the same pages, whiche were wont to be paied owte of the Kinges purse by the grome of the stole, in rewarde . . . . . xl s.

Item to the Kinges drumslades, in rewarde . . . . . xx s.
Item to the still mynstrelles, in rewarde . . . . . iiij li.
Item to the new sagbuttes, in rewarde . . . . . iiij li.
Item to mr. John Osborne of the privy chamber . . . . . xl s.
Item to mr. John Penne, barbour . . . . . xl s.
Item to maister Edmonde Harman, of the pryvy chambre, in rewarde . . xl s.
Item to maister Richard Colley, grome of the privy chambre, in rewarde . . xl s.
Item to maister Robert [Richard *anno secundo*] Maddockes, grome of the privy chambre, in rewarde . . . . . xl s.
Item to maister John Philpot, grome of the privy chambre, in rewarde . . xl s.
Item to Christopher Salmon, barbour [grome *anno* 2°], in rewarde . . xl s.
Item to mr. John Fowler, in rewarde, grome . . . . . xl s.
Item to mr. David Vyncent, grome, in rewarde . . . . . xl s.
Item to mr. Cooke [Cockes *anno* 2°], grome, in rewarde . . . . xl s.
Item to mr. Nevell, grome, in rewarde . . . . . xl s.
Item to mr. Thomas Strete, grome, in rewarde . . . . . xl s.
Item to mr. William Thorpe, grome, in rewarde . . . . . xl s.
Item to mr. Richard Cecill, yoman of the robes . . . . . xl s.
Item to Robert Robotham, grome of the Kinges warderobe . . . xl s.
Item to Thomas Sternolde, grome of the same robes . . . . xl s.
Item to John Rowlande, [page] of the same warderobe . . . . xl s.
Item to William More, the Quenes harper . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the Kinges henxmen, in rewarde . . . . . xl s.
Item to Hughe Pallarde, Edwarde Laeke, Thomas Alee, Thomas Curson, Edwarde [Robert *anno secundo*] Maye, Alayn Robenson, and Thomas Pagington, the Kinges newe mynstrelles, who was with his grace when he was Prince, in rewarde . . vij li.
Item to William Hammonde of the leasshe, in rewarde . . . . x s.
Item to the iiij$^{or}$ children of the leashe, in rewarde . . . . xl s.
Item to Richard Bower [m$^{r}$ of the children of the King's chappell] for playing before the King's majestie with the children of the chappell, in rewarde . vj li. xiij s. iiij d.
Item to Alexander de Bollonia, a rider, in rewarde . . . . xx s.
Item to Alexander Gingham,[a] a rider, in rewarde . . . . xx s.
Item to Annyball, the Kinges fferrour, in rewarde . . . . xx s.
Item to the yeomen of the prevy leasshe, in rewarde . . . . xl s.
Item to the Kinges vialles, in rewarde . . . . . xxvj s. viij d.
Item to the vj new vialles, in rewarde . . . . . vj li.

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[a] Gyngham *anno secundo*. Probably the same as Zinzan, afterwards well known in the court of Elizabeth: see her Progresses, &c. by Nichols.

Item to the gentilmen of the Kinges chappell, in rewarde . xiij li vj s. viij d.
Item to the three huntes with the three pryvy buckhoundes, in rewarde . . xx s.
Item to Thomas Cowper, oystringer, in rewarde . . . . . xx s.
Item to Lewes de Bassiam, Anthony de Bassiam, Jasper de Bassiam, John de Bassiam, and Baptist de Bassiam, mynstrelles, in rewarde . . . . c s.
Item to the fower huntes, in rewarde . . . . . xx s.
Item to John Gambolde, in rewarde . . . . . v s.
[1°] Item to John Hallelie of the Juelhouse, in rewarde . . . . xl s.
Item to John Harnys, gardener at Westminster . . . . x s.
Item to the Kinges pleyers of enterludes, in rewarde . . vj li. xiij s. iiij d.
Item to Guilliam du Warte, Guillam de Trosse, and Petie John, mynstrelles, in rewarde iiij li.
Item to James footeman that gave the Kinges maiestie lyams [lynes] and collers, in rewarde . . . . . xl s.
Item to the Kinges lawnder, [launderers *anno* 2°] in rewarde . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to Thomas Torchit late of the Pitcherhouse, in reward . . . xl s.
Item to Edmonde Gryffithe gardener at Hampton courte, in rewarde . . xxx s.
Item to Henry Russell gardener at Westminster, who presented the King with herbes and fruites, in rewarde . . . . . x s.
Item to syr William Rainsforde knight and maister John Norris gentilmen husshers, that gave the King ij dossen of napkins the one dozin garnisshed with silver and the other with golde, in rewarde . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[2°] Item to Phelip Manwaringe and Francis Evered their servants, in rewarde xiij s iiij d.
Item to John Colman gardener at Chelsey, in rewarde . . . . x s.
Item to Rychard Mountain gardener at Saint James . . . . x s.
Item to Phelip James gardener at Grenewiche . . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to the lord marques Dorset servaunt, in rewarde . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the erle of Westmerland servaunt . . . . . xl s.
[1°] Item to the erle of Oxenford servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the erle of Southampton servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the erle of Huntington servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the erle of Darby servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the erle of Bridgewater's servaunt . . . . . xx s.
Item to the erle of Shrewisbury his servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the lord Chauncellor's servaunt, in rewarde . . . xl s.
[1°] Item to the lord Awdeley's servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the lord Powez servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the lord Souche servaunt, in rewarde . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the lord Bray's servaunt, in rewarde . . . . . xx s.

[1°] Item to the lorde Mountegle's servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the lorde Borowe servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[2°] Item to the erle of Warwicke his servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[2°] Item to the erle of Rutlande his servaunt . . . . . xx s.
Item to the archebisshop of Yorkes servaunt . . . . . xl s.
Item to the bishop of Durisme servaunt . . . . . xl s.
[1°] Item to the bisshop of Lincoln servaunt . . . . . xx s.
Item to the bisshop of Carlisle servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the bisshop of London servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the bisshop of Eli's servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the bisshop of Salisbury servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the bisshop of Rochester servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the bisshop of Chichester servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the bisshop of Herford servaunt . . . . . xx s.
Item to the bisshop of Saint Davis servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the bisshop of Westminster servaunt . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the bisshop of Gloucester servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the bisshop of Petirborowe servaunt . . . . . xx s.
Item to the bisshop of Oxford servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the bisshop of Worcester servaunt . . . . . xx s.
Item to the bisshop of Lichefeld servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the bisshop of Exiter's servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the deane of Windesore servaunt . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to doctour Bentley's servaunt . . . . . vj s. viij d.
[1°] Item to doctour Chambre's servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to mr. Magnus servaunt, in rewarde . . . . . xx s.
[2°] Item to docter Cockes the Kinges almoyner his servaunt . . . x s.
[2°] Item to docter Owen the Kinges phisicion his servaunt . . . x s.
[2°] Item to docter Bill the Kinges phisicion his servaunt . . . x s.
[2°] Item to docter Wendy the Kinges phisicion his servaunt . . . x s.
[1°] Item to the lady Maries servaunt, in rewarde . . . liij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to the lady Anne of Cleves servaunt . . . . liij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to the lady Elizabeth servaunt . . . . . liij s. iiij d.
Item to the duches of Somerset [her grace's] servaunt . . . liij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to the duches of Richemounde her grace's servaunt, in rewarde . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the lady of Westmerland servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the lady of Rutland servaunt, in rewarde . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the lady Fraunces servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to the lady Bryan's servaunt . . . . xiij s. iiij d.

[1°] Item to the lady Calthrop servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to the lady of Oxenford servaunt . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to the lady Baynton's servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to the lady Kingston servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d
[1°] Item to the lady Shelton's servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d
[1°] Item to the lady Herbert of Troy servaunt . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to the (lady) Bray's servaunt, in rewarde . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[2°] Item to the lady Powes her servaunt . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
Item to the lady Carden's servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to the lady Mason servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[2°] Item to misters Blage her servant . . . . . vj s. viij d.
[1°] Item to maistres Penn in Bukingham shire the Kinges norce servaunt, in rewarde . . . . . x s.
Item to maistris Frankewell servaunt . . . . . vj s. viij d.
Item to maistris Vincent servaunt . . . . . x s.
Item to maistris Penn's servaunt . . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to maistris Cheke's servaunt . . . . . x s.
Item to mr. Threasauror of the King's majesties householde [sir William Cavendish] his servaunt . . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to sir Thomas Darcey knightes servaunt . . . xiij s. iiij d.
Item to sir Edmonde Peckham knight his servaunt . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to sir John Wallop knightes servaunt . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to sir Martin Bowes knight servaunt . . . . . xx s.
Item to sir Thomas Hennage knightes servaunt, in rewarde . . . xx s.
[2°] Item to sir Mighel Stanhope knight his servaunt . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[2°] Item to sir Anthony Selenger knight his servaunt . . . xiij s. iiij d.
Item to sir Thomas Caverden, *alias* Carden, knight, his servaunt, in rewarde xiij s. iiij d.
Item to sir Anthony Agiar knight [maister of the juelhouse] servaunt, in rewarde . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1] Item to Thomas Semberbe servaunt, in *rewarde* . . . vj s. viij d.
Item to sir Richard Gressham his servaunt, in rewarde . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to sir Thomas Pope's servant, in rewarde . . . xiij s. iij d.
[1°] Item to sir John Baker's servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to sir Robert Southwell servaunt . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to sir John Gage servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
Item to sir Richard Sowthwell knight his servaunt . . . xiij s. iiij d.
Item to sir Anthony Kingston [that gave the King a brace of graye hounds, *anno* 2°] servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
Item to sir John Williams his servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.

[1°] Item to sir John Welsbourne's servaunt . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[2°] Item to sir William Harbert knight his servaunt, in rewarde . xiij s. iiij d.
[2°] Item to mr. Sackevile, chauncellor of the Courte of Augmentations, his servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[2°] Item to Sir Peter Metuas knight his servant . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[2°] Item to sir Anthony Denny knight his servaunt . . . xiij s. iiij d.
Item to sir John Godsalve servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
Item to sir John Mason servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to sir William Sherington servaunt . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to sir Nicholas Haris [Hare's] servaunt . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to maister Peter Van's servaunt . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
Item to sir Walter Mildmay's servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
Item to sir Jaques Garnado servaunt . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[2°] Item to mr. Cheke his servaunt . . . . . vj s. viij d.
[1°] Item to Ambrose the Kinges carpenter's servaunt . . . vj s. viij d.
[1°] Item to Beaton the Kinges organmaker's servaunt . . . vj s. viij d.
Item to John Frankwelles servaunt . . . . . vj s. viij d.
[1°] Item to mons^r^ Petir Gambo servaunt . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
Item to Greene the Kinges coffermaker servaunt . . . . vj s. viij d.
[1°] Item to Anthony Toto servaunt . . . . . vj s. viij d.
[1°] Item to Bartlet the Kinges printer servaunt . . . . vj s. viij d.
Item to Nicolas Harris the Kinges fruterer's servaunt . . . vj s. viij d.
[1°] Item to Gaulterus de Lenns . . . . . vj s. viij d.
[1°] Item to Bartholemewe Compaigne his servaunt, in rewarde . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to maister Mondy servaunt, in rewarde . . . vj s. viij d.
Item to Cornelis the Kinges loksmith, in rewarde . . . . v s.
Item to Thomas Cloughe, that gave the Kinges majestie a booke of waxe, in rewarde . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
Item to Richard Grafton the Kinges majesties printer, in rewarde . vj s. viij d.
Item to Rauffe Pilkinton, that gave a purse garnished with gold . . . xx s.
Item to Guydo Calvacant, marchaunt straungier, that gave the King a pece of velvet, in rewarde . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to master John Yorke' servaunt, in rewarde . . . vj s. viij d.
[1°] Item to mr. Myllyn' servaunt, in rewarde . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to Humfrey Urme' servaunt, in rewarde . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to mr. Hynde Plomer' servaunt, in rewarde . . . vj s. viij d.
[1°] Item for (*l.* to sir) Peter Negro' servaunt, in rewarde . . vj s. viij d.
Item to Reine Wolfe stacioner' servaunt . . . . . vj s viij d.
[1°] Item to Cornelis Mustin the King's arras maker . . . . v s.

[1°] Item to the Sergiant Porter's servaunt, in rewarde . . . vj s. viij d.
[1°] Item to Nicholas Ursiewe, clockmaker . . . . iij s. viijd.
[1°] Item to mr. Sternolde of the Robes servaunt . . . vi s. viij d.
[1°] Item to Richard Stonegraver servaunt . . . . iij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to Joannes Olyverus' servaunt . . . . vj s. viij d.
[1°] Item to Robert Lewes that gave the King a viall . . . . xxx s.
[1°] Item to Lyonell Marten' servaunt, in rewarde . . . . v s.
[1°] Item to Anthony Trappe' servaunt, in reward . . . . v s.
[1°] Item to William Buckstede the King's bowyer . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to John Bullocke the King's bowyer . . . . vj s. viij d.
[1°] Item to John Pickeman, a bowyer . . . . . xv s.
[1°] Item to William Grenway, a bowyer . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to John Wawen, a bowyer . . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to Richard White, a bowyer . . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to John Wattes, a bowyer . . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to William Carpenter, a bowyer . . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to Thomas Corde, a bowyer . . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to John Wilding, a bowyer . . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to John Browne, a bowyer . . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to Edward Tate, a bowyer . . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to Anthony Anthony' servaunt, in rewarde . . . vj s. viij d.
[1°] Item to Richard Faith, a bowyer, in rewarde . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to John Sterkey, the King's fletcher . . . . xx s.
[1°] Item to Thomas Smith, the King's fletchour . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to Henry Smith, a fletchour . . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to John Seger, a fletchour . . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to Symon Gowtly, a fletchour . . . . . xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to Humfrey Walker, a bowyer . . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to Henry Lister, a bowyer . . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to Henry Wodcocke, a bowyer . . . . . x s.
Item to John Awger, a bowyer . . . . . x s.
Item to John [William *in anno* 2°] Bateman that gave the King bowstringes xiij s. iiij d.
[1°] Item to Aves the wief (of) Lewes the King's crosbowmaker, in rewarde . xl s.
[1°] Item to Giles Geringes, in rewarde . . . . . x s.
[1°] Item to Agnes Portingale, in liewe of plate for such as she gave the King's majestie, in rewarde . . . . . xl s.
Item to John Kirkby, of the juelhowse . . . . . xl s.
Item to Henry Forrest, one of the King's surgions . . . . xl s.
Item to Henry Makereth, one of the King's surgions . . . . xl s.

[2°] Item to John Keme, the King's maiesties lockesmithe, in rewarde . vj s. iiij d.
[2°] Item to John Halile, of the King's maiestie jewelhouse . . . xl s.
[2°] Item to sir Thomas Sampson, preist, that gave the King a painted staffe, in rewarde . . . . . xl s.
[2°] Item to Jasper Gaffoyne, who gave the King two Spanish quisshens . xxvj s. viij d.
[2°] Item to Rauff Hudson's wieff, that gave the King xx^ti powne garnards (pomegranates), in rewarde . . . . . x s.
[2°] Item to Leonerd Storye, one of the King's ryders, who gave the King a paire of guilte spurres . . . . . xx s.
[2°] Item to sir Dowglasse, the Scottish preist, in rewarde . . . xl s.
[2°] Item to master Fisher his servant, in rewarde . . . vj s. viij d.

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# X.

## ORDINARY CHARGE OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD, 1549-50.

In MS. Lansdowne 2, No. 32, is a paper entitled: "The charge of the howsholde for one whole weeke, beginning the xxix of December, in the iijd yere of King Edward the syxt." The total amounted to 1,003*l.* 2*s.* 11½*d.* The expenses of New year's day (which are the highest) will serve for a specimen.

Mercur' primo die Januar', ib'm, v't's dispens' x li. xiiij s. ij d. Butt' xxviij li. iiij s. iiij d. Gard' xxviij li. xxij d. ob. Coquina xxij li. xvj s. viij d. Pull' xx li. xix s. xj d. ob. Scull' lxix s. Sals' xxxvij s. ij d. Aula et camer' iiij li. v s. viij d. Stab' vij li. ix s. xj d. ob. Vad' xxxiiij li. Elemozina iiij s.

Clxiiij li. xij s. ix d. ob.

that is, former expenses unpaid, 10*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*; Buttery 28*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*; Wardrobe 28*l.* 1*s.* 10½*d.*; Kitchen 22*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*; Poultrey 20*l.* 19*s.* 11½*d.*; Squillery 5*l.* 19*s.*; Saucery 1*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.*; Hall and chamber 4*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*; Stable 7*l.* 9*s.* 11½*d.*; Wages 34*l.*; Almonry 4*s.* Total 164*l.* 12*s.* 9½*d.*

A second page gives a week's expenses in March, which amount to 828*li.* 6*s.* 0¼*d.*; and a third gives a week in August, amounting to 775*li.* 10*s.* 11¾*d.*

# XI.

## PRAYER FOR THE KING DURING HIS LAST SICKNESS.

This prayer is apparently referred to by John Burcher in a letter to Bullinger, dated from Strasburgh on the 8th of July, in which he writes: "A most painful report has reached us respecting our most christian King,—for it is fitting to attribute to this real christian the title of Most Christian, rather than to another[a] who assumes that title without any pretensions to it. . . . . On the 24th of June the English ambassadors had arrived in Brussels, and brought word that the King was suffering under severe illness, but by the blessing of God was so far recovered as to be out of danger. God therefore must be praised, and entreated to preserve this our sovereign very long among us. The whole Church of England implores our great and gracious God in united prayer both for his restoration to health and long preservation. I intreat you also to commend both our King and Church to God in your continual prayers." (Zurich Letters, iii. 683.)

A Prayer sayd in the Kinges Chappell in the tyme of his grace's Sicknes, for the restauracion of his helth, commaunded to be sayd by the right honorable Erle of Bedford, and mete to be used of all the Kinges trew subjectes. Set forthe the xix. day of June, M.D.LIII.

O Allmighty and most merciful Lorde, the onely lyfe and helth of all theym that trust in Thee, which workest salvacion in thy elect as well by sicknes as other wise, and therefore bringest theim very lowe, and yet restorest to helth againe; look downe wyth thy pytyfull eies upon thy servaunt Edward our Kyng, and upon this realme of England professing thi word and holy name, and as Thou didst most favorably deliver King Ezechias from extreame sicknes, and prolongedst his lyfe for the salvegarde of thy people the Israelites, and defendedst theim and the citie from the tyranny of the Assyrians, so we moste entierlye appeale to thy great mercies graciously to restore the helth and strength agayne of thy servaunt Edward our soveraine Lorde, that as thou hast begune by him the rooting out of Errour, Idolatry, and Supersticion, and the planting of trew Religion, trew worshippyng and veritie: so it may please thy mercyful goodnes longe to preserve hym for the confyrmacyon and establishment of the same, and also for the saulfgarde and defense of this Realme from all outward and inwarde enemies, for the glory of thy holye name. Looke not herin (O Lorde) upon our desertes, whyche for abusinge thy worde, and sinfulnes, deserve great punishmentes, but upon thy plentiful mercyes, whyche

[a] Henri II.

rejoycest to heale the greatest myseries. Be no lesse favorable (O Lorde) at this present to Edward our Kyng, restorynge thy true Religion: then in times past to Ezechias refourmyng thy Religion. Be no lesse mercyfull to England thy Churche now: then in those dayes to Jury thy Churche than. But as thy heavenly grace hath ben more reveled in these dayes by the commyng of thy deare Sonne our Saviour and mayster Chryste, and preachyng of the Gospell, so it may please thy fatherlye love and goodnes to bestow upon us more abundance of the same favorable grace and mercy, according to thy wyl in this our humble request. Do thys, most mercyful Father, for thy owne name's sake, and for the merytes and death of thy Sonne our only medyator and redeemer Jesus Christe. Amen.

Imprynted at London in Flete Strete, at the Sygne of the Rose Garland, by Wyllyam Copland.

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# XII.

## DESCRIPTION OF KING EDWARD'S EXERCISE BOOKS.

I. In the British Museum, the MS. Arundel 510 :

This is a quarto paper book, of which less than a third is filled. The binding (though not specially designed for the King) is remarkable, being stamped on both sides from two duodecimo blocks, one containing the whole-length figures of four saints, with the initials G. R., and the other the arms of France and England, under a crown, and supported by a dragon and greyhound, above which are small shields of St. George's cross and the arms of the city of London; and on either side the royal arms are the letters G. R. as on the other block. A marginal border is inscribed

Confitemini domino quoniam bonus quoniam in seculum mia eius deus meus respice.

On a fly-leaf at the beginning of the book is this memorandum in the King's hand: 19 Martij Biblia incipimus 1549.

The substance of the MS. however, was written in the autumn of 1548; and the first thirty-five pages consist of sentences from the Tusculan Questions of Cicero, of which the following is a specimen, taken from the first page:

1548. 21° Septembris dies Veneris. De Tusc. questionibus.

1. Omnium artium quæ ad rectam vivendi viam pertinent ratio & disciplina studio sapientiæ quæ philosophia dicitur, continetur. 148.

2. Mandare literis suas cogitationes qui eas disponere & illustrare non possit nec allicere lectorē hominis est male utentis ocio et literis. 149.

3. Honos alit artes, omnesq' incenduntur ad studia gloria. 148.
4. Philosophia perfecta de magnis questionibus potest ornate copiose dicere. 149.
5. Moriendum est omnibus, quæ mors est finis miseriæ. 150.

[Phrases verborum.]

1. Accipere poeticã. 148.
2. Obijcere probrum. 148.
3. Declamare causas. 149.
4. Ponere causas. 149.
5. Conferre in libros. 149.
6. Respondere gloriæ. 148.

[Phrases nominum.]

1. Magnitudo animi. 148.
2. Genus literarũ. 148.
3. Instituta vitæ. 148.
4 Studium sapientiæ. 148.
5. Labor defensionis.
6. Lumẽ literarũ.

These exercises were continued nearly every day until the 14th of November, when Edward writes *Finis* to the last from the Tusculan Questions. The next is in the following form:—

(Fol. 36.) Figuræ et Phrases ex oratione Ciceron.

1ª contra Catilinam. 28 Januarij die Lunæ 1549.

1. Quousque tandem *et c. usq' ad* nihil ne. Exclamatio. 2. Nihil ne te nocturnũ *usq' ad* patere. Repetitio. 3. Constrictam jam *et c. usq' ad* O Membrũ. 4. Vives et viues ut *et c.* Conduplicatio. 5. O dij im'ortales *et c. usque ad* hic. Exclamatio. 6. Quoties tu me *et c. usq' ad* Nunc vero. Membrũ. 7. Distribuisti partes *et c. usq' ad* Rep'ti. Similiter cadent.

1. Teneri constrictũ õniũ consciẽtia.
2. Vocare ad vastitatem urbẽ.
3. Initiari sacris.
4. Recondere tanq' in vagina.
5. Designare illũ oculis ad cædẽ.
6. Mihi crede obliuiscere cædis.

1. Falcarius, a billman.
2. Prestolari, to loke fore.
3. Sacrariũ, a place dedicat.
4. Abligurio, to spend all.
5. Decoctor, a rioter.
6. Nepos, idẽ.
7. Vadimoniũ, a pᵒmisse for to appere.
8 Talaris, a long garment.
9. Apparitores, gromes or men that be redie alwais.
10 Linum, thride, hẽp and flax.

These exercises are continued for thirty pages, in the latter portion of which the King has ceased to enter the dates of his tasks.

Then follow five days' exercises from the Ethics of Aristotle, of which the following is a specimen:—

Φρασεισ εκ των ἐθικων Αριστοτελουσ.
ιζ Δεκεμβριου. 1549.

1. Ἐφίεσθαι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ.
2. Διωκεσθαι εκεῖνα τοὔτων χάριν.
3. Προιεναι ἐισ ἄπειρον.
4. Ἔχειν ῥοπην μεγάλην.
5. Τυγχανειν του δέοντος.
6. Απέχεσθαι τίνων.
7. Ἔχειν σκὸπον.
8. Περιλαβεῖν τὺπω.

Towards the end of the book twenty-seven pages are prepared with headings for quotations on religious subjects, of which very few are entered, and those entirely from the first seven chapters of the Gospel of St. Matthew. They are as follow:—

Loci de Divinitate Christi.

Maria est deprehensa e spiritu sancto. Mat. 1.

De humanitate Christi.

Inspice 1$^{um}$ caput Matthei.

De Antichristo.

Cauete vobis a pseudop°phetis *et c.* Matt. 7°.

De pⁱmatu Papæ.

De fide.

De poenitentia.

Pœnitentiam agite vitæ prioris *et c.* Matt. 3°.

Resipiscite instat *et c.* Matt. 4°.

De bonis operibus.

Omnis arbor quæ non facit fructū *et c.* Matt. 3°.

Sic luceat lux vestra corā hominibus *et c.* Matt. 5°.

Non potest arbor bona *et c.* Matt. 7°.

De predestinatione.

De authoritate verbi.

Non solo pane victurus est *et c.* Matt. 4°.

De authoritate ecclesiæ.

De p·secutione eiusdē.

De fine mundi et resurrectione et postremis diebus.

De Eucharistia.

De babtismo.

Ego quidē babtizo vos aqua *et c.* Matt. 3°.

De idololatria.

Dominū deū tuum adorabis, *et c.* Matt. 4°.

De peccato originali.

De matrimonio.

Audistis quod dictum erat antiquis *et c.* Matt. 5°.

De cibis.

De diuitiis.

Ne reponatis vobis thesauros. Matt. 6°

De libero arbitrio.

De omnibus rebus cōmunibus.

De ciuili magistratu.

De bello et pace.

De missa.

De inuocatione (sanctorū *erased*) et eleemosyna.

Et cū oraueris *et c.* Matt. 6°. Petite et dabitur. Matt. 7°.

De purgatorio et ceremonijs.

De officio episcoporū, diaconorū et sacerdotū.

II. In the Bodleian Library, (now in the show-case,) No. 3,071 of Bernard's Catalogue.

This is another paper-book, in quarto, having a simple wrapper of vellum. It consists of 85 leaves, of which 62 are filled with writing. It has this title-page in the King's hand:

Liber sententiarū Diuisionū Phrasium & definitionū extractæ ex officiis Ciceronis. Edwardus.

On the second leaf the King has written his name several times, and also

*Noustre bonne Roy.*

On the third leaf is this inscription, written in the last century by Hearne, "Sentences and Phrases collected by Queen Elizabeth in the 13th and 14th years of her age;" and in accordance with this, the book was shown for many years as a MS. of Elizabeth.

On the fourth leaf, "Ex dono doctissimi viri P. Junii Bibliothecarii Regii A.D. 1639."

Fol. 5, Sententiæ 4° Januarij, Anno Domini 1548, Die mercurij.

At fol. 22, dated 7 June 1549, the writing begins to be smaller and neater.

At fol. 34, after some blank leaves, succeeds—

Secundi libri, Sententiæ & Phrases. Decimo sexto Februarij, Die Jovis, 1548.

One column of Phrases verborum, another of Phrases nominum.

On the last leaf Edward has again tried his pen several times, and at the top has written—

Prestat reip. īmemorē beneficii quam maleficii esse.

The following specimen is taken from fol. 42 v.

Sententiæ diuisionū definitionūq'. Primi libri, 24° Martij die Sabbati.

1. De officio duplex est questio, unū pertinens ad finē bonorū, alterū positū in præceptis.

2. Alia diuisio est officij, nā et medium officium dicitur & p'fectū.

3. Quinquiplex est officij genus, quorum duo ad honestatē decusq' p'tinēt, duo ad cōmoditatē uitæ opes facultatesq', quintū ad eligendi iudiciū.

4. Omne honestū uel oritur ex p'spicientia ueri, aut ex tuenda societate hominū, aut ex fortitudine, uel ex temperantia.

5. In genere naturali & honesto prudentiæ duo uitia uitanda sunt, unū ne incognita pro cognitis habeamus, alterū ne nimis magnū studiū ponamus in res obscuras easdēq' non necessarias.

Definitiones.

1. Rectū quod est hoc officium p'fectum esse definiunt.

2. Medium officium esse dicunt quod cur factum sit ratio p°babilis reddi potest.

3. Prudentia consistit in p.spicientia ueri solertiaq'.

4. Iustitia uersatur in hominū societate tuenda, et tribuendo suum cuiq' et rerum contractarum fide.

5. Fortitudo uersatur in animi excelsi magnitudine ac robere (*sic*).

6. Temperantia est ordo modusq' omniū quæ fiunt quæq' dicuntur.

At fol. 46 verso—

Recitatio Secundi Libri Ciceronis De Officiis.

On the following page—

Sententiæ, 5° Aprilis die Jouis.

f. 61. Sententiæ, 14° Maij die Lunæ ex tertio libro officiorum. 1549.

f. 68. Sententiæ, 4° Junij die Lunæ (smaller hand and better writing).

f. 75. Sententiæ, 3° Augusti, die Veneris, ex Paradoxis.

III. MS. Bodl. 899 (formerly Arch. B. 41, and Arch. A. 78, and 3071 of Bernard's Catalogue).

This was written in 1551 and 1552. It is a folio paper book of 34 leaves, in a vellum cover, and nearly wholly filled.

On a fly-leaf: "Ex dono Doctissimi viri P. Junij Bibliothecarij Regis, A° D'ni 1639."

The first four leaves are Greek exercises. Every day the royal scholar wrote about a dozen phrases, more or less, divided into examples of verbs and nouns. This is the first:—

Τι δε ην δ'εγω 26 Martij ρηματων.

1. Αιτεῖν μισθὸν.

2. Παρέχεσθα τὴν δύνναμιν (sic).

3. Εργάζεσθαι προῖκα.

4. Οφελεσθαι απο της τεχνης.

5. Μεταχειρίζεσθαι τὰ κακὰ.

6. Ἐυπαθεῖν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῃ.
7. Διέλθειν ἀγαθὰ τοῦ ἀδίκου.
8. Ποιεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς.

ονοματων.

1. Δύναμις τῆς τέχνης.
2. Λῆψις μισθοῦ.
3. Τὰ ἔθνη τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
4. Βίοι τοῦ ἀδίκου.

The King writes in contractions, which our modern types do not represent. But other divisions of the book were apparently going on at the same time, as in the preceding manuscripts. The next begins:

Ex oratione Cicer. p° Tito annio Milone.

Nec uero non. 1551°. Page 257. Verborum Phraseis. (They are seventeen in number). Nominum (fifteen).

Other exercises follow, taken from various orations of Cicero, some written in Nov. 1551, and so on to the following June.

Then, in Greek, Phraseis εχ (sic) πολιτεια του Πλατωνος. 1 liber. 12 Februarij [1550-1] (One leaf). After which those from Cicero are continued as before.

The latter leaves of the book are occupied with tables of Greek words, accompanied by their significations in Latin.

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# XIV.

## THE LIBRARY OF KING EDWARD.

The following is a catalogue of such of the books in the Royal Library now preserved in the British Museum as retain indications of having belonged to King Edward the Sixth. The greater number of them have been re-bound, but are marked with his initials on the back. All that have occurred so distinguished are here mentioned, although some have inscriptions denoting that they were once owned by private persons. The original bindings of others are preserved, and in some instances are very remarkable.[a] (The present press-marks are added in parentheses.)

[a] The royal library at Whitehall is described by Paul Hentzner in 1598 as "well stored with Greek, Latin, Italian, and French books; amongst the rest a little one in French upon parchment, in the handwriting of the present reigning queen Elizabeth, thus inscribed: 'To the most high, puissant, and redoubted prince Henry VIII. of the name, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith: Elizabeth his most humble daughter, health and obedience.' All these books are bound in velvet of different colours, though chiefly red, with clasps of gold and silver; some have pearls and precious stones set in their bindings." Travels in England, edit. 1797, p. 21.

*Printed Books in Folio.*

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΙ ΕΝΝΕΑ. *Colophon*, Basileæ, in officina Hervagiana, mense Martio, anno M.D.XLI.—Bound with

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΗΣ. Basileæ, in officina Hervagiana, Anno M.D.XL.

On the sides the original tool of Edward's arms, within rays; the back renewed, edges gilt. Originally tied with green silk ribands. (585. i. 2.)

In omnes de Arte Rhetorica M. Tullii Ciceronis libros, item in eos ad C. Herennium scriptos, doctissimorum virorum commentaria. (Aldus.) Venetis, M.D.XLVI.

On the sides an original tool of Edward's arms, with his initials; the back renewed. (656. c. 8.)

Silua de varia Lection, cõpuesta por el magnifico cauallero Pero Mexia nueuamẽte agora en el año de mil y quienientos et cinquenta y vno. Valladolid, 1551.

On the last leaf are these lines, written in a very neat Italian hand:—

*Il pouero s'affatica molto in cercar quel che gli manca. Et il ricco in conseruare quello che egli ha. Et il virtuoso in domander quel che gli besogna.*

These lines resemble so much King Edward's best hand that they may have been regarded as his. On the sides of the book are impressed these arms, in colours—Gules, on a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis or as many hurts, which render it a doubtful question whether this was really one of the King's books. (c. 20 e.)

Biblia Rabbinica. Venet. Bomberg. 1547.

Four large folio volumes bound in three, originally in crimson velvet, and tied with ribbons, the edges gilt. (463. f. 1.)

Brucioli, il Vecchio Testamento. Venet. 1540. (464. d. 9.)

Galeni Opera. Paris, 1549. (540. h. 1.)

Primera parte de la Coronica General de toda Espana. Compuesta por el Dotor Pero Anton Beuter. Valenc. 1546.—Bound with

La cronica de Espana, por masser Diego de Valera. Seville, 1517. (593. g. 1.)

Statutes, from Hen. III. to 1 Hen. VIII. Fol. By T. Berthelet, 1543. (506. d. 3.)

Statutes made in the Parliament 1 Edw. VI. Fol. By Grafton, 1548. (506. c. 7.)

*In Quarto.*

Il Petrarcha, con l'espositione d'Alessandro Vellutello, *&c.* In Venetia, appresso Gabriel Giolidi Ferrarii. M.D.XXXIIII.

This book (marked on the back E. VI. R.) belonged to Queen Katharine Parr, whose arms and quarterings are very richly worked upon its sides, highly embossed upon velvet. (C. 23. e. 19.)

Historie Moderne di messer Marco Guazzo di tutte le cose degne di memoria del M.D. xxiiii. sino il M.D. xl. nel mondo succeesse. In Venetia, 1540. (582. f. 1.)

At the head of the contents of this volume (which has no title-page,) are the initials E. P. possibly written by Prince Edward's hand. It has been rebound.

Iniunccions geven by the moste excellent Prince, Edwarde the VI. &c. *Colophon*, Imprinted at London, the laste daie of Julii, in the first yere of the reigne of our sovereigne lord Kyng Edward the VI. By Richard Grafton, printer to his moste royall maiestie. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. 4to. Black letter.—Bound with

Certayne Sermons, or Homilies, appoynted by the Kynges Maiestie to be declared and redde by all Persons, Vycars, or Curates, every Sōday in their Churches, where they have cure. Anno 1547. *Colophon*, Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Sunne, ouer agaynste the Conduyte, by Edwarde Whitchurche, the .xx. daye of of August, in the yeare of our Lorde 1547. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. Black letter. Re-bound. (697. f. 1.)

Tractatio de Sacramento Eucharistiæ, habita in celeberrima vniversitate Oxoniensi in Anglia, per D. petrvm martyrem vermilivm Florentinum, Regiam ibidem Theologiæ professorem, cum jam absoluisset interpretationem ii. capitis prioris epistolæ D. Pauli Apostoli ad Corinthios. Ad hec Disputatio de eodem Eucharistiae sacramento, in eadem Vniuersitate habita per eundem d. p. mar. anno domini m. d. xlix. *Londini, ad æneum serpentem.* Rebound. (474. b. 11.)

A tragoedie or Dialoge of the uniuste usurped primacie of the Bishop of Rome, and of all the iust abolishyng of the same, made by Master Barnardine Ochine, an Italian, and translated out of Latine into Englishe by Master John Ponet, Doctor of Diuinitie, never printed before in any language. Anno Do. 1549.

The Dedication is addressed to King Edward by the original author Bernardinus Ochinus Senensis.

"The parties that doe speake in thys dialoge are these—

i. Lucifer, and Beelzebub.
ii. Boniface the third, & Doctour Sapience secretary to the Emperour.
iii. The people of Rome. The Churche of Rome.
iiii. The Pope, and men's iudgement and the people of Rome.
v. Thomas Massuccius the master of the horse. Lepidus the pope's chamberlain
vi. Lucifer and Beelzebub.
vii. Christ and Michaell and Gabriell archangelis.
viii. King Henry the viii. and Papiste, and Thomas Archbishoppe of Canterbury.
ix. Kyng Edward the vi. and the Counseill."

It is bound in black leather; at the sides a rose, slipped, under a crown; at back roses and crowns alternate, and E. VI. R. It was originally tied with silk ribbons. (484 a. 15.)

Seconde apologie, contre les calomnies des Imperiaulx: sur les causes, & ouuerture de la guerre. At Paris, 1552. (592. c. 24.)

*In Octavo.*

An English Testament, in black letter, which has lost its title; the edition has not been ascertained, but it is of Tyndale's version. Modern binding. (C. 23. a. 7.)

Biblia Sacrosancta Testamenti Veteris et Novi, è sacra Hebræorum lingua Græcorumq' fontibus, consultis simul orthodoxis interpretibus, religiosissime translata in sermonem Latinum, *&c.* Tiguri, anno m. d. xlvii. (Printed by Christopher Froschover.)

This book is very beautifully bound in green velvet. On the sides are the arms of France and England quarterly within a garter and surmounted by a crown, stamped in gold upon grounds of blue and red silk. Circumscribed on one side in the margin, esto fidelis vsqve ad mortem et dabo tibi coronam vitæ. apoc. 2. On the other, fidem servavi qvod svperest reposita est mihi corona ivstitiae: 2 tim. 4.

The edges are gilt, and stamped with goffering: each with distinct devices. 1. On the upper edge, a rose, slipped, under a crown, between the letters E. R. and the motto diev est mon droict; surrounding which is this: dominvs lvx mea . et salvs mea qvem timebo. 2. In the fore-edge, a shield like that of the university of Oxford, viz. the open book of the Apocalypse, having seven seals, between three crowns; on the pages of the book, veritas liberabit bonitas regnabit. 3. At the lower edge, a portcullis beneath the initials E. R. round the margin in . principio . erat . verbv̄. et . verbv̄ . erat . apvd . dev̄. The back is now of leather, with crowns and roses, and E. VI. R. (C. 23. a. 9.)

In Joannis apostoli et evangelistæ Epistolam Canonicam, Homiliæ xxxvii. In ejusdem Apostoli posteriores Epistolas, Homiliarum Sylvæ. Authore Rodolpho Gualthero Tigurino Tiguri, apud Froschoverum, Anno m. d. liii.

Bound in leather, the sides curiously gilt with arabesque borders. On the front side Verbvm domini Manet in Æternvm. On the other the temptation of Adam and Eve in an oval. Back renewed, E. VI. R. Edges gilt and goffered, and originally tied with green ribbons. (689. a. 8.)

Homiliae in Evangelia, &c. per V. P. Joannem Hofmeisterum. Antverpiæ, 1549. (846. k. 9.)

PTOLEMEO. La Geografia di Claudio Ptolemeo Alessandrino, &c. In Venetia, per Gioã. Baptista Pedrezano, m. d. xlviii.

The woodcut border of the title-page is illuminated with gold and colours, and so is the portrait of Ptolemy on the next leaf. On a vellum fly-leaf inserted is a framed tablet containing the motto *Super Omnia vincit veritas*, all painted in gold. The edges of the volume are painted, the upper edge having the arms of France, the fore-edge the arms of France and England, and the lower edge the arms of Ireland, all accompanied by the

initials E. R. The covers are of leather, with on both sides the motto OMNIS POTESTAS A DEO. The back more recent, with crowns and roses and E. VI. R. (C. 20, a.) This was probably prepared for a New-year's gift to the King.

LES QUESTIONS TUSCULANES DE MARC TULLE CICERON: Nouuellement traduictes de Latin en Francoys, Par Estienne Dolet. A Lyon, chés Sulpice Sabon: pour Antoine Constantin. Without date.

Bound in leather: the sides beautifully tooled, having on one front the words THOMAE VVOTTONI", and on the other ET AMICORVM. The edges gilt. The back modern, and at its foot E. VI. R. (C. 19, b.)

LIBROS DE MARCO TULIO CICERON, en que tracta Delos Officios, Dela Amicicia, y Dela Senectud. Con la Economica de Xenophon, traduzidos de Latin en Romance Castellano, por Francisco Thamara catedratico en Cadiz. Anvers, s. d. (525. c. 26.)

PSALTERIUM, reliquaque sacrarum literarum Carmina & Precationes, cum argumentis et brevi difficiliorū locorum declaratione, Sebastione Castalione interprete. Cum gratia & privilegio Imperiali ad quinquennium, Basileæ. *Colophon*, Basileæ, ex officina Joannis Oporini, Anno M. D. XLVII. Mense Septembri. Rebound. (690 a. 10.)

M. ANTONII FLAMINII PARAPHRASIS IN TRIGINTA PSALMOS versibus conscripta. Ejusdē de rebus diuinis carmina. Lutetiæ, apud Carolum Stephanū, Typographū Regium, M. D. LII. Bound with

F. AMBROSII CATHARINI POLITI Senenis, &c. Claves duæ ad aperiendas intelligendas ue scripturas Sacras. Lugduni, 1543. Rebound. (690. a. 11.)

BASILII MAGNI ARCHIEPISCOPI CÆSAREENSIS HOMILIA IN SANCTAM CHRISTI: &c. Lovanij, 1537. Bound with

2. JOANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI HOMILIA IN DICTUM APOSTOLI, Modico vino vtere. Lovanii, 1536.

3. PLUTARCHI CHAERONEI de cohibenda iracundia dialogus.

4. PLUTARCHI CHAERONEI de tranquillitate et securitate animi lib.

5. PETRI MOSELLANI PÆDOLOGIÆ TRADUCTIO, Jodoco Velaræo authore, 1532.

They are all treatises in Greek. (846. k. 1.)

MONARCHIA DE NOSTRO SIGNOR JESU CHRISTO, di messer Gioan' Antonio Panthera Parentino, al Christianissimo re Francesco. In Vinegia, 1545. (851. b. 2.)

GIOVAN VIVES DE VALENZA DE L'UFFICIO DEL MARITO, come si debbe portare uerso la moglie. De l'istitutione de la Femina Christiana, uergine, maritata, ò uedoua. De lo ammaestrare i Fancivlli ne le arti liberali. Opera ueramente non pur diletteuole: ma ancho utilissima à ciascuna maniera di persone. In Vinegia, 1546. (851. b. 3.)

HISTORIE DI TUTTE LE COSE DEGNE DI MEMORIA, qual del anno .M.D.XXIIII. sino questo presente

sono occorse nella Italia, nella Prouenza, nella Franza, &c. &c. In Venetia, 1545. (582. a. 5.) By Marco Guazzo: see his quarto book, in p. cccxxvii.

Prediche di Bernardino Ochino da Siena. Two vols. (846. f. 8, 9.)

On the title-page is written, "Nunc ex lib. P. de Cardonnel 63," and on the next leaf *Di Andreà van Loo*. Yet on the back is the mark E. VI. R.

Descriptio brevissima priscae urbis Romae. Venetiis, 1544. Bound with

2. De antiquitatibus urbis Romae ab antiquis novisq; auctoribus exceptis et summa brevitate ordineq; dispositis per Lucium Faunum. Venetiis, 1549.

3. Cl. Marii Aretii Patritii Syracusani, Caes. majest. Historiographi, libri aliquot lectu non minus iucundi, quàm utiles. Basileæ, 1544. (575. a. 3.)

Descrittione dei luoghi antichi di Napoli, e del suo amenissimo distretto. Per Benedetto di Falco, Napolitano. In Napoli, 1549. Bound with

Commentarii di Gabriello Symeoni Fiorentino sopra alla Tetrarchia di Vinegia, di Milano, di Mantoua, et di Ferrara, al sereniss. principe di Vinegia. 1548. (574. a. 4.)

Calendarium Historicum conscriptum à Paulo Ebero Kitthengensi. Witenbergæ, 1550. (580. b. 3.)

Nova Methodus in præcipuos Scripturæ divinæ locos, autore Erasmo Sarceria. Basileæ, 1546. (1020. h. 1.)

De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi in Eucharistiæ sacramento, &c. Authores vetusti. Lovanii, 1551. (1020 c. 4.)

Hieronymi Cardani medici Mediolanensis De Subtilitate Libri xxi. Parisiis, 1551. On this title-page is the autograph of *Jo. Browne*. (536. d. 2.)

De Amplitudine Misericordiae Dei absolutissima Oratio, à Marsilio Andreasio Mantuano Italico sermone primùm conscripta, nunc in Latinum conversa, Cælio Horatio Curione, C.S.F. Interprete. Item, Sermones tres D. Bernardini Occhini, de Officio Christi, sui Principis, eodem interprete. Item, Sacræ Declamationes quinque. Ad sereniss. & clementiss. Angliæ Regem Edvardum VI. Proverb. 1. *Domini metus, caput est sapientiæ*. Basileæ. *Colophon*, Basileæ, ex officina Ioan. Oporini, Anno Salutis m.d.l. Mense Maio. pp. 224. The dedication to King Edward, which occupies seven pages, is dated Basileæ, Cal. Maij. m.d.l.

This book was sent to the King, with a letter from the editor's father, which is printed below.[a] The binding is English. It is of leather, tooled at the sides with a shield of

[a] Cælius S. C. Joanni Keko, equiti splendidissimo, Eduardi VI. Regis Angliæ præceptori, s.p.d. per Christum Jesum.

Cum scirem nullam amicitiam novam dici posse inter eos qui unum Deum, unum eundemque Christum, eodem animo et spiritu, atque eodem ritu colunt: non putavi me, cum ad te scribe-

France and England beneath a crown and between the letters E. R., and at the back with tools of a rose and a crown alternately. It has been tied with ribbons of red silk, and the edges are gilt. (1019. h. 1.)

Rabanus de Sacramento Eucharistiæ. Opus nunc primùm recèns editum, Ex bibliotheca Cuthberti Tunstalli episcopi Dunelmensis. Accessit ejusdem argumenti opusculum Bertrāni presbyteri. Coloniæ, 1551. (844. d. 5.)

L'Espee de la Foy, pour la Defense de l'Eglise Chrestienne, contre les ennemis de verité, extraicte de la saincte escripture, des saincts conciles, & des plus anciens peres & docteurs de l'Eglise. Paris, 1551. (850. d. 2.)

Dedicated "A tresexcellent et illustre seigneur Anne de Montmorancy, Conestable, Grandmaistre, & premier Baron de France," by Frere Nicole Grenier.

rem, Keke doctissime, ad novum amicum scribere. Nam si qui in una domo habitant sunt inter se consuetudine conjuncti: nos, qui non solum in una Dei domo sumus, sed etiam ejusdem Patris cœlestis filii (quæ bonitas ejus est), quibusque unus est animus, unum cor, una sententia, qui ejusdem corporis et capitis membra sumus, novi amici dici non possumus. Quæ res facit, ut ad te tanquam ad amicum veterem sine ulla dubitatione scribam: neque dubitem id à te per literas petere, quod mihi omnium est maximum maximèque necessarium.

Scripsimus in Philippicas Ciceronis Commentarios, qui cujusmodi sint, tu ipse pro tua singulari eruditione et candore judicabis. Hæc Regi vestro, qui literis istis elegantioribus à te excolitur, et ad omnes regias virtutes informatur, dicavimus. Mitto exemplaria bina, quorum alterum Regi per te tradi velim, alterum tibi muneri dono.

Alius liber minor, *de Amplitudine Misericordiæ Dei*, filii mei est, quæ etiam eadem opera Regi, nostro nomine, donari cupimus. Te igitur per istam tuam singularem cum pietate conjunctam eruditionem, etiam atque etiam oro, ut, Rege isto verè sancto nostro nomine reverenter salutato, munuscula hæc nostra eidem tradas: nosque officiosè quod potes commendes. Reliqua, quæ brevitas literarum non fert, a sapientiss. sene Bernardino Ocello cognoscis. Vale, et me tuum esse scito. Basileæ, Nonis Septembris. (Cælii Secundi Curionis Epistolarum Lib. i. p. 27.)

The larger book which was sent with the letter is no longer in the Royal Library; but, as it was dedicated to King Edward, the following notice of it is subjoined:—

M. Tullii Ciceronis Philippicæ Orationes xiiii. in M. Antonium a Cælio Secundo Curione post omnes omnium castigationes, diligentius emendatæ; *&c.* Basileæ, m.d.li., folio, pp. 326, besides the prefaces and index. *Colophon*, Basileæ, apud Hier. Frobenium et Nic. Episcopium, Anno m.d.li. The Dedication to King Edward, occupying four folio pages, is dated Basileæ, a Christi Servatoris natali m.d.li. Mense Septembri. With regard to his labours the editor tells the King, Nihil est quod tibi polliceor, nihil quod meos labores laudem. In manibus tuis sunt. Tu ipse, quo polles ingenii acumine, et bonarum eruditione literarum, judicabis: judicabit etiam vir judicio et sapientia singulari, Joannes Kekus, præceptor tuus; judicabunt et reliqui, ad quorum manus, tui saltem nominis apud omnes amabilissimi atque auspicatissimi causa, pervenient.

La Somme de Theologie, ov lievx commvns, revevz & augmentés de nouueau. Par Philippe Melanthon A Geneve, 1551. (849. e. 5.)

Le Livre de Iob: Traduit en poesie Fráncoise, selon la verité Hebraique, par Agnace d'Albiac Parisien. Au Roy d'Angleterre, Eduard, sixieme de ce nom. Psal. ii. Vous Rois, soyez sages & entenduz: Et vous qui iugez la terre, soyez bien instruitz: & seruez le Seigneur en crainte. De l'Imprimerie de Iean Gerard m. d. lii.

The first seven pages are occupied by a poetical *Epistre*, Au Roy vrayement Chrestien, Edvard, sixieme de ce nom, Salut. Binding modern. (690. a. 6.)

Supplicatorius Libellus pauperum et egentium nomine Henricho VIII. serenissimo regi &c. oblatus cōtra quotidianas religiosorum ibidem iniurias et impiā auariciam. Ex Anglico in latinum versus. m.d.xxx.—Bound with

2. Henrici Octavi regis &c. ad Carolum Cæsarem Augustum &c. Epistola. 1538.

3. A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Chrysten man, set forth by the Kynges maiestye of England, &c. 1534. (1019. g. 1.)

A declaration of the twelve articles of the christen faythe, &c. By D. Urbanum Regium. Imprinted per Gwalter Lynne by Richard Jugge. 1548 (bl. l.) (1019. e. 1.)

An oversight and deliberacion upon the holy Prophet Jonas: made and uttered before the Kynges maiestie and his most honourable councell, by John Hoper, in Lent last past. Comprehended in seuē Sermons. Anno m.d.l. Black letter. (Dedication to the King.) Rebound. (1016. b. 10.)

The true dyfferēs betwen y$^{e}$ regall power and the Ecclesiasticall power. Translated out of latyn by Henry lord Stafforde. (Dedicated to the duke of Somerset, Protector.) *Colophon*, Imprynted at London in the Fletestret, at y$^{e}$ signe of the Rose Garland, by Wyllyam Coplād. Cum gratia et privilegio ad imprimendum solū. 12mo. Black letter, folios C.vi.—Bound with

The ordre of the Hospital of S. Bartholomewes in Westsmythfielde, in London, 1552. Black letter. Rebound. (697. a. 16.)

On the title-page of the former is written, *Sum liber Edmūdj ford.* but the back is marked e. vi. r. with roses and crowns.

*In Duodecimo.*

Arte para servir a Dios, compuesta por fray Alonso de Madrid, &c. Anvers, 1551. (848. a. 4.)

*Manuscripts.*

Among the Royal Manuscripts are the following, which appear to have belonged to the library of King Edward the Sixth.

Latin Poems, by Nicolas Denisot. (12 A. VII.)

A book of the old octavo size, consisting of 34 vellum leaves. The sides of the pages are ruled with gold and silver lines; all the headings are written in gold, and the rest in a beautiful Italian hand. The contents consist of several poems:

1. Ad Librum, commencing—

Vade Liber gratas Edvardi Regis ad aures.

2. Acclamatio in funere Henrici octavi, Angliæ, Franciæ et Hyberniæ Regis invictissimi, Nicolao Denisoto, Gallo, authore. (fol. 3.) After eight hexameter lines, follows a long prose eulogy on the deceased King.

3. Ægloga quæ Amaryllis dicitur, super immatura morte Regis Henrici. (fol. 9.)

| | |
|---|---|
| Amyntas. | *Henricus rex.* |
| Amaryllis. | *Anglia.* |
| Iolas. | *Eduardus rex Henrici filius.* |
| Ariadna. | *Joanna Eduardi mater.* |

Nicolao Denisoto, Gallo, authore.

4. Henrici octavi, Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis invictiss. Epicedium. Nicolao Denisoto, Gallo, authore. (fol. 15.)

5. Oceani Britannici Plausus, super ingressu Edvardi VI. Angliæ, Franciæ et Hyberniæ Regis invictiss. Nicolao Denisoto, authore. (fol. 25.)

6. Temesus. Edvardus Sextus Rex salutatus. Nicolao Denisoto, Gallo, authore. (fol. 29.)

No date occurs in this volume. It has been rebound.

Nicolas Denisot, the writer of this production, was a native of Mans. He was resident in England as French master in the duke of Somerset's family, and it is owing to him that Ballard has commemorated among his learned ladies the duke's three elder daughters, the ladies Anne, Margaret, and Jane Seymour; Denisot having published at Paris in 1550 "Annæ, Margaritæ, Janæ, sororum virginum, heroidum Anglarum, in mortem Divæ Margaritæ Valesiæ, Navarrorum Reginæ, Hecatodistichon." 12mo. (1213. c. 30); and in the following year an enlarged edition of the same under this title: "Le Tombeau de Marguerite de Valois royne de Navarre. Faict premierement en Disticques Latins par les trois Sœurs Princesses en Angleterre. Depuis traduict en Grec, Italiē et François par plusieurs des excellentz Poëtes de la Frāce,"—one of whom was the celebrated Pierre de Ronsard, Vaudomois.

Denisot also published another poetical work, "Cantiques du premier Advenement de Jesu-Christ. Par Le Conte d'Alsinois. Paris. 1553." 8vo. pp. 112, printed with musical notes (je crois que la musique est de Marc-Antoine Muret. *MS. note in copy in Brit. Museum*). The dedication is headed, A ma demoiselle Antoinette de Loynes Parisienne, Nicolas Denisot, Conte d'Alsinois S. and dated De Paris le 17. December 1552. The title of *conte d'Alsinois* appears to have been one of his own assumption, being an anagram of *Nicolas Denisot*. "He died at Paris in 1559, aged 44; see Mainard, liv. 8,

No. 65," as stated in the MS. note before quoted, but according to the Biographie Universelle, in 1554. In the Nouvelle Biographie Generale (1855), vol. iii. p. 643, is a longer biography of him, in which it is stated that Calais was recovered by the French in 1558, from a plan which Denisot transmitted to the duc de Guise.

Petit recueil tresvtile et tresnecessaire, De l'estat dez Princes, Dez seigneurs temporelz, et du commun peuple, faict par pierre Du Ploych; dedié Au Roy trespuissant Eduard sixieme de ce nom. (16 E. XXXVII.)

A quarto MS. of 63 paper leaves, now bound with two other MSS.

The dedication commences:—

Au Roy trespuissant Eduard sixieme de ce nom, Pierre du Ploich en toute humilité.

Apres auoir faict imprimer et mis en lumiere certain petit traicté tant en la langue Francoise qu'en Engloise,[a] au proffit de la Jeunesse d'engleterre, Je deliberaye aussy, Sire, *&c.*

The MS. closes with some Latin verses, in which the writer styles himself Petrus de Ploich, legum licentiatus.

Petit recueil des hómaiges, honneurs et recognoissances deubz par les hommes à Dieu la createur, auec certaines prieres en la recognoissance de Roy mesme, compilé par Pierre du Ploych enseigneur de la langue Francoise, resident au College bernard en Oxford. (16 E. XXIII.) A quarto paper book of 29 leaves, rebound.

In a dedication to the King, the author acknowledges to have been "magnificquemēt remuneré l'an passé à cause de certain petit traicté touchant *l'estat dez princes*, lequel vous fust exhibé" (*i. e.* the preceding book).

Sermon by Hugh Latimer. Videte et cavete ab avaricia. *Luc* 12. (18 B. XX.) A folio MS. of 35 leaves only; recognised as having belonged to the King by the mark K. EDW. VI. on its present modern binding.

The sermon itself has been noticed in p. cxxxvi.

The Poesye of Princely Practise (17 D. III.), a quarto volume of 78 leaves of vellum.

It is a long poem of seven-line stanzas, without title-page, but the first leaf beginning with this Dedication:—

To the moste worthie and famouse Prince Edwarde Duke of Somerset, Earle of Herteforde, Vicounte Beaucham, Lorde Seymour, Vncle vnto owre moste dreade Soueraigne lorde Kynge Edwarde the Sexthe, Protectour also ouer his moste royale p.son, Realmes,

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[a] "A treatise in English and Frenche, right necessary and proffitable for al young children (the contentes whereof apere in a table in the end of this boke), made by Peter du Ploiche, teacher of the same, dwelling in Trinitie lane at the signe of the Rose." Quarto, without date, but printed in the reign of Edward VI. by Richard Grafton, and commencing with part of the Catechism according to the King's injunctions (and the same now in the Prayer-book), the Litanie as it is song in churches, and Prayers for the evening, with confession, all in English and French in parallel columns. (Brit. Mus. 626. c. 1.)

and Dominions: bee honour, healthe, and hyghe prosperite, with (after this lief) æternall fœlicite, So wissheth his daylie oratour, sir William Forreste,[a] preeiste.

At page 8 occurs this title:—

Here ensuithe A notable warke (called the Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise, composed of late in meatre royall) by the symple and vnlearned Williā forrest preeiste, muche parte collecte owte of A book entiteled, The gouernaunce of noblemen, which booke the wise philosopher Aristotele wrote too his discyple Alexandre, the great and mightie Conqueroure. 1548.

Then follows a poetical dedication to King Edward of fourteen stanzas, and the opposite page is occupied with a drawing in Indian ink, representing King Edward seated on his throne, and William Forrest (drawn a youthful man, though he is said to have studied at Oxford in 1530,) kneeling, presenting to him the book, after the approved fashion of authors of former generations.

The Narration of "Josaphat Barbaro, citezein of Venice, in twoo voyages, made th'one into Tana and th'other into Persia." Translated into English by William Thomas,[b] clerk of the council. (17 C. X.)

It is a paper book of 126 leaves, still in its original leather binding; the sides bearing the King's arms within an irradiated circle and other decorative tooling. It was originally tied with ribbons of red silk, and the edges are gilt. Prefixed is a letter of Thomas to the King, "beseeching yor highnes to accept this poore new yeres gifte, being the worke of myne owne handes:" but without a date.[c]

Ratio Legendæ Historiæ, per Petrum Olivarium Valentinum. (12 A. LIV.)

A quarto book of 33 paper leaves, on the last of which is written, Augustissimo ac felicissimo Regi Edvardo Petrus Olivarius scribebat. The handwriting is not particularly fair; it is upon red-ink lines, in a character resembling italic types, with many flourishes. The book has a plain cover of vellum, and is now bound with other MSS.

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[a] William Forrest was the author of several other works which exist in manuscript, and of which an account will be found in Warton's History of English Poetry, (edit. R. Taylor, 1840,) vol. iii. p. 257. See also Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (edit. Bliss). One of the most remarkable is "The Historye of Grysilde the second, dulie meanyng quene Catharine, mother to our most dread soveraigne Lady queene Mary," which was dedicated and presented to the queen in 1558, and is now among Anthony a Wood's MSS. in the Bodleian library. The second part of his History of Joseph (noticed in Sir F. Madden's Life of Queen Mary,) is among the Royal MSS. 18 C. XIII. and the first part of the same work is preserved in the library of University college, Oxford. Forrest became chaplain to Mary, after her accession to the throne.

[b] See pp. lxxxi. clxii. 258.

[c] This narration was printed in the original Italian by Aldus in 1543 and 1545; and it is in the collection of Ramusio, Raccolta delle Navigationi et Viaggi. A Latin translation of it, made by Jacobus Gruderus, is appended to the Rerum Persicarum Historia of Petrus Bizarus, fol. Francof. 1601, under the title of "Josephi Barbari, Patricii Veneti, Itineris, quod Reipub. suæ nomine ad Tanaim et in Persiam suscepit et perfecit, Descriptio."

The English Liturgy of 1552, translated into French by the King's French tutor, Jehan Bellemain. (20 A. XIV.)

A folio of 119 leaves, the edges gilt, but rebound. The prefatory letter to the King will give the best description of the contents. It appears to have been written at Syon house, on the 18th of April, 1553.

" Au Treshault, Trespuissant et Redouté Prince Edouard, sixieme de ce nom, par la grace de Dieu Roy d'Angleterre, France et Irlande, Defendeur de la Foy, et en terre apres Dieu chef principal des Eglises d'Angleterre et Irlande, Jan Bellemain, son tres humble serviteur, rend salut, et deuë obeissance.

" Ayant tousjours souvenance du devoir que doy à vostre Maiesté (Prince Tresexcellent) comme celuy qui voudroit continuellement s'occuper par quelque moyen faire chose qui vous pleust, bien sachant toutes choses vous plaire qui se font pour l'avancement de la gloire de Dieu et à l'edification de la Republique Chrestienne, je me suis mis à traduire ce livre du service de l'Eglise et droit usage des Sacremens dont on use en voz royaumes, pais et seigneuries. Que pleust à Dieu que tous ceux qui font profession de la Religion chrestienne et en cherchent la verité, et ceux qui y contredisent (quelque part qu'ilz soient) en eussent chacun un pareil entre mains, en langage tel que bien entendissent, et y prinssent goust; car il estouperoit la bouche à plusieurs mesdisans, et aux autres serviroit d'une lumiere tresclaire, les faisant voir les grans abus, ou plusieurs d'eux ont long temps esté, et sont encor empestréz sans en povoir sortir (combien qu'ilz le vousissent bien s'ilz scavoient par ou), car il leur monstreroit le chemin pour s'en retirer, et finalement comme ilz se doivent gouverner puis apres; et par ce moyen auroient plus grand contentement d'esprit qu'ilz n'ont à present, sans scrupule d'observer aucunes vaines cerimonies qui tant touche leurs consciences, et ne seroient pas si enclins à rapines, murdres, pilleries, et autres meschancetez qu'ilz sont, mais se conformeroient à paix, equité, et toute honnesteté. Or, si ce livre eust esté quelque histoire prophane, j'y eusse plus hardiment ajousté ou diminué (comme beaucoup font) aucuns motz ou sentences pour decorer l'œuvre et orner le langage; mais j'ay mieux aymé le traduire fidelement, et quasi mot pour mot, suivant tousjours au plus pres qu'ay peu l'intention de ceux qui l'ont mis en lumiere, que pensant complaire à quelques aureilles chatouilleuses, l'aliener de son naturel, qui suivant la maniere de parler des saintes escritures veult estre entendu des petis aussi bien que des grans: car il est ordonné pour l'instruction d'un chacun, tant pour les simples que pour les sçavans, affin d'estre entendu de tous, et à l'edification d'un chacun. Esperant que vostre Maiesté me pardon'ra, s'il n'est si bien escrit qu' eusse bien peu, mais le grand desir que j' auoye que plustost vint entre les mains de vostre hautesse, a fait qu'ay plus prins garde a le traduire qu'a l'escrire. Bien sachant, encor qu'il le fust pis qu'il n'est, que votre Maiesté le pourra lire, et suppleer les fautes s'aucunes en a. Et quant aux Epistres, Evangiles, et Psalmes, je ne les ay autrement traduitz qu'ils sont desja selon la Bible dernierement imprimée à Geneve: ne les ayant aussy escritz pour la plus part, mais seulement noté les chapitres ou on les trouvera et jusqu' ou on les doit lire, et ce pour eviter diversité de translations. Je n'ay pareillement eu esgard, affin d'alonger mon Epistre, de produire aucunes histoires pour recommender cest œuvre qui est de soymesme si parfait, et seurement edifié (comme ayant fait son

fondement sur les saintes escritures seulement) qu'il n'a que faire d'autre recommendation que de celle mesme dont il est extrait: ne de faveur ou aucune protection que de la Roche surquoy est edifié, laquelle ne pœut estre ruinée par police humaine, ains est pardurable, ainsi que celuy qui en est autheur est eternel. Ayant donc si seure defense, les detracteurs n'y pourront mordre, et, comme dit est, clorra la bouche à plusieurs qui pensent qu'en cestuy vostre royaume n'y a aucune Religion, mais au contraire (si ce n'est que par trop soient opiniastres, ne voulans ouyir ne congnoistre verité,) ilz voirront clairement que ceste Religion approche à plus pres qu'il est possible de celle que Dieu mesme institua en son Testament de derniere voulonté, entant qu'elle sert beaucoup plus à l'edification d'un chacun et à vraye intelligence de sa sainte parolle, qu'elle ne fait à externes cerimonies, et vaine superstition. Et ne me suis aussy amusé a reciter (comme à chose ou ne scaurois attendre) les louanges de vostre Majesté tant affectée non seulement en cest œuvre mais en toutes choses qui peuent dilater la vraye Religion chrestienne, ayant aussy tant à cueur le salut de tous voz loyaux subjetz, car je suis tres-certain que la chose (d'elle mesme si sainte) n'a que faire d'autre louange que de l'effect qui s'en ensuivra: pour la continuance et prosperité duquel priray Dieu le createur preserver un tel sien roy et loyal ministre en parfaite santé et vie treslongue, tellement que de jour en autre par son ministere sa gloire en soit plus eslargie et divulguée par tout le monde à l'edification et salut de tous vrays chrestiens. De vostre hostel de ceans ce dixhuitiesme jour d'Avril, 1553."

There is another manuscript of Bellemain in the Royal collection (16 E. I.) It is a translation into French of the epistle of Basil the great to St. Gregory upon Solitary Life, and is dedicated to the lady Elizabeth,—"A tresnoble et tresillustre Dame ma Dame Elyzabeth, Jan Bellemain desire paix et felicité perpetuelle." The whole consists of only eighteen small leaves; and five are occupied by the dedication, which includes some remarks upon a new style of French orthography then promoted by some writers, but not approved by Bellemain. No date is attached. This is a better specimen of Bellemain's penmanship than his translation of the liturgy, which was finished in haste, whilst the King was ill. The edges are gilt; but it is now bound with other MSS.

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Among the Royal MSS. (17 A. XXIV.) in the British Museum, is a volume stated in Casley's Catalogue to contain "Sentences collected for King Edward VI." and accordingly so lettered by the binder: but his name does not occur withinside. Its title is "A fewe witty sayinges collected out of divers authors, worthy to be parused by so worthy a Prince;" and the handwriting appears to be of the time of James the First. On the fly-leaf is written, (by Henry Prince of Wales ?) "This Booke my Lord Lumley gave me."

An English translation, in manuscript, of the once popular treatise by PALEARIO, ON THE BENEFIT OF CHRIST'S DEATH, bears evidence of having passed through the hands of King Edward. It is a very small volume, measuring $2\frac{3}{8}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and consisting of ninety-two leaves, each bordered on three (or sometimes on four) sides with two straight lines of gold having a silver line between them, and the initial letters of the chapters are inclosed in a square field of bright blue, ornamented with gold sprigs. The title-page, which is wholly written in gold, in a character resembling Roman type, is as follows:—

A TREATICE
most proffitable of
the benefitte that true
chfistianes recey
ue by the de
the of
IESVS CHRISTE
1548.

And the dedication—"To the right vertuous Lady and gratious Princes Anne Duches of Somerset Edwarde Courtney the sorrowfull captiue wissheth all honour and felicite," shows it to have been presented to the wife of the Protector by the earl of Devonshire when prisoner in the Tower. The duchess appears to have lent this little volume to the King for his perusal; and he has written in the same page as the dedication these three lines:—

*Faith is dede if it*
*be without workes.*
*Your louing neueu* EDWARD.

And afterwards, on the ninety-second leaf:—

*Live to die and die*
*to liue again.*
*Your neueu*
EDWARD.

A fac-simile of the latter of these inscriptions is given in the frontispiece of the edition of "The Benefit of Christ's Death," by Churchill Babington, B.D. 1855. The MS. book was first noticed by the Rev. Dr. Maitland and Mr. Russell in the British Magazine for 1840, pp. 256–260, 668, 669; about which time it was presented to the university of Cambridge by the Rev. R. W. Johnson, of Packwood, in Warwickshire, in which county it had been preserved by an old family. The whole of its contents are printed in Mr. Babington's book.

*Books dedicated to King Edward.*

The following books are dedicated to King Edward, and copies were of course presented to him; but they have been removed from the Royal Library to that of sir Thomas Bodley (to which King James the First contributed) or elsewhere:—

A Godly Inuectiue in the Defence of the Gospell against such as murmure and woorke that thei can that the Bible shoulde not have free passage. Printed by Richard Grafton, 1547. 8vo.

The preface is signed, by Your Maiesties faithful and humble servant Philippe Gerrard, grome of the Chambre unto your grace. (Herbert's Ames, p. 523.)

Catechismus, That is to say a shorte Instruction into Christian Religion, for the synguler commoditie and profite of children and yong people. Set forth by the moste reverende father in God Thomas Archbyshop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitane. *Gualterus Lynne exeudebat.* 1548.

The dedication to the King is signed "Youre Graces humble subiecte and Chapleyne Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury." Opposite to it is a beautiful woodcut of the King presenting the Bible to the lords spiritual and temporal, noticed hereafter in the list of Portraits (historical pictures).

D. Ioannis Aepini liber de Purgatorio, Satisfactionibus, &c. &c. Londini, Anno 1549. 4to.

The Dedication occupies seventeen leaves.[a] It is addressed—"Serenissimo invictissimoque Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hyberniæ Regi, Eduuardo VI., Fidei Defensori, Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hybernicæ Capiti sub Christo in terris supremo, Domino suo clementissimo, Ioannes Aepinus, Ecclesiæ Christi apud Hamburgenses minister, S.D." Some passages relating to the entertainment of refugees for religion in England, and upon the King's title of Defender of the Faith, are remarkable:—"Magna laude digni sunt, qui hostem a finibus suis depellunt, avitum regnum tuentur, pacem, quâ nihil pulchrius, utilius et amabilius, suis subditis conservant, et Reip. commodis fideliter consulunt: Sed laude digniores sunt illi Reges et Principes, qui infœlicibus hisce sæculis, in quibus ceu effractis repagulis et abruptis habenis tartarea potestas cum suis satellitibus, nullis non artibus et dolis, omnique crudelitatis genere adversus desertam et afflictam Ecclesiam grassatur, Ecclesiæ adversus suos hostes opem ferunt, et eam liberant ab horrendis et exitiosis erroribus et infinita Romanensium tyrannide, Evangelicæ veritati hospitium præbent, et propter Evangelium Christi exulantes suis sedibus exceptos fovent ac recreant. Hoc pietatis officio et Ecclesiæ patrocinio R. T. M. tribus præcipuè nominibus meretur. Primo quòd Regis facit officium erga subditos, deinde quòd Defensoris Fidei munus exequatur, postremo quòd Iesu Christo fidem præstet, quam ei baptismo consecratam dedit. Nec hic aliter agendum fuit T. M. quod non modo Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hyberniæ Rex sit, sed etiam Fidei Ecclesiæque Defensor, quo titulo R. T. M. admonetur, ut non

[a] John Huck, who assumed the Latin name of Æpinus, was in 1536 an envoy from the city of Hamburgh to King Henry VIII. upon matters of religion.

solum rationem habeat politici sui Regni, sed ut etiam Ecclesiam Anglicanam et Hybernicam pravis doctrinis et opinionibus repurget, errores excludat, impios et perniciosos abusus tollet, sanam doctrinam Ecclesiis commendet, scholas aperiat, piè eruditos in scholis et ecclesiis ad ædificationem Christiani cœtus alat, rectam Sacramentorum administrationem in Ecclesiam revocet, Ecclesiam denique ad regulam verbi Dei reformatam sic constituat, ut neque nunc neque in futurum unquam Romanis artibus ea rursus corrumpi, dissolvi, aut labefactari queat. Hæc enim sola est via excludendi Pontificias fraudes et insidias."

THE UNION of the two noble and illustrate famelies of Lancastre and Yorke, &c. (HALL'S CHRONICLE.) 1548. Folio.

Dedicated to the King by Edward Halle. On the title-page is Grafton's cut of King Edward in council. (See the list of Portraits hereafter.)

A CONCORDANCE, that is to saie, a worke wherein by the ordre of the letters of the A. B. C. ye maie redely finde any worde conteigned in the whole Bible, so often as it is there expressed or mencioned. [By John Marbecke.] Printed by Richard Grafton. 1550. folio.

The title is within an engraved border, the upper part of which represents the King sitting in council. At the end of the book is printed Grafton's larger cut of Henry the Eighth sitting in council (drawn by Holbein).

It is dedicated to the King by John Marbeke, who describes himself as "suche a one as in maner never tasted the swetnes of learned letters, but altogether brought up in your highnes College at Wyndsore, in the study of Musike and pleiyng on Organs, wherin I consumed vainly the greatest part of my life." He further states that he was condemned to death for copying out Calvin's work against the Six Articles, but pardoned by King Henry. Foxe, in his Actes and Monumentes, has related at length the troubles of Marbecke in 1543, and in his first edition stated that he was then burned with others at Windsor, which was subsequently found to be a mistake. See memoirs of Marbecke in Wood's Fasti Oxon. edit. Bliss, i. 130. In 1550 he published "The Booke of Common praier noted." 4to. to which he signed his name John Marbecke. This was reprinted for William Pickering, 1844.

THE THRE BOKES OF CHRONICLES, whyche John Carion (a man syngularly well sene in the mathematycall sciences) gathered wyth great diligence of the beste authours that have written in Hebrue, Greke, or Latine. Wherunto is added an Appendix, conteyning all such notable thynges as be mentyoned in Cronicles to have chaunced in sundry partes of the worlde from the yeare of Christ 1532 to thys present yeare of 1550. Gathered by John Funcke of Nuremborough. Whych was never afore prynted in Englysh. 1550. 4to.

Dedicated to the King by the printer, Gwalter Lynne.

THE RULE OF REASON, Conteining the ARTE OF LOGIQUE. Set forth in English and newely corrected by Thomas Wilson. 8vo. *Colophon*, Imprinted at London by Richard Grafton, Printer to the Kynges Maiestie, Anno M.D.L.II

Another edition in quarto, Anno Domini M.D.L.III. Mense Januarii.

The dedicatory epistle to the King occupies more than ten pages: in one place the author says, "I knowe your grace for your owne study litle nedeth any helpe of suche an Englyshe treatise, beyng so wel traveiled both in the Greke and in the Latin for the same purpose, throughe the helpe of those right worthie men Sir Jhon Cheke and Sir Anthony Cooke, your Majesties teachers and Schole maistres in all good literature."

Uniform with the quarto edition, and at the same time, was printed Sir Thomas Wilson's ARTE OF RHETORIQUE, which was dedicated to "John Dudley, Lord Lisle, Erle of Warwike, and maister of the horse to the Kynges majestie," the eldest son of the duke of Northumberland. The copy of this is in the British Museum (75, a. 20.) belonged to George Steevens, esq. "Given to me by Mr. Samuel Johnson 1756. G. S."

COMPENDIOSA TOTIUS ANATOMIE DELINEATIO, ære exarata: per Thomam Geminum. Londini, 1553. folio.

An English dedication to the King is followed by an address, "To the ientill readers and Surgeons of Englande, Nicolas Udall in the Lorde gretyng," dated "at Windesore, the xx of July, 1552."

The title-page is very beautifully designed. In the centre is the King's arms, and in its borders are female figures of Victoria, Justicia, Prudentia, with angels bearing the badges of the portcullis and rose, &c. The same had been prefixed to the author's former work on the Anatomy of Man, of which the dedication to Henry VIII. is signed, "Tuæ Maiestati semper mancipatissimus Thomas Geminus, Lysiensis. Londini, Quarto Calendas Octobres, Anno 1545." The copy of this which belonged to King Henry has the title-page partly emblazoned. (Brit. Mus. 544, l. 3.) According to Ames (edit. Herbert, p. 872) a portrait of King Edward was afterwards substituted for the royal arms, and that in 1559 was altered to the head of Queen Elizabeth.

These works are remarkable for the earliest copper-plate prints published in this country. Geminus was one of the surgeons of King Edward's establishment, with an quarterly fee of fifty shillings. (MS. Trevelyan.)

DE OFFICIO ET POTESTATE PRINCIPIS in Republica bene ac sancte gerenda, libri duo: Jacobo Omphalio Andernacensi Jureconsulto autore. *Colophon*, Basileæ, ex officina Joannis Oporini, anno salutis humanæ M.D.L. Mense Septembri. folio.

DE USURPATIONE LEGUM, et eorum studiis qui Jurisprudentiæ professionem sibi sumunt: Jacobo Omphalio Andernacensi autore. *Colophon*, Basileæ, ex officina Joannis Oporini, anno salutis humanæ M.D.L. Mense . . . . . ? folio.

The latter has a long dedication to King Edward the Sixth, dated *Coloniæ Agrippinæ, Calend. Julii Anno* M.D.C.XLIX., in which occurs the following passage relative to his instruction by Cheke,—tum verò Regiæ T. M. adeoque Reipublicæ vehementer gratulor, quòd divino ingenio vir admirabili ac multiplici doctrinâ, pietate verò singulari præditus, Johannes Chekus, magnâ animi contentione in hanc diligentiam incumbit, ut quarum rerum gloriâ ac laude Reipublicæ dignitas constituitur, quibus eæ artibus comparentur,

earum studiis M. T. indolem informet, ad omnemque modestiam ac pietatem sic erudiat, ut magna spes omnes nos, qui veræ virtutis sensu commovemur, teneat, futurum aliquando diem, quo illud abundantis ingenii flumen in optimarum artium campum excurret, et ea quæ vel egregie inchoata, vel expectationem aliquam majorem excitant, in lucem ac splendorem Reipublicæ benè ac sanctè gerendæ proferet.

Omphalius was sent into England, in the autumn of 1551, as agent of Herman archbishop and elector of Cologne, then deprived by the pope and emperor; see Strype, Eccles. Memorials, ii. 269.

Biblia, Interprete Sebastiano Castalione, unà cum ejusdem Annotationibus. *Colophon*, Basileæ, per Jacobum Parcum, sumptibus Joannis Oporini. Anno salutis humanæ M.D.LI Mense Martio. folio.

Dedication, Sebastianus Castalio Eduardo Sexto Angliæ Regi clariss. Salutem. Castalio's friends had persuaded him to dedicate the book to King Edward:—

"Primum, quòd dicerent, nulli convenientius sacras literas offerri posse, quàm ei, cujus regni asylum esset eis qui propter sacrarum literarum studium atque defensionem vexarentur. Deinde, quòd tu nuper hanc eandem transferendi libros sacros provinciam hominibus doctis mandavisses, sed unius obitu impeditus fuisses. Postremò, quod præter cæteras disciplinas atque linguas, etiam latinitatis, vel in primis (cujus nos hic nonnullam rationem habuimus) studiosus esses, et ad eam rem magistrum eruditum haberes. Basileæ, Mense Februario 1551."

The person to whose death this passage alludes was probably Martin Bucer.

The Newe Testament. Printed by R. Jugge. London, 1552. 4to.

Dedicated to the King by Rycharde Jugge: who states that the work had been performed with great diligence, "accordyng to the streyghte charge and commaundemente that I receaved of youre highnesse in that behalfe."

Institutio Compendiaria totius Grammaticae, 1540. 4to.

The rest of this title will be seen in the Preface, at p. xx*a*, where a copy in the library at Lambeth is noticed. There is another copy in the British Museum (C. 21. b.), which is also on vellum, and illuminated. It forms part of a volume which is evidently the same which was described by Ames in his Typographical Antiquities, 1st edit. 1749, p. 173, being then in the possession of Henry Newcome, M.A. of Hackney. Ames (followed by Lowndes and Watt, *voce* Lily, but Lily died in 1523,) states the date to be M.D.XLII., but the figures II. are added by a pen, apparently because that is the date of another book with which it is bound, of which the title is as follows:—

An Introduction of the Eyght Partes of Speche, and the Construction of the same, compiled and sette forthe by the commaũdement of our most gracious soverayne lorde the King. Anno M.D.XLII. (Also printed by Berthelet, 38 leaves, unpaged.)

The same volume commences with four leaves, containing the Alphabet, Lord's prayer, Creed, and ten commandments, &c. The whole is printed on vellum, and illuminated, and may very probably have been prepared for the King's own use. It once belonged to Art. Maynwaringe, and in 1789 to Dr. Cæsar de Missy.

# XV.

## PORTRAITS OF EDWARD THE SIXTH.

*In effigiem Eadueardi principis incomparabilis.*

Intentis quoties oculis vultumque coloremque
Aspicio lætum, dive Edoarde, tuum:
Expressam toties videor mihi cernere formam
Magnanimi patris quo nitet ore tui.

*Lelandi Encomia Illustrium Virorum, p.* 96.

Nearly all the portraits of Edward the Sixth are attributed to Holbein, who was resident in England at the time of the King's birth, and is generally supposed to have remained in this country throughout Edward's life.

A picture of the Prince's grace was the new-year's gift of Hans Holbein to the King in 30 Hen. VIII. (1538-9), and he received in return a gilt creuse and cover, weighing x oz. ij dwt. (Roll of New-year's Gifts, exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in 1736 by John Holmes, esq. cited in Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting.)

In a letter of sir John Wallop to the earl of Essex, from Bruxelles the 18th April, 1540, after describing an interview with the queen of Navarre (Margaret sister of Francis I.), he says that on parting there was "one thing she wold requier of the Kinges majestie, that yt wold not onely please his Grace to send his owne picture in a lyttyll rownde tablet, but also the Quenes, my lord Prynse, my lady Mary's, and my lady Elyzabethe, whiche she wold receyve and exsteme for a precyeuse present."

From Paris the 27th of October the same writer tells the King, that the queen had prayed "my secretary to put me in remembrance for the having your Majestis picture, with the Quenes grace, my lord Prince, my lady Mary and lady Elizabeth your dawghters, for the whiche I have heretofore writon to my lord of Norfolk to speke to your Highnes therein."

A third time, writing to the King from Melun on the 1st of December, the request of this persevering lady is repeated: "Who at this time and all other hathe ben in hande with my said secretary to remembre me to write unto your Majestie for your picture, the Quenes grace's, my lord Prince, with your twoo dawghters. And yf it please not your Highnes to send the same, then to knowe your pleasure howe I shal satisfye hur grace for that purpose, she sayng to my said secretary at this tyme by these wordes, 'Par ma foy, et sy je nay paz mez portraites, je tenseray bien mons$^{r}$ ambassadour le premyer foiez que je luy vieoiz.'" (State Papers, vol. viii. pp. 322, 462, 494.)

Among the furniture at Westminster in the charge of sir Anthony Denny, keeper of the house, in 1 Edw. VI. were, "a table with the picture of the Kynges maiestie," "another table with the whole stature of the Kynges majestie in a gowne like crymsen satten furred with lusernes." At Greenwich, in the Kynges withdrawing chamber, was "a table with the Kinges picture and other pictures." At Hampton court, in the long gallery, "a picture of my lord prince"—probably meaning King Edward. (MS. Harl. 1419.)

In an audience given by king Henry II. to sir William Pickering in Oct. 1551, "He told me of a picture of the King his good brother's that mons. Jarnac brought with him out of England, and said that it was very excellent, and yet that the natural, as he was persuaded, much exceeded the artificial." (Tytler's Edward VI. and Mary, ii. 90.)

It is remarkable how entirely destitute we are of written evidence of Holbein's continuance in this country after Edward's accession to the throne. Still, his works must be considered the best evidence of his presence,—that is, so far as they can be proved to be his.

The artists mentioned in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber (MS. Trevelyan) at the beginning of the reign are,—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Anthony Toto, serjeant painter . . | vj li. v s. | quarterly | wages. |
| Bartilmew Penn, painter . . . | vj li. v s. | „ | „ |
| maistres Levyn Terling, paintrix . . | ix li | „ | „ |
| Richard Atzile, graver of stones . . | C s. | „ | „ |

The first of these persons was made a denizen by letters patent dated the 26 June 30 Hen. VIII. (1538), in which he is stated to have been born in the city of Florence. (Rymer, xiv. 595.) Walpole and Felibien identify him with Toto del Nuntiato, and Bartilmew Penn with Luca Penni, Romano: but for such identification, in spite of the difference of names, they cite no sufficient authority. Toto and Penn received the same salary as that above stated in 22 Hen. VIII. (Trevelyan Papers, i. 170.)

Towards the end of Edward's reign Gilliam Strettes, Dutchman, was the King's painter, with an annuity of lxij li. x s. (MS. Soc. Antiq. 209.) His portrait of King Edward will be noticed hereafter.

At King Edward's funeral, in 1553, we find among the allowances of black cloth to the mourners: to

| | |
|---|---|
| Modena, maker of the Kinges picture . . | 4 yardes. |
| Anthony Toto, serjeant painter . . . | 7 yardes & 3 for a servant. |
| Nicholas Lyzarde, painter . . . . | 4 yardes. |
| Nicholas Modena, kerver . . . . | 4 yardes. |

(Archæologia, vol. xii. pp. 381, 391.)

It is very remarkable that in none of these records is the name of Hans Holbein to be found.

The following list of King Edward's Portraits is necessarily imperfect; but it is an attempt, somewhat beyond any that has been hitherto made in similar catalogues, to identify original pictures, and to place mere copies in a minor rank, under the parent source from which they are derived.

I. As an infant, front face.

1. Holbein's original sketch for this his first picture of the Prince is in the collection of his drawings at Windsor Castle: it is the child's head only, in a plain cap. From this there are

*Engravings*, 1. by R. Dalton, quarto.
2. by F. Bartolozzi, 1797, folio, in Chamberlain's "Imitations of Holbein's Drawings."
3. by Cooper, quarto.

2. In the finished picture (which was Holbein's new-year's gift to the King in 1538-9) the child is represented at half-length, with a rattle in his hand. He is richly dressed in crimson velvet faced with gold and in full sleeves of cloth of gold. His hat, covering a close-fitting white skullcap, is of crimson velvet covered with gold ornaments, and having a handsome ostrich feather drooping to the right. "Of very naive and natural conception, and especially careful in execution. The little hands are incomparable." (Waagen, Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain, 1857, p. 67.) This painting was formerly in the Arundel collection at Stafford house, where it was sold in 1720: subsequently in Sir Richard Worsley's gallery at Apuldercombe in the Isle of Wight; and now at the Earl of Yarborough's in Arlington-street. Under it are the following verses:

Parvule patrissa, patriæ virtutis et hæres
Esto, nihil majus maximus orbis habet.
Gnatum[a] vix possunt coelum et natura dedisse
Huius quem patris victus honoret honos.
Æquato tantum tanti tu facta parentis,
Vota hominum vix quo progrediantur habent.
Vincito, vicisti, quot reges priscus adorat
Orbis, nec te qui vincere possit erit.
RICARDI MORYSINI CARMEN.

Of this picture there is a fine *Print*, the reverse way, by Hollar, inscribed "Wenceslaus Hollar fecit, ex Collectione Arundeliana, A° 1650," with sir Richard Morysine's verses.

The head is copied by J. Thane in a circle.

[a] Printed GRATVM in Hollar's etching.

3. A duplicate is now at Herrnhausen, the palace of the King of Hanover: "a most beautiful picture." (Waagen, Treasures of Art in Great Britain, 1854, ii. 448.)

II. At Syon House, Middlesex, the Duke of Northumberland's.

In this picture the Prince appears to be about two years of age. It is whole length: and he stands on a green carpet, in a red dress trimmed with gold lace, the sleeves of cloth of gold. "In delicacy of feeling for nature, great transparency of colour, and careful carrying out, this is one of the finest portraits by Holbein of this prince that I know. It is here attributed to Mabuse, who died, however, in 1532, five years before the birth of Edward VI. (Waagen, Supplemental volume, 1857, p. 269.) This picture is also inscribed with sir Richard Morysine's verses as already given. It has never been engraved.

III. As a boy, front face, perhaps about seven: in a plain dress to his waist, reddish hair, and a flat cap feathered.

1. Of this also Holbein's original drawing is in the portfolio at Windsor. There are

*Engravings*, 1. by R. Dalton.
2. by F. Bartolozzi.
3. by Cooper (as before).

2. The painting made from this drawing is probably that now at Burghley House, co. Lincoln, the marquess of Exeter's. "King Edward VI. at the age of seven or eight years, by Holbein. The head and hands are painted in a peculiarly reddish local tone of the flesh, with grey shadows." (Waagen, 1854, iii. 407.)

3. At Wimpole, co. Cambridge, the earl of Hardwicke's, is one of "age of 8," on panel.

IV. At the age of nine, a picture at Christ's Hospital, London, inscribed on the frame: "EDWARDUS WALLIÆ PRINCEPS ANNO ÆTATIS SUE 9. Formerly the property of sir Anthony Mildmay chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth." It was the gift in 1837 of Thomas Nixson, esq. a Governor educated at the Hospital; and who purchased it about seven years before from Miss Judith Walker. It is on panel 20 inc. by 16. A half-length, front face, in a red dress, with high collar, ornamented with perpendicular lines of gold cord. A black cap, having a cameo and jewellery, and a feather falling to the right. The hair cut round in a very straight line. His right hand holding the handle of his dagger, the left with thumb in his girdle.

V. In profile, to below the left shoulder: his cap to the right (away from the spectator), and its feather falling over in front.

A third drawing in Holbein's portfolio at Windsor. It was not improbably made upon Edward's accession to the throne in the year 1547 for the coinage. There are

*Engravings*, 1. by R. Dalton.

*Engravings*, 2. by F. Bartolozzi.

3. by Cooper (as before).

This probably is the original of the Pictures—

1. At Wilton, the earl of Pembroke's, in which Edward is painted to the knees, with left hand in front, holding a pink: a coat of black velvet, slashed, and furred. It is on panel, about 15 inc. high by 12 wide; and is inscribed "E. VI. R." and "HANS HOLBEEN P." Walpole says of it: "I even question whether the profile of Edward VI. there (at Wilton) be an original;" and Waagen, "Though so much decayed that no opinion can be formed of it, it seems very doubtful whether it ever was an original by Holbein." (Art Treasures of Great Britain, 1854, iii. 152.)

2., &c. Any others of the King in profile.

VI. At Petworth, Sussex, Colonel Wyndham's.

This picture has the date 1547, the year of Edward's accession. It is three-quarters length, showing the Garter below the left knee. The King stands before a throne, and the dorser of its canopy is superbly worked with the royal arms. In the background is a landscape, of a park with deer, and buildings with spires. The King's attitude distinguishes this picture from others, as he rests the left hand by placing his thumb within his girdle; in the right he holds his dagger, attached to which is a large blue tassel. His loose gown is of crimson velvet, furred at the edges, with tabards or hanging sleeves, answering to the description of the surcoats mentioned in p. cccix. His jerkin or doublet is of white silk, worked with gold, and his sleeves, coming forth from the sleeves of the gown, are richly worked, slashed and puffed. Over the gown he wears his richest collar of jewellery;[a] and on his breast a smaller jewelled chain, with a pendant supported by naked figures, then usually termed antiques. His cap is of black velvet, ornamented with jewellery, and a white feather falling to the left in front. Waagen describes this picture as "of pale local flesh-tones and greyish shadows, as in all Holbein's portraits of this King; but delicately modelled." (Art Treasures, 1854, iii. 36.)

Mr. Dallaway remarked of this picture, and one of Henry VIII. also at Petworth, that they were probably brought thither by the duke of Somerset, who had inherited them from his ancestor the Protector. (History of the Rape of Arundel, p. 283.)

*Copy* in the Court-room at Christ's Hospital: but with a curtain in the background instead of the throne.

*Engravings:* 1. By R. White (about 1680,) for Richard Chiswell, folio. (Burnet's History of the Reformation.)

2. By J. C. Böcklin, folio (copied from White's).

[a] This collar, which was commonly called the inestimable collar of rubies, was sold for Charles I. in the time of the civil wars, by the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Holland. (Granger, in Biog. History of England, when noticing the print of Henry VIII. in Houbraken's Heads.)

*Engravings:* 3. By R. Sheppard, folio. Dedicated by J. Mechell to Sir Francis Child, Lord Mayor 1732, and President of Christ's Hospital.

4. By J. G. Walker, small folio, 1799 (carefully copied from the Christ's Hospital picture), dedicated to James Palmer, esq. Treasurer, and the Governors of Christ's Hospital, and the Gentlemen of the Amicable Society of Blues.

5. By J. Jenkins, in octavo, a neat copy of the same.

6. By T. A. Dean, in folio, 1825 (from the Petworth picture,) for Lodge's Portraits of Illustrious Personages of Great Britain.

7. By T. A. Dean, 1827, for the octavo edition of the same work.

8, &c. Those by Pass, and others mentioned in the list of Engravings hereafter, are derived from the same original.

VII. At Windsor Castle.

With a black cap, yellow patterned coat, and ermine; in front, to the knees. The background is formed of architecture in the taste of the Renaissance, with a flowered curtain, and openings between, through which a landscape is seen. In a circular compartment upon the architecture is Curtius on horseback, about to plunge into the gulf, inscribed CURTIUS ROMANUS. "Edward VI. is here represented (remarks Dr. Waagen) at about the age of fifteen; the date is therefore about 1552, within two years before Holbein's death, and consequently an indubitable specimen of his latter manner. The flesh-tones are of a palish yellow, the shadow of a light local grey tint, very tender, and of masterly modelling; the hands very delicately drawn, and every other portion most solidly carried out." (Treasures of Art in Great Britain, 1854, ii. 431.)

2. A copy at Newnham Padox, the Earl of Denbigh's.

VIII. Picture formerly at Kensington Palace, and now at Hampton Court.

"In the state bed-chamber [at Kensington] is a portrait of Edward VI. It was originally a half-length, but has been badly converted into a whole figure since the time of Holbein." (Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting.)

With a jewelled cap and feather, but no furred gown; a coat worked with wide borders of gold cord, and the collar of the Garter.

*Engravings:* 1 As half-length, in folio, by G. Vertue, with two Blue-coat boys in the frame-work, for Rapin's History of England. (A pirated copy of the same, reversed, *Hulett Sculp.*)

2. E. Lutterell delin. P. Vanderbanck sculp. fol.

3. By P. a Gunst, in folio. "Adr$^{n}$ vander Werff pinx. P. a Gunst sculps." In an oval, bordered, with four lines of French verse. This appears to have been varied by Vander Werff from the Kensington picture: it has the same costume, and jewel of the

crowned rose; but, in addition, the badge of the Garter hanging by a ribbon (qu. an anachronism?) and a pyramid in the background. It is one of the series in Larrey's Histoire d'Angleterre, &c. Rotterdam, 1697—1713, fol.

4. &c. In Thane's Autographs, by Worthington in W. Pickering's set of the Kings, and many small copies.

An old copy of this picture, upon panel, formerly in the Castle-house at Leicester, is in the possession of Mr. Nichols, at Hanger-vale, Middlesex; and is engraved in Nichols's History of Leicestershire, vol. iv. plate xviii.

At Christ's Hospital, a copy on canvas, the shirt collar worked with black threads. The gift of John Alliston, esq. a Governor, 1837.

*Other Portraits, usually attributed to Holbein.*

[Most of these will be probably found, on comparison, to be duplicates of one or other of the preceding, or else modernised portraits of little or no value.]

At Aldermaston House, Berkshire, Mr. Congreve's.

At Audley End, Lord Braybrooke's, formerly at Billingbeare, the seat of the Nevilles, descended from sir Henry Neville, one of King Edward's gentlemen of the bedchamber.

At Blenheim, co. Oxford, the Duke of Marlborough's, in the Breakfast Room.

At Boughton, the Duke of Buccleuch's, a small-length.

Also another, on horseback, with stags, the sun rising.

In the British Museum. A standing figure to the knees, clothed in red gown and doublet, the former edged with white ermine, and collar. The hose, &c. are white. Hair very red, and a black cap. He holds brown gloves in his right hand, and a sceptre in the left.

At Christ's Hospital, London, (besides the three elsewhere mentioned) a small three-quarters on panel, in the counting-house. In a dress of blue silk edged with gold, and trimmed with fur; gloves in the right hand; left not in the picture. A jewelled cap, and George on a ribbon.

At Chicksands Priory, Bedfordshire, Sir George Osborn's, Bart. A whole-length, on panel, measuring 5 feet by 31½ inches. In this picture the King appears to be about fifteen years old. He stands, legs apart, after his father's fashion, his arms bent so as to bring both hands to the level of his waist: his right hand grasps a dagger, the thumb of his left hand is inserted in his girdle. On his head is a black velvet cap with gold ornaments and a white feather. His coat is of crimson, embroidered with gold, and edged with ermine; his waistcoat white; and he wears the collar of the Garter. Near him is a throne and canopy; on the right the arms of England, on the left a small window. The floor is covered with a carpet of many colours. (This picture was copied by W. Bone in enamel.)

At Elvaston hall, Derbyshire, the Earl of Harrington's, three pictures, thus described in Neale's Seats, 1823:—

1. With a rose in his hand, and contemplating his favourite cognisance of the sun in his splendour, the motto "ALTER EGO." [Qu. Edward IV.?]

2. King Edward VI. when a child.

3. King Edward VI. æt. 15.

At Greystoke Castle, Mr. Henry Howard's, purchased from the Chev. de Cosson.

At Hamilton Palace, co. Lanark, the Duke of Hamilton's. "A portrait of Edward VI. attributed to Holbein, is too tasteless, too stiff, and too empty for him. It is also injured by cleaning." (Waagen, 1854, iii. 301.)

At Hardwick, the Duke of Devonshire's.

At Kimbolton, co. Huntingdon, the Duke of Manchester's. It is a half-length, life-size. The King is dressed in black and gold, holding the hilt of his sword in the left hand and a glove in the right. Inscribed, EDW. . . VI. DEI GRACIA

HYBE. NI . . . CAPVT. 1547.

At Knole, head-size, in cap and feather, 19 inc. by 13: pale in colour, but curious.

At Longford castle, the Earl of Radnor's. "King Edward VI. Too poor a production for Holbein; it is also much injured." (Waagen, Art Treasures in England, iii. 140.)

At Loseley, Surrey, Mr. More Molyneux's. A small three-quarters, dated 1549.

At Maple Hayes, Staffordshire.

Lately, at Narford, co. Norfolk, Mr. Fountaine's. A portrait to the knees. Attributed to sir Antonio More: on which Dr. Waagen remarks, "This picture, which is very animatedly conceived and carefully executed, with yellowish flesh-tones, left the impression on my mind of being one of Holbein's works of his latest time. It is certain also that sir Anthony More, who was born in 1525 or 1526, could not have painted Edward VI. from life, since the King died in 1553, and the painter's first visit to England did not occur until after that date." (iii. 429.) From Dr. Waagen's book it might be supposed that this picture represented Elizabeth as well as Edward, which is not the case. It is no longer at Narford, Mr. Fountaine having parted with it.

At Northwick park, Lord Northwick's, a whole-length, as King, a very fine picture.

At Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham, Lord Northwick's. A small whole-length, about 18 inches high, standing, front-face, holding a sceptre in right hand, the left resting on an orb on a table.

Lord Northwick has, or had, also a half-length, about seven years old, front face, in jewelled and feathered cap, high collar, both hands on a table before him, the right holding a rose, and the left his gloves. *Engraved* by W. Greatbach, in 8vo. and published by Richard Bentley, 1839.

At Wolterton, co. Norfolk, the Earl of Orford's, were "Two small portraits of King Henry VIII. and Edward VI., of pale colouring, but of animated conception and careful

execution." (Waagen, 1854, iii. 436.) The latter is probably the same which is thus mentioned by Horace Walpole in the Anecdotes of Painting: "At Lord Orford's at Houghton is a small whole-length of Edward VI. on board, which was sold into Portugal from the collection of Charles I." In the sale of Lord Orford's pictures in 1856, it was No. 219, and sold to Mr. Howard for 18*l.*

In the Master's lodge at Trinity College, Cambridge, a small whole-length, on panel.

In the old chapel of Bridewell hospital, which was destroyed in the great fire of 1666, a portrait of King Edward was placed near the pulpit, with the following verses beneath it:—

This Edward, of faire memorie, the Sixt,
In whome wyth greatnesse goodnesse was commixt,
Gave this Bridewel, a palace in olde tymes,
For a chastising howse of vagrant crimes.

In the vestry of St. Mary's church, Kidderminster, is a portrait of Edward VI. on panel.

*Miniatures.*

When a child, apparently about four years old. A small circular miniature, delicately executed. Belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch, and exhibited at Manchester, 1857, in case No. 7 of Miniatures. (It was, it is believed, in the collection of Charles I.)

As a youth, standing sideways (turned to the left,) seen to the hips; holding a glove in his right hand, the other arm hanging down. The small cap as usual. Another circular miniature belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch, and exhibited with the preceding.

A full-length, in crimson and gold, belonging to the Duke of Portland, at Welbeck. (No. 56 of the Manchester exhibition.)

*Portrait by Guilliam Stretes.*

That this Dutchman was the King's painter in the sixth year of his reign is shown by the report already quoted in p. cccxliv. There is evidence that he was employed to paint pictures of the King for ambassadors abroad; for in March, 1551-2, there was paid to him the sum of fifty marks for "three great tables made by the said Guilliam: whereof two were pictures of his Highness, sent to sir Thomas Hoby and sir John Mason; the third a picture of the late earl of Surrey attainted,[a] and, by the council's commandment, fetched from the said Guilliam's house."

One of his pictures of King Edward now belongs to James Maitland Hog, esq., and was shown at the Manchester Exhibition in 1857. It is on panel, about 2 feet high,

[a] This picture is now at Arundel Castle. It is very highly finished; and is engraved in Lodge's Portraits. A repetition, also very fine, is at Knole. In 1556 Strete presented to queen Mary, as a new year's gift, "a table of her majesty's marriage,"—a curious picture, if it could now be recovered. (Nichols's Illustrations of Ancient Times, p. 14.)

with a round-headed frame. The portrait is a three-quarters length, the King's hands folded in front. His dress is white trimmed with gold, with a high collar; and he wears a collar of jewellery. Stretes' style of colouring is peculiarly pale and cold, and so very different from that of Holbein, that his other remaining works may probably be recognised by help of this picture.

An *Engraving* has been made for the Edinburgh volume of the Archæological Institute.

At Southam, near Cheltenham, was, in 1819, another portrait of the King, attributed to Guilliam Stretes. It was a whole-length. The ground formed by two Tuscan pillars of marble, and a curtain of green damask. The dress of a very stiff brown brocade, laced at the edges of the cloak. Upon this picture is written in gold letters:

Arte hath not miste, but lively expreste
The shape of England's Treasur;
Yet unexprest remaineth the beste,
Virtues beyond all measur.

Exprimit Anglorum Decus en pictura, sed illa
Munera virtutum nulla pictura dabit.

There is a picture at Christ's Hospital in the Treasurer's house, which Mr. Dallaway, in a memorandum written in 1819, pronounced to be a close resemblance of the Southam picture.

*Pictures attributed to Marc Willems and Hans Hueet.*

"Among the stores of old pictures at Somerset House was one, painted on a long board, representing the head of Edward VI., to be discerned only by the reflection of a cylindric mirrour. On the side of the head was a landscape, not ill done. On the frame was written *Gulielmus pinxit.* This was probably Marc Willems, born at Antwerp about 1527, died 1561." (Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting.) May it not have been a work of Guillim Strete?

The curiosity here mentioned was seen by Paul Hentzner at Whitehall, and is thus described by him: "A picture of King Edward VI. representing at first sight something quite deformed, till, by looking through a small hole in the cover which is put over it, you see it in its true proportions." Travels in England, edit. 1797, p. 22.

Another picture of Edward VI. was in the collection of Charles I. painted by Hans Hueet, of whom nothing else is known. It was sold for 20*l.* in the Civil War. (Walpole.)

*Family Pictures.*

I. King Henry, Queen Katharine, with Prince Edward, and the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth: at Hampton Court. This is a large painting, upon canvass, 10 feet high by 6 wide, attributed to Holbein. It is mentioned in Vanderdoort's Catalogue of the Pictures

of Charles I. and was sold to Colonel Well the 27 Oct. 1649, for 15*l.* Subsequently it was at Windsor castle, in George I.'s rooms, below stairs.

King Henry sits on a throne in the centre of a richly decorated colonnade which is supported by eight Ionic columns. He has his right hand on the shoulder of Prince Edward, who stands by him. On his left sits queen Katharine Parr;[a] next her is the lady Elizabeth, standing; and on the other side is the lady Mary.[b] The latter wears on her neck a jewelled cross; and the former an A, perhaps her mother's initial. At the extreme sides are Will Sommer, the court jester, next the lady Elizabeth, with a monkey on his shoulder,[c] and Jane the Fool, next the lady Mary. Behind these figures are openings to a garden, in which are various small pillars, upon which the royal beasts sit on their haunches, holding banners of badges.

"The flesh parts (remarks Waagen) are much obliterated with cleaning; but the whole, and especially the hands, indicate it as a slightly executed work of the master, whose characteristics are most seen in the accessories. Much gold is used in the rich robes of the royal personages." The accessories are well made out and are very interesting, but were little finished. The faces are much more so.

In the meeting-room of the Society of Antiquaries at Somerset House is a very careful drawing of this picture, in outline, by Richard Smirke, esq. R.A.

II. Henry the Eighth, towards the end of his life, with his three children, and his jester Will Sommer in the background. Their figures are half-length, with a table before them. The King in a jewelled cap, a staff in his right hand, and gloves in his left. Prince Edward in a plain flat cap, gloves in his right hand, the left not shown. Mary has her right hand on the table, the left not shown. (This description is given on the presumption that the engraving is *reversed.*) This picture was in the possession of the Earl of Bessborough in 1800: when an *Engraving* was made: "Hans Holbein Del. F Bartolozzi, R.A. sculp[t]."

III. King Henry, Prince Edward, and the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth: at Sudeley castle, Gloucestershire. Formerly in the collection of James West, esq. Pres. R.S., sold at his sale in 1773 to the Hon. Horace Walpole, and at the Strawberry Hill sale in 1842 to John Dent, esq. for 220*l.* 10*s.*

The figures are whole-length, placed on a marble pavement and Turkey carpet. On the frame is this inscription, of Elizabeth's time:—

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[a] Not Jane Seymour, as Dr. Waagen, Treasures of Art in Great Britain, 1854, iii. 366.

[b] Waagen says that Mary is "here represented younger and prettier than Elizabeth." The truth is merely this, that their names on the frame are transposed. The queen is called Jane Seymour, and Jane the Fool is inscribed "the wife of Will Sommers."

[c] At Althorp, co. Northampton, Earl Spencer's, is a picture containing Henry VIII. his daughter Mary, and Will Sommers, which was engraved by W. Holl for Dibdin's Ædes Althorpianæ, 1821.

A face (?) of muche nobillitye lie in a little roome,
Four states with theyr conditions heare are shadowed in a showe,
A Father more than valyant, a rare and vertuous Soon,
A zealous Daughter, in her kynd, what els the world doth knowe,
And last of all a Vyrgin Queen to England's joy we see
Successyvely to hold the right and vertues of the three.

Walpole supposed that the Elizabethan engraving by W. Rogers (described below) was derived from this picture.

*Old Engravings.*

King Henry VIII. seated on his throne; holding a sceptre in his right hand, and with his left delivering his sword to King Edward, who kneels by his side. On the right are Queen Mary and King Philip standing, and behind them War, in Roman costume, is entering at a door; on the left is Queen Elizabeth, standing in the foreground, splendidly attired, accompanied by allegorical figures of Peace and Plenty. Beneath, in three compartments, are the following verses:

Behoulde the figure of A Royall Kinge,
One whom sweet victory euer did attende,
From euery parte wher he his power did bringe,
He homewarde brought ye Conquest in ye end,
And when ye fates his vitall thred had spunne,
He gaue his glory to A Vertuous Sunne.

Now Prudent Edward dyinge in tender youth,
Queen Mary then the Royall Scepter swayd,
With foraine blood she matcht, and put down truth,
Which England's glory suddainly decayed,
Who brought in warr & discord by that deed,
Which did in comon wealth great sorow breed.

But Sorow, care, & ciuill broyles lykewise
This Sacred Queene ELIZABETH exylde:
Falshood did fall before her Gratious eyes,
And perticution turn'd to mercy mylde,
Plenty and peace throughout hir dayes are seene,
And all the world admyr's this mayden Queene.

Dedicated, *To the Ryght Reuerend father in God, John by the Prouidence of God, Archb. of Canterb. primat of Engl. & Metrapol. health. Grauen by W. Rogers*,—it is supposed about the year 1585. It is a large oblong half-sheet, 19¼ inc. by 14, and only three copies are known: 1. In the Royal collection; 2. in the Imperial collection at Paris; and 3. in the British Museum. The last was purchased at the Strawberry Hill sale in 1842 for

twenty-one guineas. It is inscribed "Are to be sould in Popes head Alley, by John Sudbury and George Humble"

By Virgilius Solis, of Brussels, well cut in wood, prefixed to Jugge's New Testament, 1552, 8vo. In an oval frame, inscribed, EDVARDVS SEXTVS DEI GRACIA, ANGLIE, FRANCIE ET HIBERNIE REX . ETC. ÆTATIS SVÆ . XV. Size 4½ inc. by 3¼.

EDWARDUS VI. &c. in "Atrium Heroicum Cæsarum, Regum, &c. calcographo et editore Dominic. Custode, cive Aug. Vindel. 1600–2." Small folio: a scarce book, of which there is a copy in the Bodleian Library (as mentioned by Granger).

By Simon Pass, in the Baziliologia, 1618, fol. "Si. Passæus sculp. &c." With the King's dying prayer [see p. cxcix]. "The true portraicture," &c. This is said to have been taken from Holbein's picture formerly at Whitehall: it is the same as those at Petworth and Christ's Hospital.

In the Heroologia Anglica, published by Henry Holland, 1620, fol., without engraver's name, (copied from the preceding print by Pass, but reversed,) inscribed:—

EDVARDVS SEXTVS REX.

Deluium (*sic*) populi, et veræ pietatis alumnus,
Ut bona cuncta, diu viuere non licurt (*sic*).

The King's head in profile in an oval, circumscribed EDOARDVS DEI GRATIA ANGL. FRANCLÆ ET HIBERN. Rex. with these verses below:

Rex fuit ext^emi hic *EDVARDVS* flosque Britanni;
Mox, ut flos perijt; indole semper erit.

In an oval frame, a profile to the left, in furred dress; circumscribed ODOARDO RE D'INGHILTERA. In Nelli's series, 4to.

By Delaram and Elstracke, a whole-length. (Bromley's Catalogue, now unknown.)

On horseback. No. 21 of the very rare equestrian set of the Kings of England, in quarto, by John Overton: of which the copy formerly belonging to the duke of Buckingham at Stowe is now in the hands of Mr. Graves of Pall Mall. It is thus inscribed:—

Edward the VI. King of Eng: France & Ireland at y^e age of .9. years was crownd.

Hee seem'd in wisdom Aged in his Youth
With zeale and courage he maintain'd the truth
From vertue vnto vertue still he stroue
His sowle vnto it's maker soard aboue.

Printed and sould by Ro. Watton.

In an oval frame, half-length in armour, and hat surmounted by a crown, inscribed on the frame EDVWARDVS VI. D. G. ANGLIÆ FRANCLÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REX. and below, *Eduward de VI. Coninck van Enghelant Vrancryck ende Irlant.* Apparently engraved early in the seventeenth century.

By Robert Vaughan, 1630, in the title-page of sir John Hayward's Life of King Edward.

Small quarto; the head in an oval frame, inscribed: "The true portraicture of Edward the Sixt, King of England, France and Ireland. Ro. Vaughan fecit 1630." In the margin figures of Majesty and Power hold a wreath of laurel over the King's head, which is copied from that by S. Pass.

By W. Marshall, a small oval, in the title-page to the smaller edition of Hayward's Lives of Edward and Elizabeth, 1636.

"Edouard 6me Roy d'Angleterre et d'Irlande a Regné 6 ans et demy. L. Petit sculp. 1646. R. Rocolet auec priuilege du Roy." Small quarto—a bad likeness.

No. 21 of the set of Kings, by It is a half-length figure; the King's cap is surmounted by a crown, and he holds a sceptre and orb. It is inscribed:—

"Edward borne at Hamton Court, at the age of 9 yeares began his raigne the 31 of Janu: 1546. Crowned at Westm: the 20 of februa: folowing, he raigned 6 yeares 5 monthes, died the 6 of Julie, buried at Westminster."

The same was afterwards printed at the back of the title of the English translation of bishop Godwin's Annales of England, 1630, the inscription having been taken out, and in its place this motto inserted, *Ve tibi Terra, cuius Rex Puer est.*

Edward VI., Henry Prince of Wales, Henry Duke of Gloucester, and William Duke of Gloucester: four ovals on one plate, folio. *S. Gribelin sculps.* Motto, *Wee Reign in Heaven.* Dedicated to Queen Anne by H. Playford, on an additional slip of copper.

In Vertue's small set of the Kings, 8vo. From the same original as that of Pass.

Another copy, but with gloves placed in his hand, in lieu of the dagger at his side. Inscribed, "Edwardus D. G. Angl: Franc: & Hibern: Rex. J. Faber excud." Mezzotinto, in octavo.

A whole-length, in modernized attire, from Scheemaker's statue at St. Thomas's Hospital, by J. Faber, mezzotinto, in large folio.

The same (without Faber's name). Printed for I. Kendall, at Bury St. Edmund's, and dedicated to the Comptrollers, Governors, &c. of Bury School, 1780.

Another, by Faber. (One of a set of Founders.)

Three-quarters, in mezzotinto, by R. Houston. In Rolt's Lives of the Reformers, 1759, fol.

*Historical Pictures.*

Procession to Prince Edward's Christening. (Engraved in the Antiquarian Repertory in 1782.) This print is inscribed as belonging to the Christening of Prince Arthur. It was apparently designed from the description of Prince Edward's Christening, as recorded in the MS. M. 6 in the College of Arms, and in which there is a copy of the original drawing; but the costume agrees with the fashions of 1554, when queen Mary was expecting to give birth to an heir.

Procession to the Coronation. From a picture formerly at Cowdray, but destroyed

by fire in 1793. Engraved for the Society of Antiquaries, in 1787, by James Basire, from a drawing made by S. H. Grimm (the plate 4 feet 2½ inc. by 1ft. 10 inches). There is also a copy in lithography, by Howard Dudley, 1836, about half the original size; and two portions are given in Wilkinson's Londina Illustrata, one (published in 1809) as a view of Cheapside cross (which the King is passing), and the other as a view of "The Strand in its antient state, anno 1547."

KING EDWARD IN COUNCIL, 1548. Seated on a throne, a row of councillors on either side, and attendants in the rear, altogether eighteen figures, besides the King. A small design, placed at the head of the engraved title of the Statutes of the King's first year, printed by Richard Grafton, 1548, folio (see Herbert's Ames, p. 525); also in Hall's Chronicle in the same year (ib. p. 527); and in Marbeck's Concordance, 1550 (ib. p. 532).

There is a *Copy* (somewhat enlarged) etched by J. P. Malcolm, 1810, in his Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London, &c. 4to. 1811, vol. i. p. 102.

KING EDWARD ISSUING THE PRINTED BIBLE. Seated on his throne, and holding a sword in his right hand, he presents with his left a volume inscribed BIBLIA to three mitred bishops and two other clergymen who kneel on his right hand. To the left are peers in their robes and coronets, also kneeling. Engraved on wood, 4¼ inc. by 2. In Cranmer's Catechism, printed by Gwalter Lynn 1548. This design is attributed to Holbein. One of the woodcuts in the book, that of Christ casting out an evil spirit, has his signature at full, HANS HOLBEN.

There is also a smaller woodcut of the same subject, 3 inc. by 2½. In this the clergy are kneeling and the laity standing. It is part of a larger design in Foxe's Actes and Monuments, prefixed to the reign of Edward VI.

KING EDWARD RECEIVING A BOOK FROM JOHN BALE. The King seated on his throne, and Bale kneeling. Woodcut in Bale's Scriptores, 4to edition, 1549. 4 inc by 3½.

Another of the same subject: the King, crowned, standing behind a reading-desk; Bale, louting with his right knee and holding his cap in his left hand, presents the book with the right. 2½ inc. by 1¾.

LATIMER PREACHING before the King and Protector at Whitehall. In Foxe's Actes and Monuments [see pp. cvi, cxxvi.]

*Copies*, 1. In later editions of Foxe.
2 By J. P. Malcolm, 1810, in his Anecdotes (as above), p. 102.
3. In the Parker Society's edition of Latimer's Works.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY HOSPITALS, a large picture at Bridewell Hospital. It is at least ten feet square, and all the figures are of life-size. The King is in the centre, seated on a throne; and the other persons represented were thus appropriated by Vertue: "The lord mayor sir George Barnes, and the sheriffs William Gerrard and John Maynard, are kneeling, receiving the royal donation; near them William Blackwell the town clerk

standing. On the right hand of the King the lord chancellor Goodrich,[a] on the left sir Robert Bowes the master of the rolls and the earl of Pembroke. [There are two other persons in the background, and] in the corner the face of Hans Holbein the painter." (Description of Vertue's Nine Historical Prints, republished by the Society of Antiquaries, folio, 1776, p. 7.)

Not only Vertue, but Walpole also, considered this picture to be the work of Holbein. Walpole says, "Holbein has placed his own head in one corner of the picture. It is believed it was not completed by Holbein, both he and the King dying immediately after the donation." It is now not regarded as Holbein's work, as it bears no comparison with his capital picture at Barber-Surgeons' hall of King Henry VIII. granting the charter to that company.

1. *Engraving* by G. Vertue in large folio, "Publisht 16 Feb. 1750, according to Act of Parliament."

2. By W. P. Sherlock 1817.

A modern version of the same scene was designed by Thomas Stothard in 1796, and engraved by J. Parker for Bowyer's Historic Gallery in the same year.

THE FOUNDATION OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL: Picture in the Great Hall of that institution.

*Engraving* by Augustus Fox, publ. Dec. 10, 1833, being the frontispiece to Trollope's History of Christ's Hospital, 1834, 4to.

This picture is evidently an amplification of the picture at Bridewell hospital. The figures of the King, chancellor, master of the rolls or secretary of state, and two noblemen (Knights of the Garter) are copied; so also are the mayor and sheriffs kneeling, but multiplied into further figures of aldermen, with a numerous body of governors, standing, with wands in their hands. On the King's left hand, opposite the mayor, is a kneeling ecclesiastic, no doubt meant for bishop Ridley. In the foreground are files of the children of the Hospital, both boys and girls. This great picture contains altogether more than ninety figures, and measures 27 feet by 13½. It was perhaps painted in the reign of James the First, or possibly still later. A correspondent painting by Verrio represents the foundation of the Mathematical School, King James the Second[b] being the principal personage; it is of the same height, but stretches to the enormous length of eighty-five feet, having been made for three sides of the old Hall.

*Statues.*

1. At St. Thomas's Hospital, Southwark, in bronze, by Scheemaker, with this

[a] This figure is sometimes assigned to bishop Ridley, following an error made by Strype, in his edition of Stowe's Survay, p. 180.

[b] It is supposed that the King's features were originally to have been those of Charles the Second; but, as Verrio had not finished his picture before the beginning of the next reign, those of the reigning monarch were preferred.

inscription: "This Statue of King Edward the Sixth, a most excellent prince, of exemplary piety, and wisdom above his years, the glory and ornament of his age, and most munificent Founder of this Hospital, was erected at the expense of Charles Joyce, esquire, the late worthy Treasurer thereof, by the appointment of his will, in the year 1737." [Lithograph by H. Tiffin, 1849, 4to. also engraved in line in the certificate of the St. Thomas's Medical School.]

2. At Christ's Hospital, in a niche above the south gateway. Of stone. Erected by sir Robert Clayton, 1682.

3. At Christ's Hospital, in chesnut, dated 1696, "reaching out his right-hand as in the act of delivering the Charter." Now in the Architect's office.

4. At Christ's Hospital, in a niche at the end of the new schools. Made in 1832, in white metal, at the cost of 70*l.* from a design by Nollekens.

5. A statue by M. de Triqueti, representing Edward emphatically as the Protestant King, holding the Bible. Purchased by Queen Victoria in 1858.

*Busts.*

Among Mr. Cracherode's prints at the British Museum is an engraving of a remarkable Bust of King Edward, designed in the antique style and apparently of early date. The King's features are represented somewhat after the negro model; and he has an iron crown, with five points. On the base of the bust is inscribed ANNO . X . ETATIS . SVÆ. 1547. The print has an oval border (nearly 10 inc. deep by 7 wide) inscribed DIVVS ADOARDVS REX ANGLIAE. It is probably a foreign work Whether the original of any such Bust exists I have not ascertained.

On Holbein's porch at Wilton is a bust of King Edward VI. (Waagen, 1854, iii. 155.) In terra cotta?

Over the centre arch of the arcade of the New Hall at Christ's Hospital. the King is carved holding with both hands a purse. This is copied from some old design, which probably represented not the Founder, but a boy of the foundation soliciting alms.

*Medals, &c.*

In Gold, 117 grains, Profile to the left, in armour, bareheaded, circumscribed SCVTVM FIDEI PROTEGET EVM. Reverse, a rose, slipped, under a crown, and between the letters E . R . circumscribed EDWARD' VI. REX ANGL. FRANC. HIBER. ZC. Engraved in A Series of English Medals, by Francis Perry, 1762, 4to. Plate II. fig. 6, being then in the collection of Andrew Coltee Ducarel, LL.D. (It is supposed to have been a pattern for a half-sovereign.)

A Silver medal of 98 grains is engraved in the same plate, No. 2, with this remark, "Said to be struck at his coronation. In the collection of Matthew Duane, esq., F.S.A." It bears the same design as the Reverse of the last; and on its Reverse this inscription is

in four straight lines, INSIGNIA POTENTISSIMI REGIS ANGLIE 1547. (In the cabinet of John Lindsay, esq. of Cork, 1858, weighing 93 grains.)

A Silver medal, 2½ inc. in diameter, and weighing 1 oz. 19 dwt. has on one side a half-length figure of the King in profile, looking to the left; in armour, crowned, a sword in his right hand, and the orb in his left. Around are the badges of the rose, fleur-de-lis, harp, and portcullis, each crowned, with the King's style in Latin and the date of the coronation, disposed in three lines. The Reverse of the medal is covered with the same inscription in Hebrew and Greek, above which (probably engraved) is the word *Lambhith.* There is an engraving of this, "F. Perry delin. et sculp. 1761," on which it is described as "The first English Coronation Medal, after an original in silver in the possession of Thomas Hollis, esq., F.R. and A.S.S." It is also in Perry's English Medals, Plate II. but is not there recognised as the coronation medal. Also engraved for the Society of Antiquaries from a medal, "penes Sam. Mead I.ctm."; and by J. Bate after the Collas method. There is a modern copy of this medal. In design it is entirely correspondent with a medal of Henry VIII. which was struck on his assuming the title of Supreme Head of the Church, and which is engraved with the words "*Londini* 1545" (instead of *Lambhith*).

In Silver, oval, 2¼ inches by 2, The King's portrait to the breast, front face, slightly turning to the right, wearing cap and feather and collar of the Garter. Reverse, arms of France and England quarterly, in an antique shield held by an angel. No legend on either side. The copy of this medal at the British Museum is set within a wreath of laurel.

In Lead, a profile to the left, with a high collar, bonnet and feather: oval 3¼ inc. by 2¾. Engraved in Perry's English Medals, 1762, Plate II. fig. 5, being then in the possession of Dr. Ducarel. (There is a small *Engraving* copied from it inscribed EDWARD PRINCE OF WALES.)

The Silver medal given as a prize at Christ's Hospital is 1⅜ inc. in diameter. Obverse, the King's head in profile to the right, a crown over his hat, I. PINGO SC. Reverse, the bible opened at Exodus, legend HEAR READ MARK LEARN. Exergue, CHRIST'S HOSPITAL INST. MDLII.

A Silver medallet, in a frame, at Christ's Hospital, signed J.A. without other legend. Presented in 1837 by John Thackeray, esq. (This, it is believed, is from a die of a previous prize medal given at the Hospital, or of one worn by the Amicable Society of Blues.)

The King's GREAT SEAL is engraved in Speed's Chronicle and in Sandford's Genealogical History of England, fol. 1677, p. 428. On the Obverse, he is seated on his throne, between two shields of France and England quarterly, within the Garter. On the Reverse, he is on horseback in armour, brandishing a sword over his head. On either side the badges of the rose and fleur-de-lis, both crowned. Beneath the horse a greyhound, collared, running.

# THE LITERARY REMAINS

OF

# KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

## LETTERS.

### LETTER I.

To Archbishop Cranmer, his Godfather: from Ampthill, June 18, 1545.

[Foxe's Acts and Monuments of the Church.]

Foxe does not inform us whence he procured "this little epistle of his own handwriting to the Archbishop of Canterbury his godfather." He adds in a note, "Prince Edward, when he wrote this epistle, seemeth to be very young, not above seven years of age, lying then at Ampthill." Perhaps we may rather regard it as having been written in 1545, when he was in his eighth year.

It was extracted from Foxe's work into a book entitled Βασιλικὰ Δῶρα, sive Sylloge Epistolarum, Orationum, et Carminum Regalium, 1641, sign. B. A copy (not the original) is among the MSS. of Corpus Christi Coll. Oxon. CCXCVIII. p. 148.

Impertio te plurima salute, colendissime præsul, et charissime susceptor. Quia abes longe a me, vellem libenter audire te esse incolumem. Precor autem ut vivas diu, et promoveas verbum Dei. Vale.

Antilæ, decimo octavo Junij. Tuus in Christo filius,
Edouardus Princeps.

## LETTER II.

### To the Earl of Hertford: from Hunsdon, November 8 [1545?]

[Orig. in MS. Cotton. Nero C. x. fol. 7.]

Though there is nothing in this letter beyond a recognition of the writer's relationship to the Earl of Hertford, and of his desire to send him some token of his regard, its sentiments are prettily arranged, if not clothed in the most elegant Latinity. It was published by Fuller in his Church History, book vii. sec. 18; and by Hearne, in his "Sylloge Epistolarum a variis Angliæ Principibus scriptarum," appended to his edition of T. Livii Foro-Juliensis Vita Henrici Quinti. 1716, 8vo.

Natura movet me ut recorder tui, Avuncule charissime, etsi negotia tua impediunt te ne videas me, ideo do literas ad te, quæ literæ ferent testimonium recordationis meæ quam habeo de te. Quod si haberem illum melius monumentum benevolentiæ meæ erga te, quam literæ sunt, illud ad te mitterem. Puto autem te accepturum literas meas bene, non pro bonitate literarum, sed pro benevolentia scriptoris. Et tu non eris adeo letus in accipiendis literis a me, ut ego gaudebo si intellexero te in bonam partem accepisse illas, quod puto te facturum. Optimè valeas in Christo Jesu.

Hunsdoniæ, octavo Novembris.

E. Princeps.

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## LETTER III.

### To the Lady Mary: from Hunsdon, Jan. 11, 1545-6.

Published in Halliwell's Royal Letters, 1846, vol. ii. p. 5, as a translation from the Latin, and derived from the Rawlinson MSS.; but the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library have in vain been searched for it.

It is so long since I last wrote to you, my very dear sister, that it may chance so that you may think I have entirely forgotten you, but affection ever holds the chief place in my heart both for you and my

dearest mother. I hope soon to see you, and to tell you in truth how much and how greatly I esteem you.

From Hunsdon, this 11th of January.

EDWARD P.

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## LETTER IV.

### To ARCHBISHOP CRANMER, his Godfather: from Hertford, Jan. 13, 1545-6.

[Foxe's Acts and Monuments of the Church.]

This letter is accompanied in Foxe by the following from the Prince's schoolmaster, which, it is remarked, "seemeth to be written by Dr. Coxe."

"Right honourable and my singular good Lord, after my most harty commendations; the opportunitie of this messenger forceth me to write at this tyme, having litle matter but only to signifie unto your grace, that my lord's grace your godsonne is mery and in health, and of such towardnes in learnyng, godlinesse, gentlenes, and all honest qualities, that both you and I and all this realm ought to thinke him and take him for a singular gifte sent of God, an impe worthy of such a father; for whom we are bound *sine intermissione* to render to God most hartie thankes, with most humble request of his long and prosperous continuance. He hath learned almost foure books of Cato to construe, to parse, and to say without booke. And of his owne courage now, in the latter booke, he will needes have at one tyme xiiij. verses, which he konneth pleasauntly and perfectly, besides thynges of the Bible, Satellitium Vivis,* Æsop's Fables, and Latin-makyng, whereof he hath sent your grace a little taste. *Dominus Jesus te diutissime servet.*"

Etsi puer sum, colendissime susceptor, non tamen immemor sum vel officii erga te mei, vel humanitatis tuæ quam indies mihi exhibere studes. Non exciderunt mihi humanissimæ tuæ literæ pridie

* Satellitium animi, vel symbola, was a collection of CCXIII Satellitia, or mottoes, with commentaries, made (in 1524) by the learned Juan Ludovico Vives; who was consulted by his countrywoman queen Katharine of Arragon respecting the education of her daughter the Lady Mary: see Sir F. Madden's Memoir of Mary, prefixed to her Privy Purse Accounts, p. cxx.

divi Petri ad me datæ. Quibus antehac respondere nolui, non quod illas neglexerim, aut non meminerim, sed ut illarum diuturna meditatione fruerer, fidelique memoria reponerem, atque demum bene ruminatis pro mea virili responderem. Proinde affectum erga me tuum vere paternum, quem in illis expressisti, amplector et veneror, optoque ut multos vivas annos, tuoque pio ac salubri consilio pergas esse mihi venerandus pater. Nam pietatem ante omnia mihi amplectendam et exosculandam esse duco, quoniam divus Paulus dicit,* *Pietas ad omnia utilis est.* Optime valeat tua paternitas in plurimos annos.

Hartefordiæ, tertio decimo Januarij. Tui studiosissimus,
EDOUARDUS PRINCEPS.

The Archbishop returned the following answer :

" Non magis poterat ipsa me servare salus (fili in Christo charissime) quam salus tua. Mea vita non dicenda est vita absque tua et salute et valetudine.† Quapropter cùm te incolumem ac salvum intelligo, vitam etiam mihi integram esse et incolumem sentio. Neque certe absentia mea tam est injucunda tibi quam sunt literæ tuæ perjucundæ mihi. Quæ arguunt tibi juxta adesse et ingenium dignum tanto principe et preceptorem dignum tanto ingenio. Ex quibus tuis literis te sic literas video colere, ut interim doctrinæ cœlestis tua nequaquam minima sit cura; quæ cuicunque sit curæ, non potest illum quævis cura frangere. Perge igitur qua via incepisti, princeps illustrissime, et Spartam quam nactus es hanc orna, ut quam ego per literas video in te virtutis lucem eadem olim illuminet universam tuam Angliam. Non scribam prolixius, tum quidem ut me intelligas brevitate nonnihil affici, tum etiam quod credam te ætate quidem adhuc parvulum parvo gaudere, et similem simili; tum etiam præterea ne impolita mea oratio in causa sit, quo generosa illa tua indoles barbariæ vitium contrahat."

This letter, like No. I. occurs in the MSS. of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, CCXCVIII. f. 149; and was included in Βασιλικὰ Δῶρα, 1641.

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* 1 Tit. iv.

† Alludit ad verba Terentii in Comœdia.—*Note by Foxe.*

## LETTER V.

To Doctor Coxe, his Almoner: from Hertford, March 11, 1545-6.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 2.]

A short letter, but, being well meant, he knows it will be as well received as if it were longer. It has been translated in Halliwell's Royal Letters, 1846, vol. ii. p. 5.

Dr. Coxe was Edward's first schoolmaster: and in most of the letters addressed to him which follow, the Prince continues so to address him. He had now, however, relinquished his continuous attendance upon this duty, and had become the Prince's almoner.* The present letter, therefore, as well as most that follow, we may conclude were written under the inspection of Coxe's successor as schoolmaster, Mr. Cheke.

Richardo Coxo.

Scribo ad te paucis, elemosynarie charissime, quia scio te accipere breves literas eque bene ac longas. Scio enim te certe legisse in primo libro Catonis et vigesimo versu:

Exiguum munus cum dat tibi pauper amicus,
Accipito placide, plene et laudare memento.

Etsi literæ meæ sint breves, tamen non carent benevolentia. Precor Deum ut te servet incolumem.

Hartfordiæ, undecimo Martij anno 1545.

Edouardus Princeps.

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## LETTER VI.

To Doctor Coxe, his Almoner: from Hertford, March 24, 1545-6.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 1.]

Though the Almoner had not answered the Prince's former létter sent by his servant Wheler, yet he writes again, being as confident of his friend's kindness as if he had been assured of it by writing. (This letter is hitherto inedited.)

Richardo Coxo.

Quia vellem indicare benevolentiam meam erga te, elemosynarie

* Edward himself writes in his Diary, "At the sixth year of his age he was brought up in learning by master doctor Coxe, who was *after* his almoner."

charissime, scribo ad te; etsi tu non adhuc ad literas meas, quas ad te misi per Whelerum servum meum responderis. Præterea scribo ad te etsi non scripseris ad me. Si tu scripsisses ad me, voluissem ad te scribere, quoniam literæ tuæ fuissent dignæ responsione, sed nunc scribo ad te, quia benevolentia tua placet eque bene mihi ac misisses ad me literas. Oro te ut literæ meæ tibi placeant etsi non sint dignæ, sed quia animus donantis voluit eas esse meliores. Vale in Jesu Christo servatore mundi, mi elemosynarie charissime.

Hartfordiæ, vigesimo quarto Martij anno 1545.

EDOUARDUS PRINCEPS.

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## LETTER VII.

### To DOCTOR COXE, his Almoner: from Hertford, April 2, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 3.]

The Prince, in his letters, continues to address Coxe as his master, and at the close of the present letter he signs as his "most loving pupil," but the very fact of the doctor's prolonged absence shows that the active part of his duties as preceptor was now surrendered. The Prince alludes to "other boys," his schoolfellows, who had been more negligent than himself in writing to Coxe: a passage corroborating the circumstance of which we have other evidence, that the Prince did not receive his instruction alone, but in a little school which was formed for the purpose: see the Biographical Memoir.

Towards the close of the letter, the Prince claims for it acceptance, because it was made *consilio et labore meo*,—by his own device and labour.

This letter is translated by Halliwell, ii. 6.

Richardo Coxo.

Ago tibi gratias pro literis quas ad me scripsisti. Debeo enim agere tibi gratias pro literis, quia in his video amorem, benevolentiam, et generositatem tuam erga me. Amor tuus est magnus, et benevolentia tua est libera, et generositas tua est acceptabilis. Amor tuus est magnus, quia cogitas de me absens; et benevolentia

tua est libera, quia scribis ad me, cum habeas majora ad agendum quam id est; et humanitas tua est acceptabilis mihi, quia nihil potest venire abs te, quod mihi non acceptabile sit. Sed ubi scribis in literis tuis te debere plus mihi quam aliis pueris qui hic sunt, etsi illi fuerint negligentes in scribendo, ego tamen feci nisi officium meum. Illi vero fuerunt negligentes in scribendo, quia non fecerant officium eorum, id est, non scribebant ad te. Ego vero feci nisi officium meum, quod officium meum est ad te scribere. Porro oro te, ut in bonam partem accipias literas meas. Vellem enim ut accipias eas in bonam partem, quia fiunt consilio et labore meo. Deus det tibi sapientiam Aronis et Samuelis. Vale mi præceptor amantissime.

Hartfordiæ, secundo Aprilis anno 1546.

Discipulus tui amantissimus,

EDOUARDUS PRINCEPS.

## LETTER VIII.

To DOCTOR COXE, his Almoner: from Hertford, April 9, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 4.]

In this the Prince playfully begs his almoner to take as much pleasure in his letters as others did in hunting and hawking: for letters were better than treasures. He then begs him to greet the King's secretary, sir William Paget, and to thank him for his present of a little sand-box.

This letter is printed by Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. Appx. L. No. VIII. and translated by Halliwell, ii. 6.

Richardo Coxo.

Quemadmodum officium meum postulat, scribo ad te literas, Eleemosynarie charissime, ut scias me tui meminisse. Si enim non scriberem ad te, esset signum me tui oblivisci; sed nunc cum scribam ad te, est signum me te amare, et tui meminisse. Et quemadmodum

qui scribit ad unum non potest non meminisse illius, quia scribit illius nomen in superscriptione; sic ego cum scribo ad te, non possum oblivisci tui. Præterea hortor te, ut literæ sint eque dulces tibi ac venatio et aucupium delectant alios. Literæ enim sunt meliores thesauris. Et quicumque tenet literas, tenet magnum thesaurum. Nam dicitur in paradoxis Ciceronis, *Quod solus sapiens dives, literæ enim sunt divitiæ.* Saluta quæso Secretarium Regis, ac illi gratias age pro pixidicula arenaria. Nunc optime vale, mi eleemosynarie ornatissime ac amantissime. Deus ne sinat pedem tuum averti a justa via.

Hartfordiæ, nono Aprilis anno 1546.

Tui amantissimus discipulus,

E. PRINCEPS.

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## LETTER IX.

### To his Sister MARY: from Hunsdon, May 8, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 6.]

Although Edward did not often write to his sister, he begs to assure her that he loved her as much as if he wrote more frequently, and esteemed her as one who possessed all the ornaments of virtue and honour. In the same way as he loved his best dresses most of all, though he wore them very rarely; so he loved his sister very much, though he wrote to her but seldom. He further expresses his pleasure that she had recovered from an illness that had lately afflicted her. (Translated by Halliwell, ii. 7.)

Sorori Mariæ.

Etsi non scribo ad te frequenter, soror charissima, tamen nollem te putare me esse ingratum et tui oblivisci. Nam diligo te eque bene ac si misissem crebrius ad te literas, et amo te sicut frater debet amare charissimam sororem, quæ habet omnia ornamenta virtutis et honestatis in se. Quemadmodum enim induo optimas vestes rarissime, illas tamen amo plus aliis; sic scribo ad te rarissime, sed amo te plurimum. Præterea gaudeo te convaluisse, audivi enim

te ægrotasse. Sic enim facio propter fraternum amorem quem tibi debeo, et benevolentiam erga te meam. Opto tibi perpetuam salutem tum corporis tum animi. Vale in Christo, mea charissima soror.

Hunsdoniæ, octavo Maij.

E. Princeps.

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## LETTER X.

### To Queen Katharine: from Hunsdon, May 12, 1546.

Published by Mr. Halliwell, ii. 8, under the same circumstances as Letter III. The Editor has been unable to find the Latin original. The warning Edward directs to his sister, a woman of thirty, that she should curb her predilection for "foreign dances," is especially remarkable. Sir Frederick Madden has collected several notices of Mary's skill in that accomplishment in his Memoir of her, p. cxxxix.

Pardon my rude style in writing to you, most illustrious Queen and beloved Mother, and receive my hearty thanks for your loving kindness to me and my sister. Yet, dearest Mother, the only true consolation is from Heaven, and the only real love is the love of God. Preserve, therefore, I pray you, my dear sister Mary from all the wiles and enchantments of the evil one, and beseech her to attend no longer to foreign dances and merriments which do not become a most Christian Princess. And so, putting my trust in God for you to take this exhortation in good part, I commend you to his most gracious keeping.

From Hunsdon, this 12th of May.

Edward the Prince.

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## LETTER XI.

### To his Sister Mary: from Hunsdon, May 20, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 10.]

Although Mary had not answered his former letter of the 8th of this month, Edward tells her that he does not grieve so much on that account as he rejoices that her health

was improved; for he did not doubt her kindness towards him. Altogether this composition, in the childish simplicity of its sentiments, and also in its Latinity, appears to be thoroughly the prince's own. He concludes with a prayer that God might give his sister the wisdom of Esther ; and sends his salutations to lady Tyrwhitt, lady Herbert, and lady Lane. These are the very three ladies whose names occur in the anecdotes given by Foxe of the latter days of Henry the Eighth, when he relates that the Romanist party, headed by the chancellor (Wriothesley), is said to have plotted the destruction of the queen, but was defeated by Katharine's adroit management of her suspicious lord and master. Wishing to assail the queen, her enemies "thought it best, at the first, to begin with some of those ladies whom they knew to be great wyth her, and of her bloud. The chiefest wherof, as most of estimation, and privie to all her doyngs, were these: the lady Harbert afterward countesse of Pembroke, and sister to the queen, and chief of her privie chamber; the lady Lane, being of her privye chamber, and also her cosine germane; the lady Tyrwhitte, of her privie chamber, and for her virtuous disposition in very great favour and credite with her."

Lady Herbert was the queen's elder and only sister, Anne, daughter of sir Thomas Parr, by Maud daughter and coheir of sir Thomas Green. Her husband sir William Herbert was not knighted until 1544, and evidently owed his rise principally to his matrimonial alliance. At the death of Henry VIII. being chief gentleman of the privy chamber and a privy councillor, he was left one of the king's executors; in 1548 he became master of the horses to king Edward; he was elected knight of the garter Dec. 1, 1548; and in April following constituted lord president of Wales. In October 1551 he was created the first earl of Pembroke of the present race. His wife died only four months after, at his mansion of Baynard's Castle in London, and an account of her funeral in the cathedral church of St. Paul, on the 28th February 1551-2, will be found in Machyn's Diary (printed for the Camden Society, 1848,) p. 15. Her effigy was placed on her husband's monument in old St. Paul's, and in the inscription she was characterised as "prudentissimæ fœminæ, pietatis, religionis, probitatis, omnisque avitæ virtutis retinentissimæ, fidis comitis conjugi."

The lady Lane was the queen's cousin-german, being Maud the eldest of the four daughters of her chamberlain William lord Parr of Horton. She was married to sir Ralph Lane, eldest son of William Lane esquire, of Orlingbury, co. Northampton, and inherited from her father the manor of Horton, which descended in the Lane family until sold to sir Henry Montagu about a century after. See Bridges's Northamptonshire, i. 368.

The lady Tyrwhitt was Elizabeth, daughter of sir Goddard Oxenbridge of Brede in Sussex, and wife of sir Robert Tyrwhitt, of Leighton, co. Huntingdon. Sir Robert was the second son of sir Robert Tyrwhitt of Kettleby, in Lincolnshire, by Maud, daughter of sir Robert Tailboys, of Kyme. Through his aunt Agnes, wife of Thomas Burgh, he was a cousin of queen Katharine's first husband. He became an esquire of the body to king Henry, and master of the horses to queen Katharine. His wife was still attendant

upon the queen at the time of her accouchement and fatal illness at Sudeley castle in Sept. 1548. In 1549 lady Tyrwhitt was appointed governess of the lady Elizabeth, in consequence of the misconduct of mistress Katharine Ashley. (Burghley Papers, by Haynes.) In Bentley's Monument of Matrones, published in 1582, will be found "Morning and Evening Praiers, with divers Psalmes, Hymnes, and Meditations, made and set forth by the Ladie Elizabeth Tyrwhit," occupying pp. 103–138.

This letter is printed by Strype, Eccles. Memorials, vol. ii. Appx. L. No. vi.

Sorori Mariæ.

Non doleo tantum quod non scripseris ad me hoc longo tempore, Soror charissima, quantum gaudebam te recuperasse valetudinem tuam. Nam etsi non scripseris ad me, scio tamen te non carere benevolentia erga me. Valetudo autem tua letificat me, quia amo te; et egritudo tua facit me tristem eodem nomine. Gero autem amorem erga te, tum quod sis soror mea, tum quod natura facit me amare te. Quare cura valetudinem tuam; et ne labores ut scribas ad me, quando egritudo tua non vult sinere te. Benevolentia enim et amor tuus accipitur in bonam partem, etsi nihil literarum des. Deus det tibi sapientiam Hester. Saluta, quæso, dominam Turwit, d. Herbard et d. Lanam. Vale, Soror charissima.

Hunsdoniæ, vigesimo Maij anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

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## LETTER XII.

To Doctor Coxe, his Almoner: from Hunsdon, May 23, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 5.]

A short letter, but, as accompanied with kindness, better worth than a longer with malice. (Hitherto inedited.)

Richardo Coxo.

Quia parum habeo temporis, scribo ad te parvas literas, Eleemosynarie charissime: si autem haberem multum temporis, scriberem ad te longiores literas. Parvæ autem literæ cum benevolentia sunt

meliores majoribus cum malevolentia. Quare sum certus te accipere in bonam partem, quod bonum est; ideoque velle accipere libenter literas meas, scribuntur enim benevolentia. Vale Eleemosynarie charissime.

Hunsdoniæ, vigesimo tertio Maij anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

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## LETTER XIII.

### To Queen Katharine: from Hunsdon, May 24, 1546.

[Orig. in MS. Cotton. Vespasian F. III. f. 18.]

This letter is also in the copy-book, MS. Harl. 5087, No. 7, with the date of May 11, and the variation of expression noticed at the foot of the page. It was printed by Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. II. book i. chap. i; in Hearne's Sylloge Epistolarum, p. 115; in Seward's Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons, 1798, vol. i. p. 119; in Ellis's Original Letters, I. ii. 132; and it is translated by Halliwell, vol. ii. p. 9.

Reginæ Catharinæ.

Fortasse miraberis me tam sæpe ad te scribere, idque tam brevi tempore, Regina Nobilissima et Mater Charissima, sed eadem ratione potes mirari me erga te officium facere. Hoc mihi nunc facio libentius, quia est mihi idoneus nuncius servus meus, et ideo non potui non * dare ad te literas ad testificandum studium meum erga te. Optime vale, Regina Nobilissima. Hunsdoniæ, vigesimo quarto Maii.

Tibj obſequentiſſimus filius
Edouardus Princeps.

*Directed*, Illustrissimæ Reginæ
Matri meæ.

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* Jam quia est mihi idoneus nuncius, non possum non, *in the copy MS. Harl.* 5087.

## LETTER XIV.

### To Queen Katharine: undated.

[Orig. in MS. Cotton. Nero C. x. f. 4.]

In the preceding letter the prince speaks of his frequent writing to his step-mother. His letters were not always in Latin, but also in English and in French. The present undated letter was probably written at about the period at which we have now arrived.

A fac-simile in lithography of the whole of this letter is given in "One Hundred Letters," &c. copied by Joseph Netherclift and Son, 1849, 4to. It has also been published in Sir Henry Ellis's First Series of Original Letters, vol. ii. p. 131; in Mr. Halliwell's Collection, vol. ii. p. 4; and by Miss Strickland in her Life of Queen Katharine Parr.

Most honorable and entierly beloved mother, I have me most humbli recommended unto youre grace, with lyke thankes, both for that your grace did accepte so gentylly my simple and rude letters, and also that it pleased your grace so gentylly to vowchsaufe to directe unto me your loving and tendre letters, which do geve me much comfort and encouragement to go forward in such thinges wherin your grace bereath me on hand * that I am alredy entered. I pray God I maie be hable in part to satisfy the good expectation of the kinges majesti my father and of your grace: whom God have ever in his most blessed keping.

Your loving sonne,

E. Prince.

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* To "bear on hand" was a phrase equivalent to "endeavour to persuade." I beare hym in hand, *Je luy fais accroyse.* Palsgrave, l'Eclarcissement de la langue Francoyse.

## LETTER XV.

### To the KING: from Hunsdon, June 2, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 8.]

The Prince tells his father that he had not addressed any letter to him for a long time, from having heard that his Majesty was troubled with martial affairs; alluding to the war with France. The other contents of the letter are merely assurances of the writer's love and duty. (It is translated by Halliwell, vol. ii. p. 9.)

A transcript of the original draft of this letter is preserved in the Library of Gonville and Caius College, at Cambridge: and, being dated on the 4th of May, it shows how long the letter had been in preparation. As there are very considerable variations of expression in the draft, besides the date, a copy is annexed:—

[MS. Gonv. et Caii Coll. Camb. 73, p. 89.]

Non misi ad te literas tam sæpe quàm vellem, nobilissime Rex et pater charissime, quia audivi majestatem tuam perturbari negotiis bellicis contra regem Franciæ. Etenim ante hoc tempus nolui scribere ad majestatem tuam ne ullo tempore impedireris puerilibus illis literis meis. Sed nunc do literas ad majestatem tuam, cum propter officium, tum propter amorem erga te meum, denique quia Deus dicit, *Honora parentem;* postremo ne ob ullam causam putares me ingratum; nullum enim signum nec ullum aliud tam indicat tibi mentem meam absentis, sed cupientis admodum esse tecum, ac literæ, quæ declarant mentem meam tibi cum alia signa non declarent. Præterea rogo majestatem tuam ut impertias mihi benedictionem tuam. Deus qui præbet omni carni cibum tueatur ac servet majestatem tuam. Vale rex nobilissime et pater observandissime.

Hunsdoniæ, quarto Maij. Filius observantissimus

Majestatis tuæ,

EDOUARDUS PRINCEPS.

On the back of folio 90, and in the same handwriting as the letter, are,—at the top,

"The prince his grace to the king's maiest: 4to Maij, 1546."

Along the side, about the middle: "Nobilissimo regi patri meo."

In the left-hand corner, at the top of f. 89, is the note, "Transcrip. B."

Strype printed this letter (as in the draft) in his Eccles. Memorials, vol. ii. book i. chap. i. as "E Biblioth. C. C. C. C. D. No. 23," an erroneous reference for the MSS. of Caius college, vol. 73; and he also printed the amended letter from the MS Harl. 5087 in his Appendix L. No. III.

Regiæ Majestati.

Nihil ad te literarum dedi hoc longo tempore, Rex illustrissime atque pater nobilissime, non quod fui aliqua ex parte negligens, sed

quod ego considerans majestatem tuam perturbari negotiis bellicis putavi me perturbaturum majestatem tuam his puerilibus literis meis. Atque ideo veniebat in mentem mihi scrupulus quidam, num scriberem ad te an non. Sed nunc considerans quod sicut quivis laboriosus post diuturnum laborem cupit recreare animum; sic spero, cum majestas tua longo intervallo habuerit negotium, has pueriles literas meas potius recreaturas animum tuum quam perturbaturas. Nam quia es amabilis et benignus mihi pater, et spero me futurum obsequentissimum tibi filium, ideo judico benevolentiam tuam boni consulturam literas meas ex se indignas. Præterea rogo majestatem tuam, ut impertias mihi benedictionem tuam, optoque tibi bonum eventum in omnibus negotiis tuis. Vale pater nobilissime et Rex illustrissime.

Hunsdoniæ, secundo Junij anno 1546.

EDOUARDUS PRINCEPS.

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## LETTER XVI.

To DOCTOR COXE, his Almoner: from Hunsdon, June 3, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 12.]

He had not written to Coxe for some time, because he had had no messenger to send his letters by, since Fowler left him. After expressing his desire not to be surpassed in industry by the ant, he proceeds to thank his correspondent for having told him of some error, "since those are my friends who show me my faults."

This letter is printed by Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. App. L. No. IX. (misdated *Tertio Julii*) and translated by Halliwell, ii 10.

Richardo Coxo.

Ex quo Foulerus abiit, Eleemosynarie charissime, non misi ad te epistolam, quia cognovi neminem iturum ad te ab illo tempore hucusque. Quod autem non exaravi ad te phrases, elegantes sententias, et elegantia verba, hujus rei negligentiam expulsurum spero. Si enim fuero tardus in conatis, formicæ essent meliores me. For-

micæ enim laborant, et ego essem negligens. Atque mihi videtur quadrare huic, quod ait Hebræus ille sapiens, *Tarda manus facit pauperem, celeris autem divitem.** Ago tibi gratias etiam, quia narrasti mihi erratum meum. Illi enim sunt amici mei, qui indicant mihi culpam meam. Deus immortalis et exhilarator omnium afficiat te gaudio, et servet te incolumem, et augeat sapientiam tuam, atque det tibi gratiam, ut consequeris voluntatem ejus, ut post hanc vitam vivas cum Christo in æterno regno ejus. Optime valeas præceptor charissime.

Hunsdoniæ, tertio Junij anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

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## LETTER XVII.

### To Queen Katharine : from Hunsdon, June 10, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 9.]

This letter is remarkable as containing an encomium on the Queen's penmanship. Her last letter had been written *Romanis literis*, that is, in the Italian hand† : and so admirably that the Prince's preceptor could not be persuaded but that the Queen's secretary had written it, until he saw her Majesty's signature written equally well. "I also," adds the Prince, "was much surprised. I hear besides that your highness makes progress in the Latin language and in good literature, on which account I feel no little joy, for literature is lasting whilst other things perish." After further passages in praise of learning, he again quotes a sentiment of Ludovico Vives (see before, in p. 3.)

This letter is translated by Halliwell, ii. 12.

Reginæ Catharinæ.

Etsi omnes literæ tuæ mihi dulces erant, tamen arridebant hæ

* Proverbs, xiii. 4.

† Dr. Croke, the schoolmaster of the King's natural son the duke of Richmond, was an earnest admirer of the Italian hand, and taught his pupil to be a great proficient therein. (See a curious passage in one of Doctor Croke's letters introduced into my Memoir of the Duke of Richmond, in vol. iii. of the Camden Miscellany.) Edward and his sister Elizabeth were also apt scholars in this hand, though not equal to the duke of Richmond.

postremæ literæ præ ceteris, Regina nobilissima atque mater benevolentissima, ob quas ingentes tibi gratias ago. Sane vero in his video te diligentiam adhibuisse Romanis literis, ita ut non potuerit persuaderi preceptori meo quin Secretarius tuus scripserit, donec vidisset nomen tuum scriptum eque bene. Ego etiam miratus fui. Audio etiam celsitudinem tuam progredi in Latina lingua et bonis literis, quam ob rem non parvo affectus sum gaudio. Literæ enim manent, cætera autem quæ videntur pereunt. Literæ etiam conducunt ad bonos mores, ignorantia autem ad malos ducit. Ac quemadmodum sol est lumen mundi, sic est doctrina lux mentis. Omne quod venit ex Deo bonum est: literæ ex Deo veniunt: proinde doctrina est bonum. Lodovicus etiam Vives ait: *Quod vides, non diu:* significans divitias et cætera bona hujus vitæ peritura. Precor numen cœleste ut servet celsitudinem tuam incolumem.

Hunsdoniæ, decimo Junij anno 1546.

E. PRINCEPS.

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## LETTER XVIII.

### To the KING: from Hunsdon, June 10, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 11.]

The Prince's letter to his father of the 2d of the preceding month had probably been received with approbation, so that he was now encouraged to write again. He expresses his joy at hearing that a peace was on the eve of conclusion with France. (Translated by Halliwell, ii. 11.)

Regiæ Majestati.

Opto tibi pacem cum hostibus duas ob causas, Rex nobilissime et pater illustrissime, cum quod sperarem citius me te visurum, tum quod esset tibi requies. Contra, si retineres bellum, non haberes requiem, sed torquereris. Vellem autem te videre, quod cupiam cognoscere certo te incolumem esse. Nam etsi nonnihil credo auditui aurium,

attamen plus fiduciæ habeo oculis meis. Et vellem libenter, ut majestas tua caperet requiem; quia ea non solum esset tuis subjectis causa gaudendi, verum etiam præcipue mihi ipsi. Sicut enim bellum affert tumultum, sic pax tranquillitatem ducit. Turba malum est, ergo bellum est malum. Requies est bonum, ideo pax est bonum. Fortasse etiam ad hæc quadret quod ait Periander Corinthius: *Bona res quies.* Opto tibi optima, ac proinde opto tibi pacem. Porro precor Deum, ut afficiaris gaudio et sis incolumis in hac vita, et post hanc peregrinationem vivas cum Christo in paradyso. Optime valeas, Rex illustrissime atque pater observandissime.

Hunsdoniæ, decimo Junij anno 1546.

EDOUARDUS PRINCEPS.

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## LETTER XIX.

To DOCTOR COXE, his Almoner: from Hunsdon, June 13, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 14.]

Coxe had often directed him to write good letters, and never bad ones; and, knowing that the composition of a letter was very useful to him, and that he should improve by practice, he sets about the present, and hopes by degrees to be able to write better, and such as would entirely please his master, trusting that he should be as diligent in his studies as the ants in seeking their food. (Hitherto inedited.)

Richardo Coxo.

Quia mihi persuasum est, Eleemosynarie charissime, tibi magis arridere ut ad te literas frequenter potius quam raro dem, mihi visum est nunc nonnihil literarum dare. Sæpe enim mihi jussisti, ut bonas literas scriberem, nunquam autem malas. Et Cato dicit: Τὸν καθηγητὴν δέδιθι: id est, *magistrum metue.* Præterea exarare epistolam mihi multum prodest, exercet enim manum meam. Usus enim promptum facit. Quare mihi persuasum est hanc epistolam ad te scribere. Spero autem, ut cresco ætate, sic quotidie pede-

tentim me exaraturum ad te meliores literas, et incubiturum literis pro viribus, atque tandem per omnia tibi placiturum. Et confido me talem operam daturum literis, qualem formicæ dant ad quærendum cibum quem comedant hieme. Mos enim illorum est semper laborem accipere, nec unquam desinere, ut consulant hiberno cibo. Has etiam literas ex se indignas ut boni consulas exoratum te volo, exaratoris enim benevolentia longe maxima est. Deus prosequatur te sapientia Aronis et Samuelis. Vale præceptor mi charissime.

Hunsdoniæ, 13° Junij anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

## LETTER XX.

### To Doctor Coxe: from Hunsdon, June 28, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 13.]

The Prince wrote to Coxe when he had no good excuse for addressing the Queen or any of his more immediate relations. The real object was his own improvement, which was suggested to him when he sat down to write the present letter, and he makes that argument the subject of the composition. He tells Coxe that he wrote to exercise his hand, to sharpen his wits, and to improve his Latin style; which was particularly requisite as he was likely to be required to speak in Latin to foreigners, of which several instances will occur in the following pages. He again quotes a sentiment of Ludovico Vives, and afterwards one of the colloquies of Erasmus. (Translated by Halliwell, ii. 13.)

Richardo Coxo.

Scribo ad te, Præceptor charissime, non solum quia sit officium meum, verum etiam quia exerceat manum meam, atque etiam excolat tum ingenium, tum Latinam linguam. Si autem nihil exararem, non essem tam paratus ad Latine loquendum, atque ingenium meum esset torpidum. Quare mihi videtur Lodovicum Vivem præclare dixisse: *Ingenium inexercitatum torpidum.* Res enim, qua re sumus viri, qua a belluis differrimus, est mens et ingenium, quæ si

non exerceas componendis epistolis, et excogitandis literis diu, quando velis excogitare libenter, ignara et torpida erunt. Et fortasse huc quadret quod scribit Erasmus in Dialogo: *Otium seu pestem quandam fugio. Ex otio enim omne nascitur malum.* Quare nollem ingenium meum otio languescere, et torpore perire. Præterea pluribus verbis ad te scribam, quando plus otii mihi nactus fuero. Optime valeas, Præceptor amantissime.

Hunsdoniæ, vigesimo octavo Junij anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

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## LETTER XXI.

### To the King: from Hunsdon, July 4, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 15.]

This letter was written to thank the King for having sent his servant Philip, "who was both excellent in music and a gentleman," in order to instruct the Prince in playing the lute. Philip of the king's privy chamber is frequently mentioned in the King's Privy Purse Expenses in 1530-32, edited by Sir Harris Nicolas; also in the Privy-purse Expenses of the Princess Mary 1536-44, edited by Sir Frederick Madden. His entire name was Philip van Wilder: he instructed Mary, as well as her brother, upon the lute. He took care of the king's musical instruments; and in 1538 received 66*s.* 8*d.* a quarter. (See notes in the latter book, p. 256.)

The Prince afterwards expresses his delight at having received an intimation that he was shortly to visit his royal father; for his first wish had been that the King and his kingdom might have peace, and the next that he might see the King: which accomplished, his happiness was complete. (Translated by Halliwell, ii. 14.)

Ad Regem.

Ago tibi ingentes gratias, Rex nobilissime et pater colendissime, quod dignatus fueris ad me mittere Philippum servum tuum, tum excellentem musica, tum generosum. Tu enim illum ad me misisti, quo essem excellentior pulsando testudinem. Qua in re videtur amor tuus erga me maximus. Præterea nonnihil gaudii animo meo attulit, quod audiverim me ad majestatem tuam venturum. Natura enim me movet plurimum. Hoc cum verum sit, potior secundo voto

meo. Primum enim votum meum fuit ut esset tibi pax et regno tuo, deinde vero ut te viderem. Quibus factis felix sum. Vale Rex nobilissime atque pater illustrissime. Ac majestatem tuam oro, ut mihi impertias benedictionem tuam.

Hunsdoniæ, quarto Julij anno 1546.

EDOUARDUS PRINCEPS.

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## LETTER XXII.

### To the KING: from the Moor, August 4, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 16.]

Since the preceding letter was written, Edward had apparently paid his promised visit to the King at Westminster, where his father had gratified him with many great and costly presents, as chains, rings with balls, jewels, collars, brooches, dresses, and many other things. He assures the King that he regards them all as conspicuous tokens of his fatherly affection, and that he was aware that they were not given him to make him proud, but to incite him to the pursuit of all true virtue and piety. This letter and the next are dated from the King's *domus palustris*, meaning the manor of the Moor in Hertfordshire, which was then in the hands of the Crown.

This letter was published by Ellis, I. ii. 135, and translated by Halliwell, ii. 15.

Regiæ Majestati.

Ingentes tibi gratias debeo agere, Rex nobilissime atque pater colendissime, quod me tam humaniter tractasti, sicut pater mei amantissimus, et qui me velles nunquam non recte agere. Gratiam etiam tibi habeo, quod dedisti mihi magna dona et preciosa, ut catenas, annulos cum globulis, gemmas, torques et bullas, et monilia, vestes, et permulta alia. In quibus rebus et donis apparet paterna tua pietas in me. Si enim me non amares, nolles præbere mihi dona tam gemmea. Mihi autem præbes hæc omnia, non ut essem superbus, et mihi nimium placerem, videreque excellere omnes, sed ut me impelleres ad studium omnis veræ virtutis et pietatis; et ut ornares et excoleres me omnibus ornamentis, quæ digna sunt principe; denique ut ego tanto amore affectus essem in te, ac tu in

me. Quod si non facerem, essem ingratissimus. Deus enim me jubet amare inimicum, et multo magis amare patrem meum, qui duxit me in hanc lucem. Vale, Rex nobilissime atque pater venerande; atque precor Deum ut te servet.

E domo tua palustri, quarto Augusti anno 1546.

E. PRINCEPS.

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## LETTER XXIII.

### To QUEEN KATHARINE: from the Moor, August 12, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 17.]

He writes to thank the Queen for her kindness to him during his recent visit to Westminster, and excuses himself for not having written before, because he daily thought he should again be with her highness; and when Fowler first left him, he had barely time to write to the King's majesty.

He further begs to know whether the Lord Admiral, who was expected from France, was a good Latinist, as in that case he should be the more anxious to learn properly what he had to say to him when their meeting took place. This was Claude d'Annebaut, who came to conclude the treaty of peace made with France in 1546. He landed at Greenwich on the 19th August; and on St. Bartholomew's even (the 23d) on his way to Hampton Court was met by the Prince, having with him the archbishop of York, the earls of Hertford and Huntingdon, and above two thousand horse, when the Prince "embraced hym, in such lowly and honorable maner, that all the beholders greatly rejoysed, and muche marveiled at his wit and audacitie." Hall's Chronicle, 1548.

This letter is translated by Halliwell, ii. 15.

Reginæ Catharinæ.

Ingentem tibi gratiam habeo, Nobilissima Regina atque mater illustrissima, quod me tam humaniter tractasti, cum tecum fui Westmonasterii. Quæ benigna tractatio suffundit frigidam * mihi ut te plurimum amem, quanquam te melius amare nequeo. Mihi igitur videtur seculum ex quo te vidi. Præterea exhortatam celsitudinem tuam volo, ut mihi ignoscas, quod hoc longo tempore ad te literas

* See note in p. 29.

non exaravi. Volui quidem, sed quotidie putavi me cum celsitudine tua futurum. Quando autem Foulerus ivit primum, vix mihi fuit tempus scribendi ad regiam majestatem. Porro celsitudinem tuam oro, ut mihi significes num Præfectus maris, qui e Gallia proficiscitur, calleat Latine; quod si calleat, vellem plus discere quod illi loquar, cum ei obviam venero. Precor Deum ut te custodiat, atque det tibi doctrinam et virtutem, tutissimas divitias.

E domo Palustri, duodecimo Augusti anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

## LETTER XXIV.

To Doctor Coxe, his Almoner: from Hatfield, August 20, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 18.]

He expresses his grief that the Almoner was ill, and quotes passages of Job and Paul by way of consolation. (Translated by Halliwell, ii. 16.)

Richardo Coxo.

Maximus mihi dolor fuit, Eleemosynarie charissime, quia audiverim te admodum ægrotum fuisse hac nocte præterita. Tibi autem semper reminiscendum est dicti sancti Jobi, qui quando uxor dixit: *Execrare Deum et morere:* respondit: *Loqueris sicut stulta femina, vis recipere prosperas res a Deo, et non adversas?* Quare mihi videtur huic alludere quod Paulus scribit ad Hebræos: *Fili mi, ne despicias castigationem Domini, nec deficias quando redargueris ab eo. Quem enim Dominus amat, castigat.* Quia horum te meminisse puto, non mihi opus est scribere plura verba. Præterea precor Deum ut convalescas.

Hatfeldiæ, vigesimo Augusti anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

## LETTER XXV.

### To the KING: from Hatfield, September 4, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 19.]

He again takes for the subject of his letter the pleasures he had received at Court, one of the chief of which had been his frequent opportunities of seeing the King; and he expresses a hope that he may soon again enjoy the same indulgence. He also thanks the King for sending him a buck.

This letter is printed by Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. Appx. L. No. 1.

Regiæ Majestati.

Ex omnibus quæ me oblectabant cum essem tecum, Rex nobilissime atque pater illustrissime, nihil magis recreavit animum meum, quam quod mihi copiam feceris videndi et observandi majestatem tuam. Amor enim meus in te conspectu tuo excitatur, tum quod natura id confirmat, tum quod paterna tua pietas magis ac magis quotidie erga me augescit. Quamobrem ingentes gratias tibi ago, et contendo etiam atque etiam abs te ut te iterum visam, cum tibi libitum fuerit. Quod quo citius fuerit, hoc mihi gratius erit. Deinde ingentes tibi gratias ago pro cervo, quem ad me misisti; quod signum est te etiam mei absentis meminisse. Denique rogo te, ut des mihi benedictionem tuam. Opto tibi multam salutem. Vale, Rex nobilissime atque pater illustrissime.

Hatfeldiæ, quarto Septembris anno 1546.

E. PRINCEPS.

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## LETTER XXVI.

### To DOCTOR COXE, his Almoner: from Hatfield, September 7, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 20.]

He expresses his joy that Coxe had recovered from illness, acknowledging his obligation

in gratitude to love him, as having been his teacher in learning and literature, which are the best riches. (Translated by Halliwell, ii. 18.)

Richardo Coxo.

Plurimo affectus fui gaudio, cùm audiverim te convaluisse et esse firmiorem, Præceptor charissime. Tu enim me doces literas, cùm sis mecum. Quare tu mihi es amandus, et oportet me gaudere de tua bona valetudine. Atqui si te non amarem, essem ingratissimus; cum tu me id doces, quod plurimum mihi proderit. Doctrina enim et literæ sunt maximæ divitiæ; sic contrà vitium atque ignorantia sunt pessima omnium. Sicut enim desiderium oculorum facit corpus tenebrosum, sic et ignorantia et vitium faciunt animum tenebrosum. Atque quemadmodum oculus est lux corporis, sic est doctrina lumen ingenii. Quare cùm me rem ad tam multa utilem doces, necesse est me te plurimum amare, et gaudere de tuæ valetudinis recuperatione. Quamobrem cura valetudinem tuam diligenter, ut cito ad me redeas. Ego enim tui desiderio maxime teneor. Vale, Eleemosynarie charissime.

Hatfeldiæ, septimo Septembris 1546.

E. Princeps.

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## LETTER XXVII.

To Doctor Coxe, his Almoner: from Hatfield, Sept. 13, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 21.]

The Prince again expresses his satisfaction that his preceptor was stronger, and that he was likely soon to return to him. (Hitherto inedited.)

Richardo Coxo.

Audivi te recuperasse valetudinem tuam et esse fortiorem, Eleemosynarie et Præceptor charissime, atque te visurum me brevi, quod mihi maximo solatio est. Quare jam cura teipsum, ne iterum

ægrotes. Multi enim qui incipiunt esse fortes, qui nolunt curare seipsos, in alteram valetudinem incidunt pejorem priore. Quia autem parum temporis mihi est, ideo exaro ad te parvam epistolam. Vale, præceptor et Eleemosynarie charissime.

Hatfeldiæ, decimo tertio Septembris anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

## LETTER XXVIII.

### To Queen Katharine: September 20, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 22.]

Acknowledging the kindness he had received from her during his stay at Court, and expressing his joy at hearing how she proceeded in all virtue and goodness. (Hitherto inedited.)

Reginæ Catherinæ.

Cum essem in aula apud Regem, Regina nobilissima atque mater charissima, tam multa in me contulisti beneficia, ut ea vix animo complecti possim. Quæ cum non possum rependere, faciam tamen quantum in me est, id est geram erga te multam benevolentiam, et gaudebo cum audivero te procedere in omni virtute et bonitate; in quibus rebus precor viventem Deum, qui omnia gubernat et regit, ut procedas. Et jam has literas ad te scribo, ut sint testimonium amoris et studii mei erga te. Nihil enim mihi est quod opinor gratius tibi et acceptius erit literis meis; quæ quanquam non admodum elegantes sint, tamen spero illas non injucundas tibi futuras, quas ad te scribo tum amoris, tum officii causa. Precor Deum ut det tibi doctrinam, qua optime gubernare possis totam vitam tuam. Vale, Regina nobilissima atque mater charissima.

Vigesimo Septembris anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

## LETTER XXIX.

### To his Sister Mary: September 26, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 24.]

His fraternal affection, and his sister's great virtue, provoke him both to think of her, and to express his thoughts in this epistle. (Translated in Halliwell, ii. 17.)

Sorori Mariæ.

Amor meus erga te, et fraterna benevolentia, atque natura etiam cogit me, ut ad te scribam literas, soror charissima, quem amorem erga te potest ex animo nullo modo expellere. *(sic.)* Et si non esses soror mea, tamen necesse esset mihi te amare, et literas ad te exarare ob magnam tuam virtutem. Virtus enim est magnes amoris, et nunquam peribit; alia autem cito dilabuntur. Quam ob rem necesse est mihi absenti sæpe de te cogitare, et interdum, cum mihi sit occasio et ocium, ad te literas exarare, quas oro te ut boni consulas. Precor Deum, ut defendat te contra omnia mala, et tuus sit clipeus. Vale, soror charissima.

Vigesimo sexto Septembris anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

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## LETTER XXX.

### To the King: from Hatfield, September 27, 1546.

[Orig. in MS. Cotton. Nero C. x. f. 3. Contemporary copy in MS. Harl. 5087, No. 23.]

The Prince admits that he had but one topic for his letters to his father, namely, the many favours that he had bestowed upon him.

This letter was printed by Fuller in his Church History, book vii. sect. 16; by Hearne, in his Sylloge Epistolarum, p. 115; and a translation by Halliwell, ii. 19.

Regiæ Majestati.

Literæ meæ semper habent unum argumentum, Rex nobilissime atque pater amantissime, id est, in omnibus epistolis ago tibi gratias

pro beneficentia tua erga me maxima. Si enim sæpius multo ad te literas exararem,* nullo tamen quidem † modo potui pervenire officio literarum ad magnitudinem benignitatis tuæ erga me. Quis enim potuit compensare beneficia tua erga me? nimirum nullus, qui non est tam magnus Rex ac Nobilis Princeps, ac tu es: cujusmodi ego non sum. Quamobrem pietas tua in me multo gratior est mihi, quòd facis mihi quæ nullo modo compensare possim; sed tamen adnitar, et faciam quod in me est, ut placeam Majestati tuæ, atque precabor Deum ut diu te servet incolumem. Vale Rex Nobilissime, atque Pater Illustrissime.

Hatfeldiæ, vicesimo septimo‡ Septembris

Majestati tuæ obsequentissimus filius,

EDOUARDUS PRINCEPS.

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## LETTER XXXI.

### To the KING: from Hatfield, September 7, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 25.]

Like many of the preceding, a mere exercise in Latin phraseology, though a longer and more elaborate one. The sentiments are the same as those in the previous compositions. The date is not to be depended upon. The two next letters are both dated Nov. 7, whilst that immediately preceding is dated Sept. 22, but was not despatched until Sept. 27. As there is no other guide than the copybook with respect to these letters, its arrangement is retained. (Hitherto inedited.)

Regiæ Majestati.

Quia nullo alio modo possum ingerere Majestati tuæ in oculos meam pietatem, quam scribendis epistolis, Pater cui veneracionem omnem debeo, ideo mihi visum est, ut ad sublimitatem tuam frequentius literas darem. Ego enim absens nequeo prudentiæ tuæ

* Si enim ad te sæpius literas exararem *in MS. Harl.* 5087.

† quidem *omitted in MS. Harl.*

‡ Vigesimo secundo *in the copy-book, MS. Harl.*

verba facere. Literæ vero, etsi subobscuræ, possunt tamen esse testes benevolentiæ filii erga patrem. Porro cum tam idoneum ad amplitudinem tuam audivissem legatum ire, certe cum animo meo decrevi fuisse officium meum ad prudentiam tuam has pueriles nugas mittere. Si enim nihil ad celsitudinem tuam scriberem, non solum omitterem officium meum, verum etiam præberem specimen sceleratæ ingratitudinis. Rogo pietatem tuam, ut nunquam cesses paterna benedictione tua me beare. Denique hanc precem Deo effundo, et augeat te in omni pietate atque heroicis virtutibus. Felicissime valeat tua majestas.

Hatfeldiæ, septimo Septembris anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

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## LETTER XXXII.

To his Sister Mary: from Hatfield, November 7, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 26.]

To write to his sister, was an impulse of nature which he could not resist. Moreover, he has now to thank her for writing to him. (Translated in Halliwell, ii. 19.)

Sorori Mariæ.

Natura mihi frigidam suffundit,* soror charissima, ad te literas mittere, quæ quidem natura a nemine expelli potest. Horatius enim longe eloquentissimus atque doctissimus sane poeta, qui multas scripsit elegantes sententias, hoc dictum quidem exaravit,

Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.

Porro tibi ex animo gratias ago, quod ad me literas scripseris; in

* This phrase, which the Prince thrice employs (pp. 22, here, and 37), and evidently in the sense of "compels" or "enforces," is derived from a proverbial expression in Plautus, Cistell. 1, 1, 37; to which the Latin lexicographers Littleton and Ainsworth have given the very different sense, "to cool one's courage." In Bayley's edition of Forcellini and Facciolati also it is explained, "hominum erga nos calidam amorem minuunt veluti aquam frigidam suffendendo," which is equivalent to our English phrase of "throwing cold water."

quibus sane videtur tuus erga me ineffabilis amor, quod mihi optes plurimum honorem, et exoratum Deum vis, ut proficiam in omni pietate. Opto tibi plurimam salutem. Vale, amantissima Soror.

Hatfeldiæ, septimo Novembris anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

## LETTER XXXIII.

### To the Queen: from Hatfield, November 7, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 27.]

He thanks the Queen for her former kind acceptance of his letters: and admits that he should be greatly deficient in duty did he neglect to write to her. (Hitherto inedited.)

Reginæ Catharinæ.

Debeo tibi ingentes gratias, Mater venerandissima, quod tam boni meas consuluisti literas; quæ quidem, etsi nullius momenti sint, tua tamen humanitas pro illis mihi gratias immerito agit. Quisque enim illud obire debet, quod officium suum postulat. Idcirco me cum ad præsens constitui has literas tum ineleganter compositas, tum negligenter quidem scriptas, ad te dare. Porro si non functus essem officio meo, hoc est, si non ad te literas darem, pessime de te meritus essem. Quare nihil omnino debet tua celsitudo mihi, cum omnia quæ facio sint partes meæ. Tua sublimitas laudat me indignum laude. Verum tua amplitudo multo majores meretur laudes, quæ tua virtute multum conciliasti tibi honorem. In qua quidem virtute exoratum Deum volo, ut feliciter proficias. Valeat tua celsitudo.

Hatfeldiæ, 7° Novembris anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

## LETTER XXXIV.

### To his Sister Elizabeth: December 5, 1546.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 28.]

We have not hitherto had any letter addressed by the Prince to his sister Elizabeth, apparently because they had been recently resident together at Hatfield. They were now separated, and Elizabeth had been the first to write, inviting the Prince to reply to her. He expresses his gratification at her kindness, and his desire to return it in equal measure, and adds that he took comfort in the hope of soon seeing her again, as his chamberlain had told him might be the case if no unforeseen accident happened to either of them.

This letter has no date of place. Although the Prince speaks of his sister's "departure," or separation, from him, it seems, from the ensuing letters, that a removal from Hatfield also took place on his own part.

This letter is printed by Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. Appx. L. No. vii. and translated by Halliwell, ii. 21.

Sorori Elizabethæ.

Loci quidem mutatio me non tantum angebat, charissima soror, quantum discessus tuus a me. Nunc autem nihil omnino mihi gratius accidere potest quam tuæ literæ, ac præcipue, quod ad me prior dedisti literas, ac me scribere literas provocasti. Quare ingentes tibi gratias ago tum ob benevolentiam tuam, tum ob celeritatem. Itaque adnitar pro viribus te si non superare, saltem æquare benevolentia ac studio. Hunc vero meum dolorem consolatur, quod spero me brevi visurum te, si nullus interim neque apud me, neque apud te casus interveniat, ut mihi retulit meus Camerarius. Vale, soror charissima.

Quinto Decembris anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

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## LETTER XXXV.

### To the Lady Elizabeth: from Tittenhanger, December 18, 1546.

[Orig. in MS. Petyt, in Inner Temple Library.]

The lady Elizabeth had probably written to her brother in French, and invited him to

reply to her in the same language. He thanks her not only for her letter, but for her good advice and example, which he hoped would serve him as a stimulus to follow her in his learning. We have one other of his French letters preserved, which was written to the Queen in 1547 (see No. XLVIII.)

The present letter is dated from Tittenhanger in Hertfordshire, a manor-house formerly belonging to the abbat of St. Alban's, which had been occupied by Wolsey in right of that abbacy, and in 1528 became the refuge of Henry VIII. during the prevalence of the sweating sickness. The king then had some improvements made in it for his own accommodation (see State Papers, 1830, i. 307, 313, 316); and, after the dissolution of monasteries, it continued in the crown until the close of his reign, when it was sold to sir Thomas Pope (ibid. p. 897, and Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire, i. 207). The lady Mary was there in 1540 (see her Memoir by Sir Fred. Madden, p. 89).

This letter was published by Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. book I. chap. i.

Puisque vous a pleu me rescrire, Tres chere et bien aymée Sœur, je vous mercie de bien bon cuer, et non seullement de vostre lettre, mais aussy de vostre bonne exhortation et example, laquelle, ainsy que j'espere, me servira d'esperon pour vous suivre en apprenant. Priant Dieu vous avoir en sa garde,

De Titenhanger, 18 jour de Decembre, et l'an de nostre Seigneur 1546. Vostre frere,

EDOUARDUS PRINCE.

*Directed*, A ma treschere et bien aymée Sœur Elyzabeth.

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## LETTER XXXVI.

### To his Sister MARY: from Hertford, January 10, 1546-7.

[Orig. in MS. Harl. 6986, art. 11. Contemporary copy in MS. Harl. 5087, No. 29.]

To acknowledge a new-year's gift, and also to fulfil his desire of writing to her. Printed in Park's edition of Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, i. 67; and translated by Halliwell, ii. 22.

Sorori Mariæ.

Una hæc epistola ad duas res valet, Charissima Soror, tùm ad

agendas tibi pro strena tua gratias, tùm ad explendum studium meum scribendi ad te. Strena tua talis est, ut mihi necesse sit eam plurimi facere ob dignitatem rei, et multum probare ob donantis amorem.

Studium meum ad te scribendi tantum est, ut quanquàm me te brevè visurum sperem, tamen, cum mihi sit otium, vix queam mihi ipsi satisfacere nisi ad te scripsero. Non possum enim te non vehementer amare, à qua sentio me plurimum diligi.

Hartfordiæ, decimo Januarii, anno 1546.

Amantissimus tui Frater,

EDOUARDUS PRINCEPS.

*Directed*, Charissimæ meæ
Sorori Mariæ.

## LETTER XXXVII.

### To the QUEEN: from Hertford, January 10, 1546-7.

[Orig. in MS. Cotton. Nero C. x. f. 5. Contemporary copy in MS. Harl. 5087, No. 30.]

The Queen had sent the Prince for a new-year's gift the portraits of the King and herself in one picture. He declares that the pleasure of contemplating the features of those whom he desired so much to see in person was so great that he was more thankful for such a new year's gift than if he had received costly robes or chased gold, or any thing of the highest estimation.

This letter was published by Fuller in his Church History, book VII. sect. 17; by Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. App. L. No. IV.; by Hearne, Sylloge Epistolarum, p. 117; and a translation by Halliwell, ii. 22.

Reginæ Catharinæ.

Quòd non ad te jam * diu scripserim, Regina Illustrissima atque Mater Charissima, in causa fuit non negligentia sed studium. Non enim hoc feci, ut nunquam omnino scriberem, sed ut accuratiùs scriberem. Quare spero te futuram contentam et gavisuram quòd

* jam *omitted in MS. Harl.* 5087.

non scripserim. Tu enim velles me proficere in omni honestate et pietate, quod est signum insignis et diuturni tui amoris erga me. Atque hunc amorem multis beneficiis mihi declarasti, et præcipuè hac strena, quam proximè ad me misisti, in qua Regiæ Majestatis et tua effigies ad vivum expressa continetur. Nam plurimum me delectat vestras imagines absentium contemplari, quos libentissimè * videre cupio præsentes; ac quibus maxime tum natura, tum officio, devinctus sum. Quamobrem majores tibi gratias ago ob hanc strenam, quam si misisses ad me preciosas vestes, et aurum cœlatum, aut quidvis aliud eximium. Deus tuam Celsitudinem, quam me brevi visurum spero, servet incolumem.

Hartfordiæ, decimo Januarij.

Filius Celsitudini tuæ
Obsequentissimus
Edouardus Princeps.

*Directed*, Nobilissimæ Reginæ
& Matri meæ
Charissimæ.

On the inner leaf of this letter—in the handwriting, not of her Majesty, but probably of one of her most learned clerks—is written the draft of the Queen's answer, in which she warmly congratulates the Prince on his improvement both in Latin composition and in writing. It is as follows:

"Istam ad me scribendi harum aliquot diecularum intermissionem, Charissime fili, quo modo non præclaris literarum studiis potiusquam ulli negligentiæ ascribere possim, cum animo meo ac cogitatione metiar quanto et me matrem et bonas literas simul amore prosequaris, ut hinc te pietas in matrem, hinc discendi cupiditas te prorsus vel ab omni suspicione negligentiæ etiam indicta causa liberare possit. Quam magna autem diligentia hoc temporis intervallo Musas excolueris literæ quas ad me dedisti jam nuperrime locupletissimi testes esse possunt, quæ et Latinæ orationis puritate ac literarum elegantiori formatione reliquis omnibus à te profectis mihi longissime prænitere videntur. Quod vero strenulam quam ad te miserim tanti facias plurimum sane gaudeo, sperans fore, te præclarissimi patris tui facta in omni vita meditarum ac adeo expressurum esse cujus imagi-

* lubentissime, *in MS. Harl.*

nem depictam ob oculos gestare tantopere placebit: ad cujus raras virtutes conspiciendas observandasque dum mentis tuæ oculos flexeris rem profecto dignissimam utilissimamque et tibi et huic Reipublicæ præstabis, quod ut seriò seduloque facias faxit Deus, qui te totum donis suis cœlestibus exornet atque perficiat."

"Westmonasterii."

This is erroneously described in the Catalogue of the Cottonian Manuscripts as "A rough draft of a letter from Henry VIII. to prince Edward."

## LETTER XXXVIII.

### To the KING: from Hertford, January 10, 1546–7.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 31.]

To return thanks for his Majesty's new year's gift, the nature of which is not specified. He promises to endeavour to become a good son of so excellent a father, and to follow the example of his virtue, wisdom, and piety. (Printed by Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, ii. App. L. No. II.)

Regiæ Majestati.

Cum tot et tanta in me contuleris beneficia, Rex nobilissime atque pater pientissime, quæ vix numerare queam; tum hæc strena, quam ad me postremum misisti, videtur mihi non solum præclara, verumetiam paternæ tuæ pietatis erga me plenissima, ob quam ingentes tibi gratias ago; et cogito me, quanquam adnitar pro viribus omne tempus vitæ meæ, et laborem in omni genere officiorum, tamen vix magnitudinem beneficiorum tuorum attingere posse. Quare conabor, quod natura et officium me postulant, majestati tuæ placere, atque esse optimi patris bonus filius, ac sequi exemplum virtutis, sapientiæ, et pietatis tuæ. Quam rem spero tibi futuram gratissimam. Atque hoc melius præstabo, si pergas in benevolentia tua erga me, et mihi quotidianam tuam benedictionem impertias. Dominus Jesus te servet incolumem.

Hartfordiæ, decimo Januarij anno 1546.

E. PRINCEPS.

## LETTER XXXIX.

To Archbishop Cranmer: from Hertford, January 24, 1546–7.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 32.]

The Prince had also received a new-year's gift from his godfather the archbishop, and this letter tells us what it was—a cup, which the archbishop had accompanied with a letter recommending perseverance in his studies. With the help of his present master, the Prince is enabled to return some adages of Aristippus and Cicero in recognition of the archbishop's sentiments in the praise of learning.

This letter was edited by Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. App. L. No. v.; and by Ellis, I. ii. 136; a translation is given by Halliwell, vol. ii. p. 23.

Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo.

Duæ res mihi calcar addiderunt, ut ad te literas scribam, Susceptor amantissime. Prima, ut tibi gratias agam ob calicem; deinde, ob literas tuas, quas ad me postremum misisti. Poculum tuum perhibet testimonium te mihi plurimos felicissimos annos optare ac precari. Ex literis autem tuis multum fructus accepi, quod in illis me hortaris, atque veluti stimulum addis ad perdiscendas bonas literas, quæ mihi usui futuræ sint, cum ad virilem perveniam ætatem. Literæ vero bonæ et artes liberales mihi discendæ sunt, quod Aristippus hoc dicere solet: *Disce puer, quæ tibi viro sunt usui futura.* Atque etiam huic quadrat quod ille Cicero eloquentissimus autor narrat: *Literarum studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, res secundas ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.* Denique exoratum te volo, ut boni consulas Latinitatem meam ipsa barbarie barbariorem, cum tua eloquentia sit excellentissima. Vale, susceptor amantissime, oculis meis mihi charior, cui multum fœlicitatis opto.

Hartfordiæ, 24$^{to}$ Januarij anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

## LETTER XL.

### To Doctor Day, Bishop of Chichester: from Hertford, January 25, 1546-7.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 33.]

The bishop of Chichester had also sent the Prince a present, and probably as a new-year's gift; although the many other letters of thanks which the Prince had been required to write had deferred the despatch of this until the 25th of January. The bishop (who is addressed as one more learned than Minerva) had sent to the Prince some (printed) books, a letter, and also some little tomes, which contained extracts from the writings of Cicero, very probably made in manuscript by the bishop's own hand.

George Day, after having been master of St. John's and provost of King's college in Cambridge, was consecrated bishop of Chichester in the year 1543. Bishop Day was unwilling to yield to the alterations of the Reformers, and though he bore a share in the compilation of the first liturgy, published in 1548, he continued firmly attached to the adoration of images, and would not submit to the arguments of archbishop Cranmer and bishop Goodrich for the removal of altars In 1550 bishop Coxe was sent into his diocese to preach against popery; and in 1551 he was deprived, together with bishop Heath. He was restored by queen Mary in 1554, and died in 1556.

The letter is translated by Halliwell, ii. 24.

Episcopo Cicestrensi.

Tria mihi frigidam suffundunt,* ut ad te literas exararem, Pontifex Minerva doctior. Primum, ut tibi pro libris gratias agam, quos nuperrime ad me misisti; deinde, ob literas; denique, ne videar Timone inhumanior, plurima a me tibi habetur gratia ob libellos quos Cicero ille princeps excogitavit, qui non solum eloquentiam exuperant instar aurei fluminis, verumetiam continent divinum quendam sensum; deinde ob epistolam, quod sit testimonium insignis ac mirabilis tui amoris erga me. Eloquentia enim Ciceronis fuit insignis atque mirabilis, commentarius suus elegans et jucundus. Denique si conferas meam latinitatem cum tua, esset quemadmodum

* See note in p. 29.

si lutum cum gemmis comparares; meam tamen ut equi consulas te precor. Vale Pontifex eruditissime.

Hertfordiæ, vicesimo quinto Januarij anno 1546.

E. Princeps.

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## LETTER XLI.

### King Edward to the Queen: from the Tower of London, February 7, 1546-7.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 34.]

The Prince had scarcely completed his round of acknowledgments for new-year's gifts, when he was called upon for another series of letters upon a graver occasion. His father's death, on the 28th Jan. 1546–7, made him the head of his family as well as sovereign of the kingdom; and, upon assuming the royal dignity, he wrote to his step-mother, and his sisters, to assure them of his love and regard These three letters were published by Strype, in his Ecclesiastical Memorials, and by Sir Henry Ellis, in his First Series of Letters The present letter is in Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. Appx. L. No. x.; Ellis, I. ii. 141; translated in Halliwell, ii. 25.

Reginæ Catharinæ.

Plurimas tibi gratias ago ob epistolam, quam ad me postremam misisti, charissima Mater, quæ sane est signum insignis tui ac quotidiani amoris in me. Porro cum visum est Deo optimo maximo, ut meus pater et tuus conjux, Rex illustrissimus, hanc vitam finiret, nobis ambobus communis est dolor. Hoc vero nobis consolationem affert, quod jam sit in cœlo, atque quod ex hac vita misera profectus sit in fœlicem atque æternam beatitudinem. Quisquis enim hic felicem agit vitam, atque rempublicam recte gubernat, sicut nobilissimus meus pater fecit, qui promovit omnem pietatem, atque expulit omnem ignorantiam, habet certissimum iter in cœlum. Quamvis vero natura jubet dolere, ac lacrymas effundere, ob discessum ejus absentis; tamen scriptura ac prudentia jubent moderari

affectus istos, ne videamur nullam omnino spem habere resurrectionis mortuorum et vita defunctorum. Præterea cum tua celsitudo in me tot beneficia contulit, ego debeo quicquid commodi possem tibi afferre præstare. Opto tuæ celsitudini plurimam salutem. Vale, Regina veneranda.

E Turri, septimo Februarij anno 1546.

E. Rex.

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## LETTER XLII.

To his Sister Mary: from the Tower of London, February 8, 1546-7.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 35.]

The sentiments of this letter are commonplace, and void of any sentiment beyond those of a school exercise. It concludes, however, with the important assurance that the writer would approve himself the dearest and kindest of brothers. It was published by Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. Appx. L. No. xi. and in Ellis, I. ii. 1; and translated by Halliwell, ii. 26.

Sorori Mariæ.

Natura, non sapientia, nobis classicum canit ad lamentandum patris nobis charissimi mortem. Natura enim putat se illum amisisse mortuum; at sapientia credit, quod is, qui vivit cum Deo, est in æterna fœlicitate. Quare cum Deus miserit nobis talem sapientiam, non debemus mortem illius lugere, cum ejus voluntas sit, qui omnia in bonum operatur. Quod ad me autem pertinet, ero tibi charissimus frater et omni benevolentia exuberans. Deus optimus maximus te imbuat suis donis. Vale.

E Turri Londinense, octavo Februarij anno 1546.

E. Rex.

## LETTER XLIII.

### To his Sister ELIZABETH: from the Tower of London, February 8, 1546-7.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 36.]

This letter to Elizabeth pursues the same argument as that to Mary, that wisdom was to gain the victory over nature, in moderating the grief which their father's death occasioned. Edward was himself reconciled to the loss, and was much pleased to perceive, in a letter he had already received from Elizabeth, that she was of the same mind. (Printed in Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. Appx. L. No. XII.; Ellis, I. ii. 143.)

Sorori Elizabethæ.

Minime opus est mihi te consolari, charissima Soror, quod eruditione tua cognoscis quid sit faciendum, prudentia vero et pietate tua, quod eruditio docuit te cognoscere, facto præstas. Non enim lugendus est pater noster, quamvis nobis charissimus fuerit, quod jam sit in cœlo; nec mors ejus deploranda, quæ est via ex hac vita misera ad longe feliciorem. Quare quisque debet adniti pro viribus, ut sapientia vincat naturam, et fortitudo moderetur affectus, et consilium gubernet judicium populi. Quisquis enim hoc facit, is vere Christianus appellatur; at si quis dicat qui huic contrarium facit Christianum, eum certe falso atque illi indigno nomine nuncupat. Præterea literæ tuæ mihi admodum arridebant, tum quod in illis elegantes sententiæ continentur, tum quod ex illis sentio te æquo consuluisse animo mortem patris nostri. Porro si ullo modo possum tibi commodare, libenter præstabo. Optime vale.

E Turri, octavo Februarij anno 1546.

E. REX.

## LETTER XLIV.

### To Queen Katharine: dated May 30, 1547.

[MS. Corpus Christi College, Camb. 119. MS. Harl. 5087, No. 37.]

This letter, when rightly interpreted, affords evident proof both of the altered position of the queen, and of the restraint which was imposed upon the young King in regard to his intercourse with her. He had been put off from writing to her as he used to do, because he was now resident very near her, and it was customary only to write to people at a distance. Besides, he was told, day after day, that he would probably see her. But the protector had taken care that no such interview should take place; for he had strong suspicions at least of the queen's intentions with regard to his brother the lord admiral, which he desired in every possible way to discountenance, and one mode by which he sought to do so, was by barring the access of either party to the King. At last, the royal boy, having received a letter from the queen, entreating him to write to her, could not be persuaded any longer to defer those acknowledgments which his previous education and practice had taught him to be her due. The queen in her letter had naturally made some allusion to the deceased King; this is caught at by the tutor, and forms the key-note of the homily which her step-son is now instructed to address to her. He exhorts her to proceed in her good beginning—of widowed love, and to pursue his father's most noble memory with an eternal affection, for in so doing she would fulfil the duty of a good wife and subject. This recommendation is accompanied with the further request that the queen would continue her marks of kindness towards himself; and, lastly, with the expression of a hope that she would persevere in the study of the holy scriptures,—an occupation which the protector and his friends recommended as best suited to engage the solitary hours of the royal widow. Matters, however, had already proceeded too far in the dowager's palace at Chelsea to be checked by such gentle hints. A few weeks after, when the lord Seymour got access to the King, the latter was easily persuaded to write to his step-mother in a very different strain (see Letter XLVI.)

This letter is published by Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. book I. chapter v., and in Hearne's Sylloge, p. 116; it is translated by Halliwell, vol. ii. p. 33 (but there misappropriated to the year 1548), and also in Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens, edit. 1853, iii. 264. The original draft is preserved among Archbishop Parker's MSS. in the library of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, vol. 119, art. 8, whence Strype derived it; and a lithographed fac-simile thereof is given in the Appendix to "The Gospel according to St. Matthew, &c. translated by Sir John Cheke," edited by the Rev. James Goodwin, B.D. 1843, 8vo.

Reginæ Catharinæ.

Cum non* procul abs te abessem, et quotidie me te visurum sperarem, mihi optimum videbatur non omnino ad te literas dare. Literæ enim sunt cujusdam memoriæ et benevolentiæ longe absentium signa. Sed ego petitione tua tandem accensus non potui non ad te literas mittere. Primum ut tibi gratum faciam; deinde vero, ut tuis literis respondeam benevolentia plenis, quas e Sancto Jacobo ad me misisti. In quibus primum ponis ante oculos tuum amorem erga patrem meum Nobilissimæ memoriæ Regem; deinde benevolentiam erga me; ac postremo pietatem, scientiam, et doctrinam in sacris literis. Perge igitur in tuo bono incepto, et prosequere patrem amore diuturno; ac exhibe mihi tanta signa benevolentiæ, quæ semper hactenus in te sensi; et ne desinas amare et legere sacras literas, sed semper in eis legendis persevera. In primo enim indicas officium bonæ conjugis et subjectæ; in secundo ostendis laudem amicitiæ tuæ; et in tertio tuam pietatem erga Deum. Quare cum ames patrem non possum non te vehementer laudare; cum me ames, non te iterum diligere; et cum verbum Dei ames, te colam et mirabar ex animo. Quare si quid sit, quo possum tibi gratum facto vel verbo facere, libenter præstabo. Vale. Tricessimo Maij.

E. Rex.

## LETTER XLV.

### To the Earl of Hertford: from St. James's, June 9, 1547.

[Orig. holograph, in MS. Lansdowne 1236, p. 14. Copy in MS. Harl. 5087, No. 38.]

This letter is written by the King to his "sweetest cousin" Edward earl of Hertford, the duke of Somerset's eldest son, who, it appears, had for the first time addressed him, probably in congratulation of his accession to the throne.

* The word *non* is omitted in the copy-book, by error of the scribe.

The King is instructed to reply to him with the warmest encomiums of his amiability and his diligence in study, in order, no doubt, to encourage the estimation of those good qualities in the breast of the royal writer.

Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, the eldest son of the Protector by his second wife Anne Stanhope, and his heir by special remainder, lived through the reign of Elizabeth, and nearly through that of James the First, and died an aged man in 1621. He was about nine years of age when he received this very flattering letter from his royal cousin. He was restored to the earldom of Hertford by queen Elizabeth in 1559; but for a time incurred her displeasure by his adventurous match with the lady Katharine Grey.

There is a second letter to the earl of Hertford in a subsequent page. Strype, in his catalogue of the King's writings (Life of Cranmer, p. 298) has mentioned "A letter to the earl of Hertford his cousin in Latin:" quoting Sir W. Hatton's MSS.—whether a copy of one of these two I have not been able to ascertain. Sir Henry Ellis printed the present letter in his First Series, ii. 144, but fell into the error of supposing it to have been addressed to the duke of Somerset; and so has Mr. Halliwell, in his Royal Letters, vol. ii. p. 27.

Edouardus Rex.

Literæ tuæ, Cognate suavissime, mihi longe gratissimæ fuerunt, multis de causis. Primum quia cum eas bene perpendo, sentio in te maximam gratitudinem, et animi humanitatem, deinde video te literis imbutum esse, postremo vero animadverto tuam insignem diligentiam. Perge igitur in preclaro tuo incœpto, sisque erga omnes gratus et humanus, nec amorem tuum subtrahas erga literas et preclaram philosophiam, denique adhibe diligentiam in omnibus tuis conatibus. Si etenim * humanitate precellueris, omnes naturæ tuæ bonitatem valde suspicient; præterea si amore literas prosequaris, et legi divinæ des operam, optimus quisque te ad cœlum usque extollet; postremo si fueris assiduus, omnia tibi felicissime succedent. Itaque pro tua erga me humanitate non possum non te maxime diligere, pro studio tuo erga literas infracto,† non te vehe-

* enim *in MS. Harl.* 5087.

† infracto in literas *in MS. Harl.* 5087.

menter laudibus vehere, proque diligentia tua incomparabili non te merito admirari. Vale. Ex divi Jacobi, nono die Junij.

*Directed,* Cognato meo Chariss°
Edouardo Hardfordiensi.

## LETTER XLVI.

### To Queen Katharine: from St. James's, June 25, 1547.

[From transcript by Thoresby in the Bodleian Library.]

Strype appears to have possessed the original of this letter, having printed it in his Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. book i. chap. xvi. from "MSS. penes me;" afterwards Thoresby, by whom a copy was transmitted to Hearne, which is now preserved among the correspondence of the latter in the Bodleian Library, under letter T.; and subsequently Thane, who engraved the signature and date in fac simile under the portrait of the King in his British Autography. It is stated by Thoresby to be "endorsed by an ancient hand, 'The Kyng's Majestie to the Quene after marriage.'" Mr. Halliwell, in copying the letter, (ii. 35) has given an inaccurate copy of this indorsement, and has incorrectly stated that "the letter is still preserved among the Cottonian MSS:" where it is now preserved has not been ascertained by the present editor.

This very remarkable letter, so opposite in its intent to that which the King had written not a month before (No. XLIV.), was perhaps as little as the other the natural reflection of the King's own wishes or sentiments; but its meaning was more obvious, and we may therefore suppose that, on this occasion at least, Edward knew the purport of what he was writing. Its contents were evidently dictated by the lord admiral himself. He procured it with the object that it should bear testimony that his marriage with the queen dowager had been not merely sanctioned, but even advocated and solicited, by the King. This little plot had been laid with the queen's co-operation; she had "merrily" written "requiring help against" the lord admiral; he went to receive the King's answer, and appears to have easily induced the young monarch to write all that he required. About a year after Seymour endeavoured (as we shall see) to repeat the same policy, with less success: his brother's jealousy at that time excluded him from personal access or open communication with the King.

The existence of the present letter was known to the privy council at the time of the lord admiral's prosecution. Among the articles objected to him (as recorded in the council-book) were the following:—

"20. It is objected and laid to your charge, That you married the late queen so soon after the late King's death, that, if she had conceived strait after, it should have been a

great doubt whether the child born should have been accounted the late King's or yours; whereupon a marvellous danger and peril might and was like to have ensued to the King's majesty's succession, and quiet of the realm.

"21. It is objected and laid to your charge, That you first married the queen privately, and did dissemble and keep close the same, insomuch that, *a good space after you had married her, you made labour to the King's majesty, and obtained a letter of his majesty's hand, to move and require the said queen to marry with you;* and likewise procured the lord protector to speak to the queen to bear you her favour towards marriage; by the which colouring not only your evil and dissembling nature may be known, but also it is to be feared that at this present you did intend to use the same practice in the marriage of the lady Elizabeth's grace."

The love-letters of the queen and lord admiral, of which several are preserved, help to show the progress of this memorable wooing. Between the principal parties there had been little if any difficulty, for it was the renewal of a former attachment;* but to obtain the assent and concurrence of those in power was an undertaking which required the utmost skill and management. One of the queen's letters, which are undated, begins thus: "My Lord, As I gather by your letter delivered to my brother Herbert, ye are in some fear how to frame my lord your brother to speak in your favour. The denial of your request shall make his folly more manifest to the world, which will more grieve me than the want of his speaking. I would not wish you to importune for his good-will if it come not frankly at the first; it shall be sufficient once to require it, and then to cease. *I would desire you to obtain the King's letters in your favour*, and also the aid and furtherance of the most notable of the Council, such as ye shall think convenient; which thing obtained, shall be no small shame to your brother and loving sister, [this was a sneer at the duchess of Somerset,] in case they do not the like."

On the 17th of May,—when the private marriage alleged in the article already cited had evidently taken place, but whether before or after the queen had written as above †

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* To this point we have Katharine's own earnest testimony. "I would not (she assures her chosen) have you to think this mine honest good-will toward you to proceed of any sudden notion of passion; for, as truly as God is God, my mind was fully bent, the other time I was at liberty, to marry you before any man I know."

† In the passage following those quoted, the queen proceeds to notify her consent "*to change the two years into two months:*" if this implied two months reckoned from king Henry's death at the end of January, then, in compliance with such arrangement, the secret marriage would be made at the end of March. It appears, however, from a letter written by Seymour on the 17th May, that at that date the queen's intention was only just communicated to her sister lady Herbert, with whom she lived on terms of perfect confidence and familiarity.

it is difficult to determine,—the lord admiral tells the queen, "I have not as yet attempted my strength, for that I would be first thoroughly in credit ere I would move the same; but, beseeching your highness that I may not so use my said strength that they (evidently meaning the leading members of the privy council) shall think, and hereafter cast in my teeth, that by their suit I sought and obtained your goodwill, for hitherto I am out of all their dangers for any pleasure that they have done for me worthy of thanks, and, as I judge, your highness may say the like, wherefore by mine advice we will keep us so, nothing mistrusting the goodness of God but we shall be able to live out of their danger, as they shall out of ours; yet I mean not but to use their friendship to bring our purpose to pass, as occasion shall serve."

It appears from the 21st article of his impeachment that the lord admiral, at length, not only obtained the present letter from King Edward, but also was successful where he apprehended the most difficulty. He "procured the lord protector to speak to the queen to bear him her favour towards marriage:"—that is to say, the duke, apprised that the matter had already proceeded past remedy, was at last persuaded to notify his acquiescence in the marriage; and afterwards, when the queen-dowager gave birth to a child, he certainly addressed to his brother a note of congratulation conceived in very cordial terms, though attached to a letter of expostulation and reproof, and remarkable, like the protector's other letters, for its assumption of the regal "We." (See this in Miss Strickland's life of Katharine Parr.)

We thank you hartely, not onlie for your gentle acceptatione of our sute moved unto you, but also for your lovinge accomplishinge of the same, where in you have declared not onlie a desire to gratifie us, but also moved us to declar the good will likewise that we beare to yow in all your requestes. Wherfore ye shal not nede to feare anie grefe to come, or to suspecte lake of ayde in nede; seing that he, beinge mine uncle, is of soe goode an nature that he will not be troblesome oney meanes untoe yow; and I of that minde that of divers juste causes I must favor yow. But even as without cause yow merelye require helpe against him whome yow have putte in trust with the cariage of thes lettres; so maie I merelie retourne the same requeste unto yow, to provide that he maie live with yow also without grefe, wich hathe givene him hoeli unto yow.

And I will so provide for yow bothe, that hereafter, if any greafe befall, I shall be a sufficiente socore in you godlie or praisable

enterprises. Fare ye welle, with muche encreas of honor and vertue in Christe.

From Saincte James, the fife and twentie daie of June.

EDWARD.

*Directed*, To the queenes grace.

We must not quit this subject without the further remark, that the lord admiral also addressed the lady Mary, soliciting her to recommend his suit to the queen. His letter is not preserved; but the lady Mary's careful and judicious reply, in which she told him it did not become her either as daughter of the late King, or as a maid, to interfere in such matters, may be seen in Sir Henry Ellis's First Series of Original Letters, vol. ii. p. 150, or Miss Strickland's memoir of Katharine Parr, Lives of the Queens, 1853, iii. 263.

## LETTER XLVII.

To the DUKE OF SOMERSET: from Hampton Court, August 24, 1547.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 39.]

The Protector had now undertaken the war with Scotland, and King Edward is taught that his uncle was endeavouring to restore to the English crown a portion of "its own" inheritance, by making the Scots its subjects. He further acknowledges his uncle's care in promoting the peace and religion of the kingdom; and lastly thanks him for having undertaken to execute all the business of the royal office during the writer's boyhood. Edward thinks he can send the duke nothing more acceptable than this token of his esteem, begging him to be always mindful of these virtues—first equity and justice, then faith and true religion, finally, courage and valour. He prays God for the duke's safe progress and return.

Edouardo Duci Somers.

Agnosco me multis nominibus tibi debere, charissime avuncule, ob tuam ingentem benevolentiam. Primum quia suum meæ reipublicæ restituere conaris, ac das operam uti Scoti sint nostri subjecti. Præterea tu studes, ut hoc regnum sit quietum et repletum vera religione, hoc est fide in Deo. Quamobrem tibi ingentes gratias ago; illud enim, quod reipublicæ, mihi etiam prodesse debet.

Postremo maxime tibi devincior, quod, me puero, suscipis omnia negotia quæ mea sunt. Cum autem tot beneficia in me contulisti, non possum non aliquod testimonium benevolentiæ meæ erga te præbere. Cumque nihil aliud possum tibi mittere, quod gratius hoc erit, ad te hoc munusculum do; in quo a te contendam ut semper reminiscaris harum virtutum, scilicet æquitatis et justiciæ, deinde fidei et veræ religionis, denique fortitudinis et strenuitatis. Deum precor, ut felicissime te producat, atque reducat.

Ex aula Amptoniensi, 24 Augusti.

E. Rex.

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## The King's Answer to the Polish Ambassador, at Hampton Court, September 9, 1547.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 40.]

This answer to the Polish Ambassador being entered in the King's Latin letter-book, it is retained in the present position.

The king of Poland at this time was Sigismund I. who died in 1549. He witnessed the progress of the Reformation in his dominions with liberality and toleration, but without taking a decided part in its favour. In answer to John Eck, who dedicated to him a work against Luther, and recommended to him the English king as an example worthy of imitation, he publicly replied, "Let king Henry write against Martin; but with regard to myself, I shall be king equally of the sheep and the goat." Not long after the present date, in 1548, the distinguished Polish reformer, John Laski, or à Lasco, was invited to England by Cranmer, and in 1550 he became the head of the foreign Protestant congregation, to which the church of the Augustine Friars in the city of London was assigned.

### Responsio Regis E. 6. ad nuncium Regis Poloniæ, anno 1°. 9° Septembris.

Agamus ingentes gratias domino tuo, Regi Poloniæ, ob suam ingentem humanitatem et benevolentiam erga nos. Intelligo enim hoc esse exemplum literarum ejus ob patris mei discessum maximo dolore affici; et contra, maxime illum gaudere, quia prospera successione veni regnum meum. Quare non parum illi debeo. Cum

vero Rex Poloniæ, Dominus tuus, oret et a me petat, ut tibi copiam facerem pertransiendi regnum meum, videasque omnia oppida, castella, fructusque hujus terræ; tibi libenti animo concedo, facioque tibi copiam tum hic manendi, tum regrediendi, cum tibi libuerit.

Ex aula Amtoniensi, 9° Septembris.

E. Rex.

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## LETTER XLVIII.

### To the Queen: from Hampton Court.

[Orig. in MS. Harl. 6986, part 12.]

In this letter Edward again compliments the Queen upon her beautiful writing, and on the excellent composition of her letters, to which he admits his own to be very inferior, yet relies on her good-nature for acceptance.

This letter was published by Sir Henry Ellis, Original Letters, First Series, i. 132; and translated by Halliwell, ii. 33

Je vous mercie, tresnoble et tresexcellente Roine, de voz lettres lesquelles vous m'envoiastes dernierement, non seulement pour la beaute de voz lettres, mais aussy pour l'invention des mesmes lettres. Car quand je voiois vostre belle escriture et l'excellence de vostre engin grandement precedant mon invention je nausois vous escrire. Mais quand je pensois que vostre nature estoit si bonne, que toute chose procedant d'un bon esprit et vouloir seroit acceptable, je vous ay escrit ceste lettre cy.

De ma maison de Hampton court.

Edward.

*Directed*, A la tresnoble et tresexcellente
Roine.

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## LETTER XLIX.

### To the Duke of Somerset: from Hampton Court, September 12, 1547.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 41.]

Another letter sent into Scotland. It was despatched by the hands of sir Thomas Wroth, who was a gentleman of the King's privy chamber, and became one of his chief favourites; and who was expected by the King to bring back a fuller account of the war and of every thing else he might see, than Edward had been able to gather from former messengers. It speaks of a letter which the King had received from Somerset; for which search has been made in the State-paper office, and the British Museum, but it does not appear to be extant. Edward is confident of victory, because the English were fighting for the cause of God, the Scotish for the cause of the pope; and as his uncle had told him that all the priests, bishops, monks, and friars were about to fight in the front of the Scotish army, he expresses the boy-like wish that the whole of them might be vanquished and destroyed. He concludes with his salutations to the earl of Warwick, who held the second command in the army.

E. Duci Somerset.

Cùm postremis meis literis non tibi potui integre explanare meam sententiam (tanta erat festinatio), jam, cùm mihi sit tam idoneus nuncius, optimum visum est has ad te literas dare. Wrothum enim ad te misi, Avuncule charissime; ut ille ad me reversus possit mihi plene significare quomodo te habeas, modum pugnæ, aliaque omnia quæ videbit. Alii enim nuncii paucis narrant summam rerum tuarum. Ubi autem in tua epistola dixisti sacerdotes, episcopos, monachos, fratresque omnes pugnaturos, futurosque in prima acie, maximo gaudio afficior. Spero enim illos victum et fusum iri, tum demum omnes authores hujus tumultus et negotii ex hac vita decedere. Non est autem dubium, quin nos vicerimus; pugnamus enim ob causam Dei; illi vero ob causam papæ. Deus tibi victoriam donet. Salutabis nomine meo dominum Warwicensem.

Ex aula nostra Amptoniensi, 12° Septembris.

E. Rex.

## LETTER L.

To the DUKE OF SOMERSET: from Oatlands, Sept. 18, 1547.

[Orig. holograph in MS. Lansd. 1236, p. 16.]

This letter was printed by Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. book I. chap. iii.; in Sir Henry Ellis's first series of Letters, vol. ii. p. 148; and by Halliwell, ii 32.

Derest Uncle, by your lettres and reporte of the messenger, we have at good length understanded, to our great comfort, the good succese it hathe pleased God to graunt us against the Scottes by your good courage and wise forsight, for the wich and other the benefites of God heaped upon us, like as we ar most bounden to yeld him most humble thankes, and to seke bi al waies we mai his true honour, so do we give unto you, good Uncle, our most hartie thankes, praying you to thanke also most hartelie in our name our good cosin therle of Warwike, and all the othere of the noble men, gentlemen and others, that have served in this journei, of whose service they shall all be well assured, we will not (God grante us lief) shew our selfes unmindfull, but be redy ever to consider the same as anie occasion shall serve.

Yeven at our house of Otlandes, the eighteneth of September.

Your good nevew,

EDWARD.

*Directed in another hand,*

To our derest uncle the duke of Somerset.

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## LETTER LI.

To QUEEN KATHARINE: from Oatlands, September 19, 1547.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 42.]

The sentiments in this letter are pretty and happily expressed. The King thanks his stepmother for a recent letter, which had been very acceptable to him, because it testified

to the continuance of her old love for him ; and again compliments her on her eloquence and her diligence in study, which he hopes to emulate though he can never surpass.

It has not been before printed.

Reginæ Catherinæ.

Perjucundæ mihi fuerunt tuæ literæ, nobilissima Regina, quas novissime ad me scripsisti. Primum quia intelligo tuum veterem amorem in illis inesse. Deinde, quia illæ longissime eloquentia et ornato dicendi modo aliorum literas præcellebant. Postremo quia mihi ob oculos ponis et manifestas tuam sedulitatem in scribendo longe pulcherrimam. Tuus enim vetustus amor adhuc permanens me maxime provocat incitatque, ut tibi mutuum referrem amorem ; tuaque eloquentia et sedulitas maximum mihi classicum canit, uti ego totis viribus summaque potentia mea eniterer ad assequendum saltem, quamquam antevenire non possum, tuam eximiam virtutem. Deus fœlicissime te prosperet.

Otlandiæ, 19° Septembris.

E. Rex.

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## LETTER LII.

### To Edward Earl of Hertford : undated.

[MS. Harl. 5087, No. 43.]

He again addresses his cousin in terms of the utmost affection, expressing himself convinced of his kindness, his readiness to wait upon him, and, when that had been prevented, his attention in writing.

Translated by Halliwell, ii. 20

Edouardo Comiti Hartfordiæ.

Intelligo ex tuis literis, cognate charissime, non tuam negligentiam, qua te accusatum iri apud me putasti; non socordiam et ignaviam, quam tu quidem semper effugisti, et tanquam serpentem et venenum vitasti; sed animi promptitudinem, diligentiam, bene-

volentiam, denique amorem illum tuum, quo semper me prosequtus es. Non solum enim tu me huc advenientem conabaris, quantum in te erat, adire et comitari; sed etiam cum non feliciter succederet, ad me literas dedisti, ob quas tibi non parvas gratias ago; cujus enim aspectus mihi esset gratissimus, ejus etiam literas injucundas esse quis putabit? Deus te servet incolumem. Vale.

This is the last of the Latin letters in the folio copybook.

## LETTER LIII.

### To the Lord Admiral SEYMOUR: from St. James's, June 26, 1548.

[Burghley Papers, by Haynes, p. 74.]

The lord admiral's success with the queen encouraged his other ambitious views. He desired to become Governor of the King's person, and thus to obtain a paramount influence over the mind of his young sovereign ;* and in this object he probably did not want the countenance of the queen dowager, who had partially lost the position she had formerly enjoyed in respect to her royal step-son. This project occupied the lord admiral's attention during the year 1547. According to his own admission (when brought to question in the Tower), "he had heard, and upon that sought out certain precedents, that there was

* It appears from several passages in the examinations taken for the prosecution of the lord admiral that he never openly avowed any desire to supplant his brother in the office of Protector of the kingdom, but aimed at being declared Governor of the King's person. In the confession of sir William Sharington, his scheme is unfolded thus : "I have also heard him say that he thought it was not the king's will that dead is, that any one man should have both the government of the King that now is and also the Realm : and that in time past, if there were two uncles being of the mother's side, the one should have the one, the other the other." (Haynes's Burghley Papers, p. 90 ) When in the Tower he said to his keeper, Christopher Eyre, "As for my lord my brother, I never meant evil thought to him. Mary ! this before the last parliament I thought, that I might have the King's majesty in my custody, with the consent of the lords and commons of the parliament: and to say that ever I went about to take the King from my lord my brother by force, I never meant nor thought it." (Ibid. p. 106, and more, to the like effect, in p. 108.) At the same time, according to the testimony of the marquess of Dorset, the lord admiral declared that he "would not have any Protector, but said he would have the King to have the

in England at one time one protector, and another regent of France,* and the duke of Exeter and bishop of Winchester governors of the King's person; upon that he had thought to have made suit to the parliament-house for that purpose, and he had the names of the lords, and totted them whom he thought he might have to his purpose, to labour them. But afterwards, communing with mr. comptroller [sir William Paget] at Ely place, being put in remembrance by him of his assenting and agreeing with his own hand that the lord protector should be governor of the King's person, he was ashamed of his doings, and left off that suit and labour." (The lord admiral's answer to three of the articles objected against him, printed in Burnet's History of the Reformation, part II. book i. Records, Number 31.)

This is his own account; but there is abundant evidence that he still endeavoured by every possible means to increase his own interest with his royal nephew, and at the same time to lessen that of the protector.

According to the preamble of the act for his attainder, "beying dysapoynted of hys malytyous enterpryse, the same admyrall contynuing nevertheles in his great ambycion and moste detestable malycyous trayterous purpose, thinking by tumulte and vyolence openly to acheve that thing which by slieght he coulde not secretlye compasse, traveled with your Majestie, being yet for your tendre yeres not hable to conceyve his falshed, by craftie and subtyle and trayterous meanes and persuasyons, havyng allso prepared abowt your grace by corruptyon sundrye persones to be instrumentes to help forwardes all his naughtie trayterous purposes, to have cawsed your grace at his contemplacion to have written a bill or lettre† of your Majesties owne hande to your highe courte of parlament, desiringe the same therby to be good unto the saide lorde Seymour in such

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honour of his own things; for (said he) of his years he is wise and learned. Marry, he thought it meet the lord protector might be chief of the Council. And though he (the said admiral) could not as then do that he would wish, to alter the thing, yet (saith he) let me alone, see me, I will bring it to pass within these two years." (Ibid. p 76.) He also confided the same notions to the young earl of Rutland (pp. 82, 87).

* Alluding to the dukes of Gloucester and Bedford, in the minority of Henry VI.

† This charge, which is grounded upon the King's statement (p. 57), is put forward as if it belonged to the lord admiral's political aspirations, and in the memorandum of his confession it is made still more obviously to appear as if it had reference to a bill intended to have been presented to parliament to place the lord admiral in the position which sir Michael Stanhope (being the deputy of his brother-in-law the duke) held as the immediate governor of the King. But it seems more probable, from the expression repeated by the King that "it was for the queen's majesty," that the object of the letter which Seymour at that time required from his royal nephew was to obtain the disputed jewels claimed by the queen, but withheld by the protector.

suites and matters as he shoulde open and declare unto them, which bill or lettre the saide lord admyrall thought and determyned, not onely in his owne persone to have brought into the nether house of your saide courte of parlyament, but allso to have lykewise opened the same in the higher house, having in both the same howses laboured, stired, and moved a nombre of persons to take part and joyne with him in such things as he wolde sett fourthe and enterpryse, wherby he thought to brede suche a tumulte, uprore, and sedycion as well in the saide courte as in the hole realme, as by the troubling of the hole state and bodye of this your realme he might the more facily and easelye bring to passe his moste fearefull, dyvelyshe, and naughtie purpose. For the more sure and certaine compassing wher of, lyke as he feared not to saye to certaine noble men and others that he wolde make the blackest parlyament that ever was seen here in Englande,* so moste traiterouslye, for the further accomplishment of his lewde enterprise, he reteyned a great nomber of men and prepared a great furniture of weapons and habylements of warre ready for the execucion of his saide trayterous attemptates; and, to colour and cloke his saide myschevous purposes, did, by all such wayes and meanes as he cowlde possiblye devise and ymagin, practyse as it were for his entree towardes the same to seke and attaine the governement of your moste noble person, and therby to have gotten in to his handes the order of your realme and domynyons; wherunto he aspired in such sorte as he did even then travail expresslye with the moste part of your highnes moste honorable counsell to help him to the saide gouvernement, doing lykewise all that he

* This was reported against him by the marquess of Dorset: "My lord admiral spake these words, my lord Clinton being behind me"—apparently as they were riding to the parliament one day during the session of 1547: 'If I be thus used,—they speak of a Black Parliament, by God's precious soul! I will make the blackest parliament that ever was in England.' To whom my lord Clinton answered, 'If you speak such words, you shall lose my lord (*i. e.* the favour of the protector) utterly, and undo yourself.' Who then, staying his moyll (mule), turned to my lord Clinton, saying, 'I would you should know, by God's precious soul! I may better live without him, than he without me. Well! (said my lord,) who so ever shall go about to speak evil of the queen, I will take my fist from the first ears to the lowest,'—speaking of the act that was passed, whereby he gathered that men might speak evil of the queen, saying that she was not the king's lawful wife. (This must have referred to the act 1 Edw. VI. ch. xii. which repealed the famous act of the six articles and various other penal statutes of the previous reign.) To whom I (the marquess of Dorset) answered, saying, 'My lord, these words needs not: for I think there is no nobleman that will speak evil of her, for he should then speak evil of the king that dead is; wherefore you have no cause to doubt therein; and I trust all shall be well, and you (and your brother the protector be) friends again." Haynes's Burghley Papers, p. 75.

cowlde in the parlyament by himself, his servaunts and ministers, not onely to hinder and lett all things there proponed, which touched the honour, suretie, and benefyte of your Majestie and the realme, but allso spredding abrode sondrye slaunders touching your Majesties persone, your derest uncle the saide lorde protector, and thole state of your counsell, over vyle, daungerous, and unmete to be here recyted." The act next states how the protector and council attempted to conciliate the lord admiral, giving him lands to the yearly value of 800*l.*; but, notwithstanding, how that he had endeavoured to provide large sums to be coined at the bank of Bristol, how he accumulated large military stores at the castle of Holt on the Welsh border, and how "he laboured sondry of your nobles* and other your grace's subgectes to joyn with him, devysing with dyvers of them how and by what policye, wayes, and meanes they shoulde make themselfes stronge in their countreys for that purpose, and how they shoulde wynne unto them the hedd yeomen and ringleaders of the common people,† declaring how he ment to have matched and sett one nobleman against such another nobleman as he thought he cowlde never compasse and wynne to assent to his factyon and false conspiracye, promysing to dyvers of them sondrye benefytes, yea, taking so much upon him for th'accomplishment of his sayde trayterous entent and purpose, as he spared not to promyse your moste excellent personne in marryage to a nobleman's daughter of your realme;‡ and yet not contented herewith, for the further advauncement of his moste naughtie and trayterous purpose, did trayterouslye and unnaturallye practyse even with your highnes owne personne, to make your moste excellent Majestie (for your tendre yeres unhable to understande his false and trayterous purposes) an instrumente towardes the undoyng and distructyon of your Highnes, and the subvertyon of thole state of your Grace's realme, perswading your Majestie, as much as in him did lye, not onelye to take uppon yow now in your

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* The chief noblemen whom Seymour endeavoured to win to his party were the marquess of Dorset, the marquess of Northampton, and the young earl of Rutland; each of whom were examined on the subject, and their evidence will be found in the Burghley Papers, by Haynes.

† "He further willed me (the marquess of Dorset) that I should not trust too much unto the Gentyllmen, for they had somewhat to lose, but bad me make me strong with the Franklens, for they were able to rule the Commons." (Haynes, p. 77.) So also the marquess of Northampton related: "Then he counselled me to make much of the Gentyllmen in my country, but more of such honest and wealthy Yemen as were ringleaders in good townes; for, he said, as for the Jentyllmen, there is no greate trust to be to them; but for the other, making much of them, and sometimes dining like a good fellow in one of their houses, I should by that gentle entertainment allure all their good wills to go with me, whither I would lead them." (Ibid. p. 82.)

‡ To the lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter of the marquess of Dorset.

yonge and tendre age, the rule and order of yourself, entendinge and meanynge by the colour therof to take into his handes your moste royall personne, the rules and orders of all th'affayres of your realmes and domynyons, being allredy by the saide lorde protector, with th'advyce of your Grace's moste honorable counsaill, as well prudentlye and polytykelye governed as valyauntlye and noblye defended against outwarde ennemyes, to the encrease of your immortall fame and honnor; but allso to conceave and engendre an hatred in your most noble hartt against your derest uncle the saide lorde protector, and all your trewe and faithfull counsaillours, to the which his dyvylishe persuasyons and assauts God gave your Highnes, even at this age, to the great rejoyse of us your faithfull subgects and servaunts, a spetyall grace to resyste, above comen reasone and all expectatyon, and moste gratiouslye withowt anny advyse or counsaill to refuse and denye his yvell advertysements and persuasyons; and further the saide admyrall did moste falselye and trayterouslye corrupte sondrye of your Highnes' privye chamber with manny gyftes and otherwise, *to th'intent they shoulde move and procure your Majestie to wright sondre lettres at his and their devyses*, and to put into your Grace's hedd a spetyall and a synguler affectyon and trust towardes him, and a dysposycion to follow whatsoever he would have wroughte towardes all others, that he mighte the rather have compassed his moste trayterous purpose, which must needes have tended to your Majesties destruction (which God forbyd), and to the utter ruyne of all us, your Highnes' most loveng faithfull and obedyent subjectes."

The King's own testimony was procured against his uncle, and the following record of it is preserved. It is contained in two papers, both signed, but it is presumed not written, by the King's hand. The originals are at Hatfield.

The lorde admyrall cam to me in the tyme of the last parliament* at Westminster, and desyred me to wryght a thing for hym. I asked hym what: He sayd it was none yll thyng; it is for the quene's majesty. I sayd, If it were good, the lordes wold allow it; if it were yll, I wold not wryght in it. Than he sayd they wold take it in better parte if I wold wryght. I desyred hym to lett me alone in that matter. Cheke sayd afterwards to me, Ye were not best to wryght. At another tyme,† Within this two yere at lest (he sayd,)

* The session of parliament in the first year of king Edward's reign lasted from the 4th November to the 24th December 1547.

† Seymour addressed to his brother, when in the Tower, the following admission, which appears to relate to the same occasion. "I do remember (he states) that when I first came to Hampton Court with your grace out of Wiltshire, one night, as the King's majesty

ye must take apon you yourself to rule, for ye shall be hable enough as well as other kyngs; and than ye may geve your men sumwhat; for your unkell is olde, and I trust wyll not lyve long. I answered, It were better that he shuld dye. Than he sayd, Ye ar but even a very beggarly Kyng now; ye have not to play, or to geve to your servaunts. I sayd, Mr. Stanop * had for me. Than he sayd he wold give Fowler money for me, and so he dyd, as Fowler told me. And he gave Cheke mony, as I bad hym; and also to a boke-bynder, as Belmayn † can tell; and to dyverse others at that tyme, I remembre not to whom. The lord admirall tolde me theise thyngs before at diverse tymes, twise or thrise. Fowler oftentymes sayd to me, Ye must thanke my lord admirall for gentylnes that he shewed you, and for hys money; and was alwey praising of hym.

EDWARD.

In the month of September, Anno Dom. 1547, the lord admirall told me that my lorde protectour went to Scotland, but that he shulde never passe the Pease ‡ without losse of a great nombre of men, or of hymself; and therfor that he spent a great summ of money in vayn. At the returne of my lord my uncle, the lord admirall sayd, I was to bashfull in myne owne matters, and asked me why I did not speak to beare rule, as other kynges do. I sayd

walked in the gallery, I began to say unto his Grace that since I saw him last he was grown to be a goodly gentleman, and trusted that within three or four years he should be ruler of his own things: whereunto his Highness said, Nay I marvelled thereat to myself, and began to number his years, and said, Within this four years his Grace should be sixteen years old; and said, That I trusted that by that time his Grace should help his men himself with such things as fell in his Grace's gift, or like words in effect; whereat his Grace said nothing. And thus I fell in other talk of other matters; but what I remember not." Burghley Papers, by Haynes, p. 87.

* Sir Michael Stanhope was chief gentleman of the King's privy chamber. He was half-brother to the duchess of Somerset, and beheaded in 1551–2, as one of the leading partisans of the protector.

† The King's French master.

‡ The first difficult pass after leaving Berwick: see note to the Jonrnal.

I neded not, for I was well enough. When he went into hys contrey he desyred me, that yf any thing were sayd agaynst hym, that I shuld not beleve it tyll he cam hymself.

EDWARD.

Besides this examination, or confession as it may be termed, there are also extant, under Edward's own hand, three other proofs of his having held communication with the lord admiral through John Fowler, one of his privy chamber. One consists in the two following lines prefixed to a letter of Fowler, dated from St. James's on the 26th June 1548.

[Burghley Papers, edited by Haynes, 1740, fol. p. 75: from the MSS. at Hatfield House.]

I commende me to you, my lord, and praie you to credit this writer.

EDWARD.

Fowler wrote to the lord admiral as follows:—

After most humble recommendations to your good lordship. This shalbe to sertefy you that the King's majesty is in good healthe, thankes be gyvin to God, and has him * hartely recommended to the Quines grace and to your good lordship. And his grace wyllid me to wrytt to your lordship, declaring to me that his mynd and love, notwithstanding your absens, is towards your lordship as mouche as to any man within Ingland. Also his grace willid me to wrytt to your lordship dissierring yow, as your lordship has willid him to do, if he lak any monny, to send to your lordship. His grace dessiers you, if you conveniently may, to let him have summ monny; I askid his grace, whatt summ I shuld wrytt to your lordship for; his grace wold name no summ, but as it pleasid your lordship to send him, for he determins to gyve it away, but to home he wooll not tell me as yet. I am not abull to send your lordship no newes, but that my lord of Winchester† prechis afore the King upon sainct Peter's day at Westmyster. His grace is now at St. James's, and my lord protector lies ther every night, but he dines at Westminster. I will send your lordship the bishop's sermon, God willing, the next time I wrytt to your lordship; and if anny newes cumm then I woll sartify your lordship. The King's majesty dessiers

* *Mispринted* bin *by Haynes.*

† This was the sermon which Gardiner was enjoined to preach in order to test his principles. Certain "points" upon which he was to be explicit were dictated to him by the council; but as he did not give satisfaction he was arrested two days after. See the full particulars under the head of the 7th Article charged against him, in Foxe's Acts and Monuments: also the protector's letter to him, requiring his attention to the "points," dated Sion, the 28th June, in Burnet's History of the Reformation. Notes of the sermon itself are preserved in the MSS. of Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. Misc. viii. 15.

your lordship to send him this monny as shortly as you can; and bycause your lordship may credit me the better, his grace has wrytten in the beginning of my letter himself. And thus making an ende, I commytte your lordship to allmighty God, to home my dally prayer is to preserve the Quines grace and your lordship, with all yours, to his godly plessur. Wrytten in haste at St. James the 26th of June,

By your Lordship's most bounden to command,

JHON FOWLER.

I dessier your lordship to burne my letter.

*Directed*, To the right honorable and my especyall good lord
my Lord Admyrall be this geven.

In the examinations of the marquess of Dorset, as reported by secretary Petre, it is stated that "He (the admiral) hath also declared unto me that the King's majesty hath divers tymes made his moan unto him, saying that 'My uncle of Somerset dealeth very hardly with me, and keepeth me so strait, that I can not have money at my wille: but my lord admiral both sends me money, and gives me money.' And this hath not been only my lord admiral's tale, but I have also heard the same tale reported of Harington." On this point see further under the next Letter.

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## LETTER LIV.

### To the Lord Admiral SEYMOUR: from Hampton Court, July 19, 1548.

[State Paper Office, Domestic Edw. VI. vol. iv.]

The following letter of John Fowler is indorsed: "Fowler's Lettres, with the kynges bylles." The King's "bills" shall be first given, and Fowler's letter, with its explanatory illustrations, may follow:

On a slip of paper:

My lord, i thank yow, and praye yow to have me recommended to y^e^ quene.

EDWARD.

From Hampton, 18 of July.

On a piece of paper torn out of the corner of a sheet:

My lord, send me for Latimer as much as ye think good, and deliver it to Fouler.

EDWARD.

*Directed at the back*, To my lord admiral.

*John Fowler to my Lord Admiral.*

I most humbly thank your lordship for your letter dated the xv of this present, which letter I showed to the Kinges majesty. And wher as, in my last letter to your lordship, I wrytt unto you if his grace could gett any spare tyme his grace wold wrytt a letter to the Quines grace and to you, but his highnes dessiers your lordship to pardon him, for his grace is not half a quarter of a nower alonne. But, souche lesser [*i. e.* leisure] as his grace had, his majesty hath written (here inclosid) his recommendations to the Quines grace and to your lordship, willing me to signify to your lordship that he is so mouche bound to you that he moust nides [needs] remember you always, and as his grace may have tyme you shall welle perseve by souche *small lynes of recommendation with his oon hand.*

Newes I have none to wrytt to your lordship, but that we have good hope that Haddinton shall be abull to bide this grate brount.* The Kinges majesty lukes every ower for good newes; for as they cumme my lordes grace† sendes the letters to the Kinges majesty.

My lady of Somerset is browhte to bed of a goodly boy, thankes be to God; and I trust in allmighty God the Quines grace shall have another. The Kinges majesty shall crysten my lordes grace sonne.‡ I cannot tell your lordship whether his grace [*i. e.* the King] shall goo to Shine § him self or not, for as yet the chyld is uncrystenid.

I must, among other neues, declare un to your lordship that my lord protector's grace is so good lord unto me, that his grace hath gyvin me the kiping of the grett park of Pettworthe, or ellse of Wollawyngton, which I woll chusse; and monday next I intend, God willing, to go into Sothesex and see them.

I dessier your lordship, when you send me ooney letters, lett them be delyvered to myself; trusting also your lordship wyll provide that this shall tell no more talles after your reading; for now I wrytt at lengthe to your lordship by cause I am promest of a trusty messenger. And thus I commytt your lordship to almighty God, who preserve your lordship, with the Quines grace, and all yours, to his pleasure. Wrytten in haste, at Hampton Court, this xix of July. Your lordshipes most bounden,

JOHN FOWLLER.

* Haddington, garrisoned by the English, was besieged by the Scots. The siege was raised by the earl of Shrewsbury: see the King's Journal hereafter.

† The protector.

‡ This accounts for the very extraordinary fact of the duke of Somerset having a *third* son named Edward, the two former being both alive. The eldest was by his first marriage, and died sir Edward Seymour of Berry Pomeroy, co. Devon (the ancestor of the present duke). The second was the earl of Hertford, already noticed in p. 42. The third is named by Dugdale (Baronage, ii. 367), as "another Edward," but, as that genealogist says nothing more about him, it may be presumed that he died in infancy.

§ The duchess of Somerset was brought to bed at Sheen.

I had forgotton to declare to your lordship consernyng the mony your lordship wold my friend shuld have. When he has nid [*i. e.* need] I shalbe bold to send.

*Directed*, To the righte worshipful
and my especiall good
lord my lord admyrall
be this geven.

When desirous to make his peace by a confession of the misdemeanors of which he was accused, the lord admiral endeavoured to recollect all the occasions on which he attempted by money to purchase an interest in the royal household; and to the charge of "corrupting with gifts, and fair promises, certain of the privy chamber, to persuade the King's majesty to have a credit towards you, and so to insinuate you to his grace that, when he lacked any thing, he should have it of you and none other," (articles 2 and 10,) he made the following reply:—"He gave money to two or three of them which were about the King. To mr. Cheke he saith he gave at Christmas-tide was twelve-months, when the queen was at Enfield, 40 *l.*, whereof to himself 20 *l.* the other for the King to bestow where it pleased his grace amongst his servants. Mr. Cheke was loth to take it; howbeit he would needs press that upon him; and to him he gave no more, at no time, as he remembreth, sith the King's majesty was crowned. To the grooms of the privy chamber he hath at new-year's tide given money, he doth not well remember what. To Fowler, he saith, he gave money for the King, sith the beginning of this parliament now last at London, 20 *l.*; and divers times, he saith, the King hath sent to him for money, and he hath sent it. And what time mr. Latimer preached before the King, the King sent to him to know what he should give mr. Latimer, and he sent to him by Fowler 40 *l.* with this word, that 20 *l.* was a good reward for Mr. Latimer, and the other he might bestow amongst his servants. Whether he hath given Fowler any money for himself he doth not remember." (Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Part II. book i. Records, Number 31.)

Fowler's present letter, and the King's "bills," were first published by Mr. Tytler in his "Edward VI. and Mary," but Mr. Tytler had no notion who that "Latimer" was.

From the time of his resignation of the bishopric of Worcester, on the 1st Jan. 1539, Latimer had been sequestered from preaching, and the accession of King Edward had found him a prisoner in the Tower of London. On his release, as Foxe says, "the golden mouth of this preacher, long shut up, was opened again." Heylin (from what authority I have not discovered*) gives the following particulars: "On new-year's day, being Sunday [1547–8] he preached his first sermon at St. Paul's Cross (the first, I mean, after

* There is a passage in Stowe's Chronicle which states that Latimer's sermons were preached on the 1st, 8th, 15th, and 29th January,—the last not on the 25th, the feast of St. Paul's Conversion, but on a Sunday.

his re-admission to his former ministry), and, at the same place again on that day sevennight, and on the Sunday after also; and finally on the day of St. Paul's Conversion, the twenty-fifth of that month. By means whereof he became so famous, and drew such multitudes of people after him to hear his sermon, that, being to preach before the King on the first Friday in Lent, it was thought necessary that the pulpit should be placed in the King's Privy Garden [at Whitehall], where he might be heard of more than four times as many auditors as could have thronged into the Chapel. Which, as it was the first sermon which was preached in that place, so afterward a fixed and standing pulpit was erected for the like occasions: especially for Lent sermons on the Sundays in the afternoon, and hath so continued ever since till these later times." (History of the Reformation, first published in 1660.) In Foxe's Acts and Monuments edit. 1576 is a very graphic and interesting representation of "Maister Latimer preachyng before Kyng Edward the sixt, in the Preachyng-place at Westminster." The majority of the audience stand in the garden: the King and Protector are seated at a window of the palace. No report of the sermons preached by Latimer in 1547–8 is preserved, except a short note from the second by Stowe (see the Addenda). The whole series of his Lent sermons preached before the King in the year 1549 are in his works (edited by the Parker Society); they are seven in number, one preached on each Friday in Lent; and also one preached in the Lent of 1550. It is remarkable that in two of the sermons of 1549, the fourth and the seventh, he gave utterance to reflections of the utmost severity upon the character of the late lord admiral.

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## LETTER LV.

### To Barnaby FitzPatrick: dated May 8, 1548.

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 5845, MS. Cole, vol. XLIV. p. 5.]

Barnaby FitzPatrick was the eldest son of an Irish chieftain, Bernard or Barnaby Gill-Patrick, the lord of Upper Ossory, who after the suppression of the rebellion of the Geraldines in 1537 made his submission to the English monarch, was created a peer of Ireland by the title of Baron of Upper Ossory in 1541, and was knighted in 1543. His first wife, the mother of his successor, was Margaret, widow of Thomas FitzGerald, second son of the earl of Desmond, and eldest daughter of Pierce earl of Ormonde.

We have no notice of the date of the younger Barnaby's birth: but he was probably a few years the senior of prince Edward; and, being retained at the English court as a hostage for his father's good behaviour, as well as for his own education, he became the favourite schoolfellow and companion of the prince, and had the reputation of being his

highness's "proxy for correction."* His cousin the earl of Ormonde was also a fellow-pupil. On the 15th Aug. 1551 Barnaby was sworn a gentleman in ordinary of the King's privy chamber, together with sir Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester.†

When of an age to travel, Barnaby FitzPatrick went to the French court, furnished at king Edward's cost; and his royal friend continued to supply his expenses ‡ throughout his stay in France, which lasted for about twelve months. To this circumstance we are indebted for the interesting series of Letters contained in the ensuing pages.

The French king appointed the young Irish lord to be a gentleman of his chamber, whereby he enjoyed the advantage of being continually with his majesty, both in the court and in the camp; and at the close of his visit he dismissed him with the very flattering letter to the bearer's own sovereign which is printed (for the first time) in a subsequent page.

After his return from France, mr. Barnaby, as he was usually called in England, accompanied his cousin the earl of Ormonde § into Kent to oppose the rebellion of Wyat, at the beginning of Mary's reign; and in 1558 he went with the expedition into Scotland, where the duke of Norfolk knighted him at the siege of Leith.

The date of his father's death is not recorded, but on the 12th Jan. 1559 he was present at the parliament in Dublin as lord of Upper Ossory. He continued through life a faithful subject of the English crown, and was constituted lord lieutenant of the King's and Queen's counties,‖ and of several Irish counties adjoining. The lord deputy Sidney, in a relation of the state of Ireland written in Dec. 1575, states that "Upper Osserie is so well governed and defended, by the valour and wisedome of the baron that now is, as, savinge for suertie of good order hereafter in succession, it made no matter if the countrie were never shired, nor her majesties writt otherwaies curraunt than it is; so humblye he keepeth all his people suject to obedience and good order;" and again, in 1580, in his

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* On this subject see the Biographical Memoir: where the passage of Fuller's Church History, in which this assertion is made, will be found cited.

† See the King's record of this occurrence in his Journal.

‡ See the extracts from the Privy Council books in p. 91.

§ One night in Dec. 1553 the earl of Ormonde, sir —— Courtenay, and mr. Barnaby were together embroiled in a London street affray, originating in a quarrel with a priest, whose part was taken by a gentleman passing by, "and so they fell by the ears." They were in consequence taken by the two sheriffs to the Poultry counter, where they remained for some days. Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary, (printed for the Camden Society,) p. 33.

‖ The King's and Queen's counties were first constituted by an act of the parliament of Ireland 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, ch. 1 and 2. *Philip*stown was the name given to the capital town of the former, and *Mary*borough to the chief town of the latter county.

instructions to Arthur lord Grey his successor, sir Henry Sidney declares that the most sufficient and most faithful men that ever he found in Ireland "were the barron of Upper Ossery, sir Lucas Dillon, and sir Nicholas Malbie: these for principall men both for councell and action; and who ever most diligentlie and faithfullie discharged that which I committed to them; and trulie they be men of great sufficiencie." Thus Barnaby Fitz Patrick fully maintained the high character which in early life he had won in France, as we receive it from various hands in the ensuing pages.

In 1577 lord Upper Ossory signalized his devotion to the English crown by slaying the great rebel Oge ô Moarda, or Rory O'More, who had been the scourge of Leix (or the Queen's county) for eighteen years. (Thady Dowling's Annals.) He died at Dublin, Sept. 11, 1581, without issue, and was succeeded by his brother Florence; whose male descendants were peers of Ireland until the year 1818.

The King's present letter to Barnaby is the only one preserved of a date anterior to the latter's visit to France. Though evidently indited in haste, Edward was required to write it in Latin, probably as the condition upon which his wish to see his friend had been complied with. It must have been written in the year 1548, when the 9th of May fell on a Wednesday.

The King thanks his "dearest and most loving" friend for a letter he had received, and though he had scarcely time to reply to it, not to appear ungrateful he writes these few lines to say that he had requested his uncle (the duke of Somerset) that Barnaby might be summoned to court, and the protector had decided that he should come the next day. The King desires his greetings to "D. Or. and D. Br." meaning the young earl of Ormonde and perhaps his mother the lady Bryan; for Joan, widow of James earl of Ormonde, married for her second husband sir Francis Bryan, knight marshal of Ireland, who died in 1549. She was the daughter and heir of James 11th earl of Desmond; and was married, thirdly, to Gerald 16th earl of Desmond.

This letter was printed at the private press of the Hon. Horace Walpole in 1772, under the circumstances of which an account is given hereafter.

*Directed,* Suo charissimo et
amantissimo Barnabæ.

Tibi ingentes gratias ago, Mi charissime Dñe Barnaba, quia ad me scripseris. Verumetiam ut tibi referrem literas quamquam tempus vix sufficiat, ne ingratus viderer ad te scripsi literas has, ut ætiam tibi dicerem me rogavisse avunculum meum ut vos accersere posse, eumque velle te adesse cras. Saluta D. Or. & D. Br. dicasque tempus mihi deesse ut ad eos scriberem.

Vale! 9° Maij die Mercurij vesperi hora octava, secundo novæ Lunæ.

Tui amantissimus,

E. Rex.

On the back of this letter are written these different sentences, but they are not in the King's hand as Mr. Cole supposed.

Meq' mei causa doloris.
Meaq' mecū porto.
Incidit in syllam qui vult evitare carybden.
Tu ventre extenta iudica de pingui polenta.
Nonne Diavol Amor, nonne est mala coda Cupido,
Que facit Sanios hoîes tot habere Pazzias.

## LETTER LVI.

### To Barnaby FitzPatrick: from Westminster, Dec. 20, 1551.

[MS Addit. Brit. Mus. 5845, MS. Cole, vol xliv. p. 8.]

The originals of this and some of the following letters to Barnaby FitzPatrick are still in existence, in the possession of his descendant the Right Hon. John Wilson FitzPatrick. In the year 1771, when they were in the possession of John earl of Upper Ossory, they were by him lent to the Hon. Horace Walpole, for whom a transcript was made by the Rev. William Cole, the Cambridge antiquary, from which they were printed at the press of Strawberry Hill, in 1772, in small quarto. Mr. Cole, not trusting to the accomplishment of that intention, also entered them in one of his MS. volumes; from whence they are transcribed for the present edition.* But besides these letters, which Cole copied, and Walpole printed, there are two more of King Edward to Barnaby which, with some other

* The Editor has since been favoured with a sight of the originals, as acknowledged in the Preface, p. iv. They had been noticed in the Dublin University Magazine for Nov. 1854, in a paper on the Land of Leix and Ossory. In a leathern box at Grantstown, belonging to Mr. FitzPatrick, the same writer found many letters from distinguished persons of the last century, of which he prints three, one of them being a note of Georgiana duchess of Devonshire to ~~Horace Walpole~~ the Earl of Upper Ossory, requesting a copy of Edward the Sixth's Letters, for her house at Chiswick.

world by doctor Fuller, partly in his Church History and partly in his Worthies of England. With these additions, and some letters of Barnaby to the King which are preserved in the Cottonian collection, and other documents relative to him which I have discovered in the State Paper Office, the series is now rendered much more complete than it has hitherto appeared. Mr. Halliwell, in his Royal Letters, merely followed Walpole; whose edition was also reprinted in the Dublin University Magazine for November 1854.

Four of Edward's letters to Barnaby FitzPatrick, when in France, were published by Dr. Fuller, partly in his Church History, fol. 1655, and partly in his Worthies of England, 1662, where he notices Edward the Sixth as a native of the county of Middlesex. In the latter place Dr. Fuller remarks :

" Guesse the goodness of his head and heart by the following letters written to Barnaby FitzPatrick (gentleman of his bedchamber and brought up with him), copyed out from the originalls by the Reverend ArchBishop of Armagh, and bestowed upon me. Say not they are but of narrow and personal concernment, seeing they are sprinkled with some passages of the *Publique*. Neither object them written by a child, seeing he had more man in him than any of his age. Besides, epistles are the calmest communicating truth to posterity, presenting History unto us in her *night cloths*, with a true face of things, though not in so fine a dress as in other kindes of writings."

Barnaby FitzPatrick went on his travels armed with Instructions from King Edward, which were not among the papers lent to Horace Walpole by the earl of Upper Ossory, but which were thus printed by Fuller in his Church History, as " transcribed out of the original in the King's own hand :"—

" 1. First, he shall go in the lord admiral's company;* and, at the same lord's departing, he shall have a letter to the French king, which the lord admiral shall deliver, and present him to the French king; and if it shall chance that the French king will give him any pension, entertainment, or reward at his being there for the time he tarrieth there, he shall receive it, and thank his majesty for it, and shall serve when he shall be appointed. Nevertheless, when he is out of the court he shall be most conversant with Mr. Pickering.†

" 2. And at his setting forth shall carry with him four servants, and if the wages amount to any great sum (more than I give him,) that the French king giveth him, to live there after that proportion, advertising me of the same.

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* Edward lord Clinton, then lord admiral, was sent to France as the proxy for king Edward as a godfather on the christening of the duc d'Angoulême, the King's third son. He landed at Boulogne on the 24th Nov. 1551. The infant prince received the names of Edouard-Alexandre; but at his confirmation in 1565 they were altered, by his father, to Henri, and he was afterwards king Henri III.

† Sir William Pickering, the leiger or resident ambassador from England.

" 3. Also all this winter he shall study the tongue, and see the manner of the court, and advertise me of the occurrences he shall hear; and if he be desirous to see any place notable, or town, he may go thither, asking leave of the king; and shall behave himself honestly, more following the company of gentlemen, than pressing into the company of the ladies there; and his chief pastime shall be hunting and riding.

" 4. Also his apparel: he shall wear it so fine as shall be comely, and not much superfluous. And the next summer, when either the king goeth or sendeth any man of name into the wars to be his lieutenant, or to lead an army, he shall desire to go thither; and either himself, or else shall will mr. Pickering to declare to the French king, how he thinketh not himself to have fully satisfied nor recompensed neither his majesty's good entertainment nor mine expectation who had sent him over, if he should return, having so delicately and idly almost spent the time, without he did at this time of service be desirous to go himself into the wars, by the which thing he might at this time do his majesty service, and also learn to do me service hereafter, yea and his majesty too if the case so required. And therefore seeing this nobleman shall now go, that his request is to have leave to go with him.

" 5. Having said this to the French king, he shall depart into the wars, waiting on this nobleman that shall be sent; and there he shall mark the divers fortifications of places, and advantages that the enemy may take, and the ordering and conduct of the armies: as also the fashion of the skirmishes, battles, and assaults; and the plats of the chief towns where any enterprises of weight have been done, he shall cause to be set out in black and white, or otherwise as he may, and shall send them hither to me, with advertisement of such things as have passed.

" 6. Furthermore; he shall at all times when he taketh money advertise me of it, and I shall send him. And so, the next year being well spent, upon further advertisement, and taking leave of the French king, he shall return.

" 7. And if there arise or grow any doubt in any matter hereafter, in the which he shall need advice, he shall advertise by the post, and shall have answer thereof."

Fuller published the greater part of the following letter in two portions: the first in his Worthies, and the second, commencing with " Litle hath been done," and ending with " to the contrary," in his Church History. The former portion was reprinted by Seward, in his Anecdotes, vol. i. p. 111. Walpole printed the letter as transcribed by Cole, who supplied certain words that were lost by the friction of the paper, from the Church History, but not others which he might have derived from the portion in the Worthies, of which he was not aware. The letter is consequently here printed complete for the first time, the copy in Mr. Halliwell's collection, ii. 48, being just as in Walpole's book.

Whatever historical references are required by the King's account in this letter of the trial of his uncle the duke of Somerset, may be deferred to the passages of his Diary which

relate to the same subject: but we may preserve in connection with the present letter Dr. Fuller's very sensible reflections upon it: "Hereby (he observes) it plainly appeareth, that the King was possessed with a persuasion of his uncle's guilteness: whether or no so in truth, God knoweth; and generally men believe him abused herein. And it seemeth a wonder to me that, six [more than seven] weeks (from December 1st to January 22d) interceding betwixt the duke's condemnation and execution, no means were made during that time to the King for his pardon. But it is plain that his foes had stopped all access of his friends unto the King."

Horace Walpole's remarks on this topic are as follow:

"In one point the young King seems to have missed an opportunity of conciliating our affection. I allude to the cold indifference with which he speaks of the death of his uncle the protector; as he has done too in his Journal, where with the same unfeeling exactness he notes down the condemnation and death of his other uncle the admiral. In a Journal this may be excused: in a private letter to his dearest friend there is, methinks, a strange want of tenderness, at least of compassion, for so near a relation, that does not prejudice one in favour of the prince. If one may be allowed to form conjectures on a character from such advanced blossoms, I should suspect that his humanity was not so mature as his understanding. It is at least a strong presumption that Fuller had no reason for supposing that the King's consumption was occasioned by grief for the death of his uncle." Advertisement to Letters from King Edward VI. to Barnaby FitzPatrick.

EDWARD.

We have received your letters of the 8 of this present monthe, whereby we understand how yow are wel entertained, for which we are right glad, and also how yow have ben procured once to goe a pilgrimag. For wich cause we have thought good to advertise yow, that hereafter if any such chaunce happen, yow shall desire leave to go to Mr. Pikering, or to Paris, for your busines, and if that will not serve, to declare to some men of estimation with whome yow are best acquainted, that as yow are loth to offend the French king bicause yow have bene soe favourablie used, so with sauf conscience yow can not doe any such thing, being brought up with me and bounden to obey my lawes. Also that yow had commaundment from me to the contrary: [yet if yow be vehemently procured yow may goe as waiting on the king, not as entending to the abuse, nor willingly seeing the ceremonies, and so yow loke [not] on the masse,

but in the meane season reade the Scripture, or som good boke, and give no reverence to the masse at all.*]

Furthermore, yow shal remember when yow may be conveniently absent from the court, to tary with sir [William †] Pikering, and to be instructed by him how to use yourself. For women, as farforth as yow may, avoyde ther company. Yet if the French kinge commaund yow, yow may sometimes daunce, so measur be your meane. Els aplie yourself to riding, shoting, or tennes, with such honest games. Not forgetting sometim, when yow have leasur, your lerning, chefely reading of the Scripture. This I write, not doubting but yow wold have done soe though I had not written, but to spurre yow [on. Your exchange] of 1200 crownes yow shal receive either monthly or quarterly by Bartholomew Campaign's factour in Paris. He hath warrant to receive it by here, and hath written to his factour to deliver it yow there.

We have signed your bill for wages of the chaumber,‡ wich Fiz Williams hath. Likewise we have sent a lettre into Irland to our deputy, that he shal take surrender of your father's landes, and to make again other lettres patentes that those landis shal be to him, yow, and your heires lawfully begotten for ever, adjoining thereto tow religious howses yow spake for.§

Litle hath ben done here sins yow went; but the duks of Somerset arraignment of felonious treason, and the musters of the new erected gendarmery.

* This passage is added by the King in the margin of the letter.

† These and the following words in brackets are now supplied from Fuller's copy.

‡ As a gentleman of the King's privy chamber.

§ These were probably the monasteries of Aghmacart and Aghabhoe, in the Queen's county, of which a grant was made to Florence baron of Upper Ossory by queen Elizabeth a. r. 43, and confirmed in 1611. Aghabhoe had been founded in 1251 by Gilpatrick, ancestor of the lords of Upper Ossory, under dedication to St. Canice, having in still earlier times been the see of the bishop of Ossory, which was t. Hen. II. removed to Kilkenny. In 1346 Dermot Mac Gilpatrick, another of the family, burned the town of Aghabhoe, and the shrine and relics of Saint Canice were lost in the conflagration.

The duke the first of this month was brought to Westmynster hall, where sate as juge, or high stuard, my lord treasaurowr; 26 lordes of the parliement went on his triall. Enditement was read, wich were several: some for treason, some for traiterous felony. The lawers redd how Paulmir had confessed that the duke once minded and made him prevy to raise the North; after to cal the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and th'erle of Pembroke to a feast, and so to have slaine them. And to doe this thing (as it was to be thought) he levied men 100 at his house at London: wich was scanned to be treason, bicause unlawful assemblies for such purposes was treason by an act made in the last sessions. Also how the duke of Somerset minded to slay the horses of the gendarmes, and to raise London. Crane confessed also the murdering of the lordes in a banket. Sir Miles Partrig confessid the raising of London. Hammon his man having a watch at Grenwich of 20 weaponed men to resist, if he had ben arrestid. And this confessed both Partrig and Paulmer. He answerid, that when he levied men at his house, he ment no such thing, but only to defend himself. The rest very barly answerid. After debating of the matter from 9 a cloke to three, the lordes went together, and there wayyng that the matter seamed only to touche there lifes, although afterward more inconvenience might have folowed, and that men might thinke they did it of malice, acquitted him of high treason, and condemned him of felony, wich he seamed to have confessid. He hearing the judgment fell down on his knees and thanked them for his open triall. After he asked pardon of the duke of Northumberland, the marquis, &c. whom he confessid he ment to destroy, although before he sware vehemently to the contrary.* The next day after he confessid how he had promised Bartiville to deliver him out of prison if he wold kill the duke of Northumberland.

* Here ends the portion of this letter printed by Fuller in his Church History.

The mustars was of 1000 men of armes the 7 of this present. They had noe pages, questrells, nor demilaunces, but al wel armed, and soe horsed as was never sene, I dare say, so many good horses, and so wel armed men. We thinke yow shal see in Fraunce none like. Thus fare you well.

From Westmyster the 20 of December A° Dñi 1551°.

This letter of the King went to France, accompanied by the following from mr. secretary Cecill:—

[Fuller's Worthies of England: Middlesex.]

"Mr. Barnaby, I have of late sent you a letter from Bartholemew Campaigne, for your payment, by the French embassador's pacquet. I doubt not but your good nature shall profitably and wisely receive the King's majesties letter to you, fatherly of a child, comfortably of your soveraign lord, and most wisely of so young a prince. And so I beseech you that you will think, wheresoever you go, you carry with you a demonstration of the King's majesty, coming *à latere suo*, and bred up in learning and manners with him. With your conversation and modesty let them * therefore believe the good reports of the King to be true; and let them perceive what the King is, when one brought up with him *habeat virtutis tam clarum specimen.* This I write boldly, as one that in you willeth our master's honour and credit; and, I pray you, use me as one that loveth you in plain termes. Scribled in hast, from Westminster, the 22 of December, 1551.

"Yours to use and have, W. Cecill."

To the foregoing sir William Pickering made the following acknowledgment, in a postscript to his despatch addressed to sir William Cecill from Paris on the 29th of the same month:

[State Paper Office, France, 108.]

"Your frendly letters of good counsell unto mr. Barnaby were no les praise worthy then a vere sygne of your good affeccion towardes him. I assure you his good and gentill nature so moche inclyned to vertu promessithe the utter performance of all that your letter requyrithe at his handes. I doubt never a deale but that he wull follow to the uttermost poynt all your good expectacions. Quapropter, quemadmodum superioribus tuis literis vitæ ejus optime institutæ rationem habere voluisti, ita ne graveris iterum atque iterum præcor, proximis illi consulere, ne ita operam det linguæ Gallicæ, ut videatur Latini sermonis castitatem unquam negligere. Vale.

"Tuus omnino Pyckeringus."

* I have ventured to alter this passage from "with your *conservation* and modesty, let *me*," as Fuller printed it.—*Edit.*

The following was Barnaby's answer to the preceding letter of the King:

[Fuller's Worthies of England: Middlesex.]

" To the King's majesty.

" According to my bounden duty, I most humbly thank your highness for your gratious letters of the 20 of December; lamenting nothing but that I am not able by any meanes, nor cannot deserve any thing of the goodness your highness hath shewed towards me. And as for the avoiding of the company of the ladies, I will assure your highness, I will not come into their company, unless I do wait upon the French king. As for the letter your majesty hath granted my father for the assurance of his lands, I thank your highness; most humbly confessing myself as much bound to you as a subject to his soveraign for the same.

" As for such simple news as is here, I thought good to certifie your majesty. It did happen that a certain saint, standing in a blind corner of the street where my lord admirall* lay, was broken in the night-time, when my lord was here; which the French-men did think to have been done by the English-men, and the English-men did think it to have been done by some French-men, of spite, because the English-men lay in that street; and now since that time they have prepared another saint, which they call *Our Ladie of Silver*, because the French King that dead is made her once of clean silver, and afterwards was stoln, like as she hath been divers times both stolen and broken in the same place; which ladie was, at this present Sunday, being the 27 of this month, set up with a solemn procession; in the which procession came first in the morning divers priests of divers churches, with crosses and banners, and passed by the place where she should stand; then afterwards, about 11 of the clock, came the Legat of Rome, in whose company came first afore him sixty black canons of our Ladies church; then came after them one that carried the legate's hat, in such sort as they carry the great seal in England; then came the master of Paris, next to the cardinall which carried the image that should be set up; then came the legate himself, all in red, and with a white surpless, still blessing, accompanied with the bishop of Caers†; and after him came the four presidents of the town, with all the councel of the town: also there went before, and came behind, divers officers of the town with tip-staves. And so they have set her up with great solemnity, and defended her with a double grate, to the intent she should be no more stolen nor broken; and the poor people lie still in the foul streets worshiping her. Further, as I am crediblie informed, the legate that lieth here doth give pardons and bulls daily; and one of the King's treasures standeth by, and receiveth the money to the King's use. Other news I have none.

The meanest and most obligest of your subjects,

" December the 28. BARNABY FITZ-PATRIK."

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* Lord Clinton. † Cahors.

## LETTER LVII.

To BARNABY FITZPATRICK: from Westminster, Jan. 25, 1551-2.

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 5845; MS. Cole, vol. xliv. p. 10.]

This letter was printed by Fuller in his Worthies, somewhat modernised: by Horace Walpole, as now given; and again by Halliwell, ii. 52.

To our welbeloved sarvaunt Barnabe Fizpatrike, one of the Gentlemen of our Prevy Chamber,

ð ð.

EDWARD.

We have received your lettres of the 28 of December, wherby we perceive your constancy, both in avoyding al kind of vices, and also in folowing all thinges of activitie, or otherwise, that be honest and mete for a gentleman, of the wich we are not a litle gladde, nothing doubting your continuaunce therin. We understand also by certain lettres you sent to th'erle of Penbroke and mr. vice-chamberlain,* that ye have some lakke of mulettis,† and that ye desire to have sent to yow some of ours. Wherupon we have considerid that our mulettis being old and lame will doe yow but litle service, and at least lesse than good ones bought there. For wich cause we have willed Bartholomew Campagne to deliver you 300 crownes, by exchaung, for the bieng of your tow mulettis, over and besides your former allowance.

Hier we have litle newes at this present, but only that the chaleng that ye hard of before your going was very well accomplished. At tilte there came 18 defendauntis, at tournay 20. At barrieres the(y) fought 8 to 8, a Twelf Night. This last Christmas hath bene well and merely‡ past. Afterward ther was rone a match at tilte 6 to 6, wich was very well ronne.

Also, bicause of the lord Riches sikenes, the bishop of Ely was made Chauncelour of Englaunde during the parliement.

* The earl of Pembroke held at this date the office of master of the horses: the vice-chamberlain was sir John Gates.

† *i. e.* mules.

‡ *i. e.* merrily.

Of late here hath bene such a tide heire as hath overflowen al medowes and marshes. All th'Isle of Dogges, al Plumsted marshe, al Sheppey, Foulnes in Essex, and al the sea cost was quite drowned. We here that it hath done no lesse harme in Flandres, Holland, and Zellaund, but much more. For townes and cities have ben their drouned.

We are advertized out of Almaine, that duke Moris is tourned from th'emperour, and he with the Protestauntes levieth men to deliver the old duke of Sax and the landsgrave out of prison.

The cause of our slownes in writing this letter hath been lake of messangers, els we had written before time.

Now shortly we will prove how ye have profited in the French toung, for within a while we will write to youe in French. Thus we make an ende, wishing you as moch good as ourself.

At Westmister the 25 of January 1551.

I have since received your lettres of 19 of this instaunte, assuring you that I am the gladder the oftener I here from yow.

*Note by Rev. W. Cole.* The address or direction is in the King's hand. This on the back of the letter in another hand: "xxv$^{th}$ of January 1551. From the King's Ma$^{tie}$."

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## LETTER LVIII.

To Barnaby FitzPatrick: from Westminster, Feb. 25, 1551-2.

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 5845; MS. Cole, vol. xliv. p. 6.]

Mr. Cole remarks: "This letter is much worn by frequent doubling and folding. It is directed by the King himself." The words which had become deficient from friction are now supplied from the copy in Fuller's Worthies of England. In Halliwell's work, ii. 55, it appears as in Walpole's copy.

Barnaby's letter of the 12th February, which Edward here acknowledges, has not been found; nor sir William Pickering's to the duke of Northumberland; but letters addressed to Cecill on the same occasion, both by Pickering and Barnaby himself, are preserved in the State Paper Office, and are as follow:—

Barnaby FitzPatrick to sir William Cecill.

[State Paper Office, France, III. In the hand of a secretary.]

I have receyved your gentle lettre, wherin I do perceyve ye shewe your self still towardes me so moche my veray freinde that ye make me think the care that ye take for me is more fatherly than freindly, and not only declaryd by your last lettre, but by all your doinges towardes me of a good contynuaunce, which I do not only take in most thankefull parte, but also trust by the ayde of the lyving God to perfourme that thing ye have so muche requyred at my handes. And alwais assure your self that I am and shalbe to my litle powre ready and willing to do you suche simple pleasure as shall lye in me. To wryte of newis to you that be uncertain I think it not convenyent: therfore I think it better to leave here thenne to troble any further. Willing you as my neres[t frie]nd to fare. From Paris the xij$^{th}$ of February 1552.

Yours most assuredlye,

*(Signed)* Barnabe Fizpatrik.

*Postscript in Barnaby's hand,* Hic recipies libellum inclusum in quo omnia nostra nova continentur.

*Directed,* To the right honourable Sir William Cycill knight, oone of the princypall Secretoryes to the Kinges Ma$^{tie}$.

Sir William Pickering to sir W. Cecill: extract from despatch dated Feb. 12, 1552:

" Mr. Barnabie standithe great nede of a good solicitour to procure the augmentyng of his enterteynement here, and specially as the season now servithe, to thend he may compayre fellow-lyke in theis wars with his equalls: otherwise yt shuld be a reproche to the place he commithe from, and discouraging peradventure to his forwardnesse, that meritethe in my judgment any preferment. Wherfore, knowing yow his verie good frend by the diligente care ye have in oft advising him (as your wise letters of good counsell to him do well wittnes), I beseche yow lykwise to assay what may be done for the settyng forthe of his person as reason requyrithe in this tyme. 300$^{li}$. will stande him in small stede, tho his horsses be sent owt of England. The derthe of all thinges, and specially belonggyng the war, are suche that a great deale makithe a small muster in theis quarters. Thus far entred in making you a soliciter, I most hartely requyre yow to have this berer my servant Morgan's long seute for recommended; his greatest bussyness is mr. Barnabies matters, which I wold he shuld well dispatche before his retourne, so then ye may please yow to hasten him hyther agayne."

To our welbeloved servant Barnabe Fizpatrike.

Edward.

We have received your lettres, dated at Paris the 12 of this instant, and also mr. Pikeringes letter written to our trusti and

welbeloved cousen the duke of Northumberland, on your behalf, wherby we parceive both the great preparacion for the warre wich the French king [our brother*] maketh, and also how [that you are ill furni]shed of all things me[et to] goe such a jorney, so that he [thinket]h that your costes wil not be bo[rne] under thre hundred pounds. Wherupon we have given order to Bartholomew Campaigne for to deliver yow in Paris 800 French crownes over and besides al moneys sent yow heretofore, and beside your diet. Also wheras yow seme to find a lake for the moilettis,† ther was apointed to yow 300 French crownes for the bieng of the same, because they could not be wel transported. Also order is gevin for your horsis to be caried over to yow with diligence, wich we trust shal like yow wel. We [have no] more to yow but to will yow not to live toe sumptuously, as an ambassadour, but so as your proporcion of living may serve yow, we meane bicause we know many will resort to yow, and desire to serve yow. I told yow how many I thought convenient yow should kepe. After yow have orderid your things at Paris, goe to the courte, and learn to have more intelligence, if yow cane, and after to the warris, to learne somwhat to serve us. Newes from hense I shal write yow, when yow send us some. In the meane season none but that (thankes be to God) al is well for the present. Fare yow well.

From Westmister the 25 of February, A. Dñi 1551.

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## LETTER LIX.

To Barnaby Fitzpatrick: from Greenwich, May 3, 1552.

[Fuller's Worthies of England: Middlesex.]

This letter was not one of those lent by the earl of Upper Ossory to the hon. Horace Walpole, and has hitherto been published only in Fuller's Worthies

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* The words in brackets are supplied from Fuller.

† A lack for the moilets, *i. e.* mules; already mentioned in the preceding letter.

The King acknowledges two letters received from Barnaby. The second of them, written from Nanci on the 15th April, is now preserved in the British Museum; it is considerably injured by the fire from which the Cottonian collection suffered, but may be read as follows:

[MS. Cotton. Caligula E. IV. p. 286.]

. . . . . of February . . . . . .
. . . . . etters and also Mr. Pikering . . . . . .
receved them, but also fulfilled the conte . . . . . .
the whiche I have alredye receved as . . . . . .
my last letters of the 2 of Aprille. Fu[rther, whereas] your heyghnes dothe warne me not t[oo live sump]tuuslye like an ambasateur, I trust your [heyghnes doth] understand I do not, and in the mean tyme [I beseech] you beleve not the contrarie.

The occurrances [here are] that, as I writt to your heynes in my last [letter,] that the duches * had submitted her selfe and h[er son] the duke to the Frenche kinge (being neuters), [and in] lyke wyse he passed quietly thrughe there t[owns] and cities, and takinge the keyes of everye [town] hath left garisons of hys oun men in them; and [on] thursday last he came to Nancye, the [chief] town of Loren, wher the duk and the duches [were,] and there taried friday all day, and a saturday in the morninge departing sumwhat erlye touward the armye, hymselfe armd, with a few gentelmen, and a sort of carnall cardinalles and bushops armd wyth shyrtes of mayl and whyte scarfes, left behynd hym in the town monsyneur mareshall Seynt Andreu, who soone after the kinges departyng caried [away the young duke towards France]† . . . . . .
. . . . . .
marye the kinges second . . . . . .
gl . . , but the duches and all hys . . . . . .
lament muche hys departynge. Fu . . . . . .
beyng a verye fayre toune ‡ as they say . . . . . .
and they have delivered there keyes [to the conist]able, who at thys present lieth ther [with his] armye. Also they have taken a certeyn [town called] Gousa, who as they say abyd 80 shot of [the ordinance] and at lenght cam to a paley, in the w[hich season] the French men scaled the walles and w[ent into] the toun and slue all savinge the capitay[ne and] 16 souldiers, the whych the conistable c[aused] to be hanged at nighte. Also they have ta[ken] an other place called Marangis, the whyche [the] souldiers forsoke and went away, and after the French men came thether, and thynking [it] not mete to be kept raysed yt.

Ther ys [no] more nues, but that the Frenche kinge doth m[ake] haste forward to mete duke Mores, and wythyn 15 [days] entendeth to campe about the river of Re[ne].

* Christina duchess of Lorraine. Her son the young duke was now taken to the French court for education, and married in 1559 to the king's daughter Claude.

† See the corresponding passage in the King's Journal. ‡ Metz.

The Frenche quene hathe ben verye sore syk, and in a maner past hope, but now she ys welle amended, and lieth at Seintjarvile.

Thus, having no more, I wyshe your heyghnes as much helth and prosperitye as ever kinge hade or shal have.

From Nancie, the 15 of Aprille.

Your heyghnes ys obedient sarvaunt,

BARNABE FIZPATRIK.

EDWARD.

We have received your letters of the second and fifteenth of Aprill; whereby we perceive then you were at Nancy, ready to go together with mr. Pickering to the French camp. And, to the intent you might be better instructed how to use your self in these warrs, we have thought good to advertise you of our pleasure therein. First, we would wish you, as much as you may conveniently, to be in the French king's presence, or at least in some part of his army where you shall perceive most business to be, and that for two causes: one is, because you may have more experience in the warrs, and see things that might stand you in stead another day; the other is, because you might be more profitable in the language; for our embassador, who may not weare harness, cannot well come to those places of danger, nor seem so to serve the French king as you may, whom we sent thither for that purpose. It shall be best for you therefore hereafter, as much as you may, to be with the French king; and so you shall be more acceptable to him, and do yourself much good. We doubt not also but of such things as you see there done you will not faile to advertise us, as you have well begun in your last letters; for thereby shall we judge of your diligence in learning, and seeing things that be there done. We shall be nothing wearied with often advertising, nor with reciting of particularity of things. And to the intent we would see how you profit in the French, we would be glad to receive some letters from you in the French tongue, and we would write to you again therein. We have a little been troubled with the small pox, which hath

letted us to write hitherto; but now we have shaken that quite away. Thus fare you well.

At Greenwich, the third of May, anno 1552.

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## LETTER LX.

To BARNABY FITZPATRICK: from Christchurch, August 22, 1552.

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 5845; MS. Cole, vol. xliv. p. 6.]

In this letter the King gives a lively account of his summer progress in Hampshire, which is also described in his Journal, where the reader will find some illustrative notes.

It was printed entire by Fuller in his Church History. Again by Horace Walpole: and also in the Gentleman's Magazine for August 1792; and in Halliwell, ii. 56.

To our trustie and welbeloved servaunt Barnabe Fizpatric.

EDWARD.

The causis whi we have not hitherto writen unto you, have partly ben the lakke of a convenient messanger, partly bicause we ment to have some things worthie writing ere we wold write any thing. And therfor, being now almost in the middel of our journey wich we have undertaken this somer, we have thought good to advertise how sins our last letters dated at Grenwich, we departed from and toward a thing far contrary to that wherin, as we perceive by your diligent advertisement, you and al the country you ar in, ar occupied. For wheras you al have ben occupied in killing of your enemies, in long marchings, in peined journays, in extreme heat, in sore skirmishings, and divers assaultes, we have ben occupied in killing of wild bestes, in pleasant journeyes, in good fare, in vewing of fair countries, and rather have sought how to fortifie our own then to spoile another man's. And, being this determined, cam to Gilford, from thens to Petworth, and so to Coudray, a goodly house of Sir Anthony Broune's, where we were marvelously, yea rather excessively, banketted. From thens we went to Halvenaker, a prety house besides

Chichestir. From thens we went to Warblington, a faire house of sir Richard Cotton's, and so to Whaltam, a faire great old house, in times past the bishop of Winchester's, and now my lord treasaurour's house. In al theis places we had both good hunting and good chere. From thens we went to Portismouth toune, and there viewed not only the toune itself, and the haven, but also divers bulwarkes, as Chaterton's, Haselford, with others. In viewing of wich we find the bulwarks chargeable, massie, wel rampared; but il facioned, il flanked, and set in unmete places, the toune weake in comparison of that it ought to be, to houge great * (for within the wallis ar faire and large closis, and much vacant rome), the haven notable great, and standing by nature easie to be fortefied. And for the more strenght therof we have devised tow strong castellis on either side of the haven, at the mouth therof. For at the mouth the haven is not past tenscore over, but in the middel almost a mile over, and in lenght for a mile and a hauf hable to beare the greatest ship in Cristendome.

Frome thens we went to Tichfield, th'erle of Southampton's house, and so on to Southampton toune. The citesens had bestowed for our comeng great cost in peinting, repairing, and ramparing of their wallis. The toune is ansome, and for the bignes of it as faire houses as be at London. The citeseins made great chere, and many of them kept costly tables.

From Southampton we came to Beuley, a litle village in the middel of the New Forrest, and so to Christchurch, another litle toune in the same forrest, where we now be.

And having advertised you of al this, we thinke it not good to trouble yow any further with newes of this countrye, but only that at this time the most part of England (thankis be to God) is clere of any daungerouse or infecciouse sikenes.

* too hugely great.

We have received al your lettres of the 26 of May, of the 19 [29] of June, and the first [of] August. Thus fare yow wel.

From Cristchurch the 22 of August.

The three letters from Barnaby which the King acknowledges as above, are all preserved in the Cottonian collection, and are here appended.

Barnaby FitzPatrick to the King: from Liestorfft in Lorraine, May 26, 1552.

[MS. Cotton. Caligula E. IV. p. 288.]

. . . . . du roy, et a estre . . . . . pleusieurs choses dignes d'estre veues . . . . . jamais. Le deuxième de bien marquer et bien con . . . . et les certifier a vostre Majesté; la quelle chose con . . . . [je ne] suys suffisant a fayre aussibien que je desyre, nonobstant . . . . et diligence ne fauldront jammais en choses que vostre [Majesté me] commande. Et touchant le troisieme que est pour [ecrire à vostre] Majesté en la langue Francoise, je ne ose pas fallier de . . . . . pas d'estre disobessant au commaundement de vostre Ma[jesté] . . . que je suis bien marri de donner a vostre Majestie fasch . . . cela, jusques autant que je serois un peu mieux appris. . . . mon trescher sire et soverainge seigneur, apres m'ester treshumble . . . a vostre bonne grace, je prie au Creatur vous donner treslonge [et he]ureuse vie. Thus being lothe to trouble your heyghnes enie [more with] my rude and unframed Frenche, I thought good to certy[fie to your] heyghnes of the occurrances that be here in Ingleshe, emon[ges which] I though(t) gode to lett your Majestye understand of ou[r marches] we have made in thes quarters. First, after our commyng [from] Meates we marched towardes Strausbrouge, and when we came [to] wythyne a 2 or 3 leges of hyt we turnede towardes Spyre and Wormes, whyche stand on the syde of the [river] of Rene; but in the mean tyme came nues of the [taking of] a certaine toune in the borders of Loren called Astene, whych was taken by the quen of Hungrey and begoun to be fortified, wheropon we turned streyght thether, and passed throughe a very great strayte betuen towe hylles, wher we wer fayn to devide our companie into 3 partes, and to marche 3 sundreye wayes, the kinge hym selfe betwene the hylles, and one companye on the ryght hand beyond the hylle.

. . . . . .

. . . . the cariage of the campe . . . . . .

hys ambasadors, that ys to saye your heynes ambasadeur, the ambasadeur of Venis, the ambasadeur of Mantua, the ambasadeur of Farare, wyth an hundreth men at armes, and 3 hundreth lyghte horsemene, besydes the garesoun of Meactes, whyche metethe them by the waye. The common sayinge ys the kinge wyll [go] to Lusenbruge, but men conjecture hys meaninge to be no other then to gooe to Astene. Also they tell here of a

certayne toun in Piemount which the Spaniards have taken harde by Kere; yt was nether veri s[trong] nor great, but necessarie for Kere. Thus havinge [no] more nues to trouble your heyghnes withale, I wyshe you as muche honer and felicitie as ever [king] had. From the campe at Liestorfft in Loren, the [26] of Maye.

Your heyhnes most obe[dient] servant and subject,

BARNABE FIZ[PATRIK.]

Barnaby FitzPatrick to the King: from Chalons, June 29, 1552.

[MS. Cotton. Caligula E. i. p. 37.]

[May it please] your hyeghnes to understande that the cause of my not [writin]ge to the same at Francis' last departynge from hens [was] my beynge at the campe wythout understandynge of [any su]re worde of hys beynge here. But sythens having occatione [to] cum to my lorde ambasateur, and fyndynge a convenient messenger, I thought yt my bounden dutye to declare unto your Majestye of the jurnye the Frenche kinge hath made sythens hys returne out of Almaynge. After our cumminge into the duchye of Lusenburge, we passèd by a smalle castelle called Rodemanche, whether the kinge sent to have had vitaylle, comaundinge them also to yelde, but they refusede both. Opon whyche occation ther were the same night 10 peces of ordynaunce planted agaynste hyt, and the next morninge, after they had beten hyt an houre or more, the capitayne began to parle, yeldynge hymselfe to the kinges plesure, but to late, for the Frenche men beynge gredye of spoyle and seynge sum avauntage, entred and slue all wythyne, savinge the capitayne, hys wyfe, and hys 2 doughters. Ther was feu found wythyne hyt at the same tyme other then pesauntes, for the Spaniardes conveyed themselves awaye the night before to a very stronge place called Tweynville, a leage of, and 4 leages from Meats, whyche we affyrme to be so stronge as the kinge wyll not medelle wyth hyt. From thys castell he marched touwardes Astene, as I wrote to your heyghnes in my last letters that he was determined to do, but wythyne 2 dayes the nues was brought that hyt was yelded to the admiralle, so that the kinge chaunged hys purpose ther in and passed [to . . . which] he burnt to the grounde, and fro[m thence to a town] called Damviler, of such strenght as [your Majesty] may percev by a plat herin inclosed [drawn by] the handes of an unkunninge payn . . . . aproche the lyght horsmen und. . . . Domayll offered the skirmishe, and mounsieur . . [and] mounsieur mareshall de la Mars remayned . . . . the Burguniuns could be by no mea[ns drawn] from ther gates, whyls at lenght . . . . . given opon them, wher ther we . . . both the sydes. The next daye th . . . . incamped wythyne a leage of the . . . the kinge and the conistable the day . . . . abowte the toune. The daye af[ter their] cummynge the admirall planted opon . . . canons as well to bete there houses . . . . of ther bulwarks, and also to dismo[unt their] peces. Afterward the kinge layed 2 [batteries to] yt, the one of 7 canons and 2

[long culve]rins, the other of 4 longe culverins [and . . . ] canons, whych made a great breage [therin] consyderinge the thyknes of the wall[s, and in] the eveninge about the sun set they [desired to] speake, in the whyche they desyred to [depart] wyth bagge and bagage, but the kinge [thought] hyt not mete, seynge they had abydyd [the] shot of the canon, but at lenght he was [pleased that the] souldiers should depart wythe ther lyves and [that the] capitayns should be prisoners, opon whyche [condi]tions they agreed, and the kinge entered into the town, wher he found by men's jugment vitayll and munition for a yere, and they departed owt wyth whyte stickces * in ther handes. From thens we departed to a toune called Ivoy, verye stronge, and in the waye we passede by a castelle called Mount Midye, where we skyrmished and lost sum menn, and emongst them mounsieur de Toge's brother; but sythens the wyninge of Ivoy, yt is yelded to the kinge. Wythyn Ivoy we found count Mansfelde, who ys the emperour's lieutenaunt of the duchye of Lusenburge, who had a band of 300 verye valeant horsmen wythyn, who were as redye ether to cum to the skyrmishe or provoke hyt as culd be, and put us to the wors often tymes, but speciallye twyes: the one tyme they came in to the toun wher the hole band of our lyght hors lay and slue our men wythyn the toun, and after retyred them home, in the whyche they allured us so nye ther shot that we lost divers horses, and had many men slayne and hurt; the other was that a dosene came into the admiral's campe and slue men, and retyred without hurt. But when the trenches wer made, the kinge planted 20 great peces in baterye, whych bet the walls a hole day wythout doynge harme, untyll 4 devout chaplyns found the means to runn owte of the toun, sheuynge the constable the weakest part of the toun, wher the same nyght wer pl[anted . peces] moo in batrye, whych bet the [walls from . .] a clok in the morninge ontyll 12 [at noon] and made a greate breache, (but no. . . .) opon whych the saut was apoynted [to be made] at 2 a cloke and the fagotes were [brought, at] the syght wherof the Flemynges ha[d fear], and they sayed that they would not [defend] the toun anye longer; the whych w[hen count] Mansfeld hard, lying syk in hys b[ed,] and brought all the monye he had, [parted] hyt amongst them, persuadinge them [to hold] the toun, and declaringe what an [honour it] was to kepe out a kinge, also offring [him]selfe wyth hys 300 horsmen to [defend] the brege,† and they shud do nothynge [but keep] themselves upon the wall, but all [in vain,] for they thretned hym to hurl hym o[ute] or enye other that woud goo to [defend] the breche; the nombre of them was 400 . . . (as a Spaniard told me . . . the toun) that caused thys gentel[man to yield], who remayneth now prisoner w[ith . ] moo gentelmen, but the soudiars [be gone] wyth whyte wandes. The brut ys [that] the kinge returnethe home, and sendeth [part] of hys armye into Piemount and part in[to] Picardy, and therfor I would be glad to [know] what your heyghnes would commaund me to doo.

* sticks, or wands (as afterwards at Ivoy). † breach.

Thus havinge no mor nues worthy the writynge, I besech God to preserve your Majesty longe in helth to hys pleasur.

From Shalouns the 29 of June.

Your heygnes moste humbl and
obedient servaunt,
BARNABE FIZPATRIK.

*Directed*, To the Kinges most excellent Majestye.

Barnaby Fitzpatrick to the King: from Couci, Aug. 1, 1552.

[MS. Cotton Caligula E. IV. p. 289.]

. . . . wryte to your Majesty . . . . . jurnye as I hade done of the rest . . . . . From the takinge of Ivoye we [marched to] the borders of Shampanye, sendinge mons . . . . bak wyth certayne fotemen to summenne [two forts] called Mountmiddye and Lumes, whyche ye[ilded at] the firste wythout strikinge stroke; they [were very] stronge, but of no great importance. Aft[er that] we marchede on opon the borders (of) Shampanye [to] burne in the quene of Hungrey's cuntrye lyk[e as] she had burned both in Picardye and Sh[ampanye], and passynge by a certayne stronge forte called [Boulioune] the kynge sent mounsieur mareshall de la Mars [with] certayn fotemen and 2 or 3 peces of artelerye to [try] yt. yf it woulde yeld for askinge, but al thys w[ould] not serve, for they would not yelde, onles they myght se the constabl, opon the whych th[ey] apareled one lyk the constabl, who when he came and spake wyth them, they hurled doun [their] weapons and yelded at the kinges pleasure. After the wynnynge of Boulioune we marched towards Avene and towardes Laundersee, whyche they sayd (we) shoud have beseged, but when we [came] wythynne 2 leages of Avene we turned bak, they sayd because of the foule wether, for ther was never a daye in 30 dayes together but yt rayned one parte of the daye; but I thynke yt was . . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . ourt, and amongest . . . . . oge, who sythens died at Laon, [but the] castel was yelded to the kinges pleasure, [and is] sythens raysed. We came also to a fayre town called Semey, whych after a small resystance yelded lyke the rest at the kinges pleasure; after yt was burnt, beynge a thynge of no streynghte. After thys we marchede streyght homwarde, and cam to a toune called Trepo[unt,] whyche the quene of Hungrey bourned when our campe brake upe, and our soudiers were devided, 22 ensegnes into Loren, wherof monsieur de Guies ys made governor, also into Shampanye and Picardye ys sent as manye, and all the viel bandes ar layed in garison [as] well in the kinges oune touns opon the [frontier] as in thos touns he toke of hys enemies.

Here ys no nues, but that sythens our [coming] from the campe 400 Frenche horsmen [have] dyscunfeted 1400 Burguniuns, and have [taken] 7 ensegnes of them to the kinge to Cousy, where he lyeth at thys present wyth [the] quene. Also the prince of

Salarne ys now [on] hys jurnye towards Napls wyth mounsieur de Terms and divers French gentelmen [to] do what they may agaynst the vis[eroy] of Naples.

. . . . wyshe your heynes al . . . . other hart can thynk, tunge [can tell,] or pen can wryte. From Cousy [the] fyrst of Auguste 1552.

Your heynes most . . . .
and obedient servant,
BARNABE FIZPATRIK.

*Directed*, To the Kinges most excellent Majestye.

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## LETTER LXI.

### To BARNABY FITZPATRICK: from Windsor, September 24, 1552.

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 5845; MS. Cole, vol. xliv. p. 11.]

The King writes to summon his friend back: and informs him how he had completed the circuit of his progress. He makes a mistake in the date of his own last letter from Christchurch.

This letter was not printed by Fuller, but first by Horace Walpole. Again in the Gentleman's Magazine for August 1792; and by Halliwell, ii. 59.

### To Barnaby Fizpatrick.

EDWARD.

After our right harty recommendacions unto you, this shal be to signifie to you, how that as wel upon consideracion of your long absence from us, one holle yere almost being expired, as also for divers other causes us therunto moving, wich you shal the perfectlier know at your comming hither, we have thought good to cal you home again at this present, with as much expedition as yow with your ease can conveniently make. And for that pourpose you, or mr. Pikering for you (if you so thinke good), to declare to the French king, that, wheare yow have waited on his majesty for this yere past, now, considering the dead time of the yeare for warris draweth nere, yow ar determined to repaire homward to your countre, to visite your frendes, declaring that for your part yow wil at any other time, when he shal have nede, with leave of your master, searve him with al you can make, with other good wordes,

requiring his majesties good leave for the same purpose. Wich when you have, you shal repaire to our presence with as much hast as conveniently yow can make.

For occurrances here, we leave to write them bicause of your soon accesse hether, save only that we, sins our last lettres dated at Christchurch, the 7 [22] of August, we have seen our tounes of Salisbury and Winchester, Newbery and Reding, and so returned to this castel in good helth.

Further, for siknes, I heare of no place wheare any sweat or plage hath reigned, but only in Bristow, and in the countre nere about. Some suspected it to be among a few in the toune of Poole in Dorsetshier, but I thinke rather nat. For I was within three mile of it and lesse, and yet no man feared it. And thus God have yow in his keping.

Written at our castel of Windsour the 24 day of September, the sixt yere of our raigne, A$^{o}$ Dñi 1552.

*On the back*, "The Kinges Ma$^{tyes}$ Letters by Francis y$^{e}$ Post y$^{e}$ of Septembre."

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## LETTER LXII.

To Barnaby FitzPatrick: from Hampton Court, October 7, 1552.

[Fuller's Worthies of England: Middlesex.]

This letter is edited only by Fuller, and not by Walpole. Barnaby's letter, written from Rheims, has not been found.

Edward.

We have received your letters, dated at Rhemes the fourth of this instant; by which we understand how the French king doth mean now to set forth a new army to resist the emperour, and that for that cause you think you cannot yet ask leave to return, without suspition, till this bray do cease. In which thing we like your opinion very well; and the rather, because you may peradventure

see more things in this short journey (if so be it that the emperor doth march towards you) then you have seen all the while you have been there. Neverthelesse, as soon as this businesse is once overpast, you, with mr. Pickering's advice, may take some occasion to ask leave for this winter to come home, because you think there shall few things more be done then have been already, in such manner and form as we have written in our former letters. We pray you also to advertise for how long time you have received your diets. Bartholomew Campaigne hath been paid six weeks agon, till the last of September; and we would be very glad to know whether you have received so much at his factor's hands. More we have not to advertise you; and therefore we commit you to God.

From Hampton Court, the 7 of October, anno Dom. 1552.

Acting upon the intimation conveyed in the King's letters, Barnaby FitzPatrick now began to make preparations for taking leave of France. On the 12th of October he thus addressed the King:—

[MS. Cotton. Caligula E. IV. p. 292.]

. . . . . ys otherwyse . . . . . .

. . . . . geste all that he goeth not in to the feld this . . . . . Majesty's correction) I thynk the tyme serveth [for me to] aske my leve to cum home, yf yt might so [please his] heynes. The admyrall was dyspasched a sonday [last] to Lafayre, there to set order agaynst the quene of [Hungary] whom they loke shortlye to cum thether, for her army [has] arryved opon the borders of Pycardye, to the nombre of 3 . . . 13,000 fotemen. The constable as they say lyeth at Sem . . . . . from Vardun, but what he doth yet we here not. [Monsieur mareshall] Seyntandre hath the charge of Vardun, and prepareth for [the emperor's?] commynge thether. Also mounsieur de Guys maketh greate prepara[tion] for the emperour's commynge thether, but whate the emperour [will] do non of them can tell, but they say that at thys present h[e lies] syk at Spyrs, and hys army at Deupount. Ther ys a [pestilent] deth in thes partys as they say, whych in some places distroys [whole] touns and villages. I have no more nues worthye wrytynge [to your] Majesty; therfor now I take my leve, prayinge almyghty God [ever] to preserve your heynes in al honor and prosperitye. Fr . . . the 12 of October.

Your Majesties most humble and obedient servant,

BARNABE FIZPATRIK.

## LETTER LXIII.

To Barnaby FitzPatrick: from Westminster, November 14, 1552.

[From the original in the possession of the Right Hon. J. W. FitzPatrick.]

This letter was not published by Dr. Fuller, but hitherto only by Walpole, and by Halliwell, ii. 61.

Edward.

Having now dispacht one to our embassadour for certein our affaires, we have thought by him to write unto yow, how we hitherto hearing that the French King rather seaketh to kepe home, then to rescue his townes, do now loke for yow here shortly. And we therfor writ this lettre to yow bicause yow might understand that we geave yow leave to cum home at such time, and upon such occasion, as unto yow and our embassadour shal be thought. Sende me word, or bring tidinges yourself, wither our lettres of the last month, sent by Mons. Villandry, be cumme to your handes. And thus we bidde yow farewel.

From Westmister, the 14 of November A° Dñi 1552.

*Directed*, To our welbeloved sarvant Barnabe Fizpatrik.

The mutilation of this letter in 1831 is recorded in the following memorandum written by the late Lady Holland:—

"*Nota bene.* From the 7 letter of Edward the sixth to his well beloved servaunt Barnabie Fizpatrick, dated the 14 November, 1552, and in the possession of the Ladies FitzPatrick, I, with the permission of the said Ladies, cut out the signature of the King, namely, Edward, and cut off the direction, *To our welbeloved servant Barnabe Fizpatrick*, on the 9th December, 1831.

(*Signed*) Vassall Holland.
Anne FitzPatrick.
Gertrude FitzPatrick."

Barnaby FitzPatrick took his leave of the French court on the 9th December, carrying with him these honourable testimonials to his general conduct and character, which are still extant in H. M. State Paper Office:—

HENRY II. of France to King Edward.

[State Paper Office, France, No. 27.]

Treshault tresexcellent et trespuissant prince, nostre trescher et tresamé bon frere, fil, cousin et compere, salut. Nous ayant le S^r^ Barnabe gentilhomme de nostre chambre, present porteur, faict entendre le desir et besoing aussi qu'il a d'aller faire ung voiage par dela pour aucuns ses affaires Nous luy en avons voluntiers donné congé non sans regret de son absence Pour le bon honneste et grant devoir quil a faict aupres de nous durant qu'il y a esté Et le plaisir et contantement que ce nous est de ly veoir Dequoy nous n'avons voullu faillir a vous advirtir Et prier tresaffectuesement quil vous plaise en ceste consideracion l'en avoir de plus en plus en vostre bonne recommandacion comme celluy qui en est tresdigne Et que pour l'honneur de vous aussi nous avons tousjours tenu si pres de nous quil vous scaura bien rendre compte dela parfaicte et entiere amytie que nous vous portons, dont nous vous remectons a sa suffisance Et de vous dire de noz bonnes nouvelles Priant atant nostre Seigneur, Treshault tresexcellent et trespuissant prince nostre trescher et tresamé bon frere filz cousin et compere, vous avoir en sa tressaincte et digne garde. Escript a Compieigne Le huit^me^ Jour de Decembre mil cinq cens cinquant deux.

*(Signed)* V're bon frere pere cousyn et compere,

HENRY.

*(Countersigned)* DE LAUBESPINE.

*Directed*, Treshault tresexcellent et trespuissant prince N're trescher et tresamé bon frere filz cousin et compere Le Roy dangleterre.

*Indorsed by Cecill*, 8 December 1552, y^e^ ff. King to y^e^ K. Ma^tie^.

Mr. Barnaby.

The Constable MONTMORENCI to King Edward.

[State Paper Office, France, No. 28.]

Sire, J'ay veu le S^r^ Barnabe, gentilhomme dela chambre du Roy vostre bon frere et pere, present porteur, se porter et conduire si honnestement et vertueusement en toutes ses actes pardela Que je penserois grandement faillir si je ne vous en faisoys tesmoignaige par ceste lettre Lequel je vous supplye tant et si treshumblement que faire puis voulloir agreablement recevoir comme dela personne de ce royaulme qui desire plus vous faire de service Et qui s'estimeroit bien heureux s'il s'offroit occasion de vous en povoir donner parfaite cognoissance par quelque bon effect Priant sur ce nostre Seigneur, Sire, vous donner en sante tresbonne et treslongue vye. De Compieigne Le huit^me^ jour de Decembre 1552.

Vostre treshumble et tresobeissant serviteur

MONTMORENCY.

*Directed*, Au Roy Dangleterre.

Extract from a despatch of Sir William Pickering to Sir William Cecill, dated from Compeigne, Dec. 9, 1552.

[State Paper Office, France, No. 125 A.]

Of other the newes here I have delivered a brief memoriall unto Mr. Barnabe, who presently retourneth fully instructed in those thinges. In asking leave of the king for his departure hence, I said that, as certain his freindes in Englonde, knowing his father extremely seke in Irelande, hadde ben earnest sewters unto the kinges highnes that he might repaire homewardes to give ordre unto his thinges there, (if Godde called his father unto his mercy,) so Mr. Barnabe most humblie beseched his Majestie that it might stande with his pleasure to lycence him to see his countrye for that purpose; wherin having taken some good waie, and satisfied also the greate desire he hadde to see the kinges majestie my master, he woulde be reddy, at any his grace's commaundements, to retourne hither unto his service again, as he that confessed him selfe most bounde to recognise his majesties exceeding grete goodnesse towardes him for the great good and honnour he hadde received at his majesties handes in placing him so nigh unto his grace's persone, &c. The king saide he was very well contented to satisfie his honnest and raisonable request, and that he shoulde take the tyme as he thought best. He sett him furthe with many good praises bothe for his wisdome and diligent service, saing he woulde be a very good and mete servant for the kinges highnes his good brother and sonne, and was very sorry, he saide, that he hadde done no more for him, that worthely deserved any goodnes. I assure your lordeshipp that his demenours have bene suche towardes all men sythen his comming hither, his facions so sobre and discrete in every place, that he hathe gotten greate praise in this cowrt, and alle men his welle willers that knowe him.

*In a postscript in sir William Pickering's own hand is added*, Mr. Barnebe shalle have in reward a 1000 crownes.

The paper marked 125 C. is "A brief memoriall gyven to Mr. Barnabe Fizpatrik at his departure from Compeigne the 9 of Decembre 1552." This is a despatch from the ambassador on the progress of public affairs.

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The following are extracts from the Register of the Privy Council:—

1551. October 13. A warrant to sir Edmond Peckham, knight, to pay to Barnabie FitzPattrick one hundreth markes to be employed upon certain apparell for hym of the King's Ma^ts^ gyft.

Nov. 14. A warrant to (*blank*) to pay unto Barnabe FitzPatrik, in way of the King's Ma^ts^ rewarde at his present going into Fraunce with the Lord Admyrall, the summe of fifty marks.

Nov. 28. A lettre to Barthilmewe Campayny to take ordre for the making over in to Fraunce xij c. Frenche crownes by yere to Barnaby fytzPatrik, one of the gentlemen of the King's Ma^ts^ privie chamber, presently repayred to the Frenche courte to remayne there for a season, so as he may have the sayd pencion of xij c. crownes by yere from tyme to tyme as the same shall growe accordingly.

1551-2. Feb. 21. Warraunt to (*blank*) for iiij c. markes to Barnabye Fitzpatrick towards his charges in the Frenche king's service.

March 10. To Mr. Pickering's servant, by way of his Ma^ts^ rewarde to his maister following the Frenche king to his warres M. markes. To Mr. Barnaby for the lyke purpose, cccc. markes. To Barthelmew Campaigne for soe muche by him delyvered by way of exchange to Mr. Barnaby in ccc. Frenche crownes at vj s. viij d. the pece, l li.

1552. April 28. A warraunt to Theschequier to pay to Barthilmewe Compagni ccxxxviij li. dewe to hym in surplusage for the dietts of Barnaby Fitzpatric by reason that he payd more then he receyved, for that he was constrayned to pay in Fraunce viij s. for the crowne.

Sept. 1. A warraunt to Sir John Williams to ijc x li. to Barthillmew Compagny to be sent over by exchaunge unto Mr. Barnabie FitzPatrik.

Dec. 18. A warraunt to Thexchequier to pay to Mr. Barnaby FitzPatrick, one of the gentlemen of the King's Ma^ts^ Privie Chamber, the summe of cl. Frenche crownes after the rate of viij s. the crowne, for two monethes behind of his diets appointed unto hym during his being in Fraunce. (MS. Addit. 14,026.)

1551. Dec. 21. A letter of thankes to the Frenche king aswell for his liberall graunt of xij c. tunnes of wheete to be bought in Fraunce for the relief of the citie of London, as for his gentle receyving of Barnaby FitzPatrick in to his service, and placing of him in his privye chambre. (Billæ Signatæ, MS. Reg. 18 C. XXIV. fol. 170 v.)

In February following, a *liberate* was granted to Barnabie FitzPatrick, one of the gentlemen of the privie chamber, upon an Annuytie of a hundred and fiftie pounds granted to him by the King's Majesties lettres patentes sexto die mensis instantis Februarij, durante bene placito, habendum a festo sancti Michaelis archangeli ultimo preterito, with th' arrerages. (MS. Cotton, Julius B. IX. f. 122.)

# ORATIONES.

We have seen the series of the King's Latin letters cease shortly after his accession to the throne, and it is evident that his exercises in that language no longer took the form of *Epistolæ*. He was now instructed to compose declamations, or *Orationes* as they were called by his tutors, of which a very considerable number is still preserved. A few, some of the earliest, are fairly transcribed into the same copy-book with the Latin Letters, now the MS. Harl. 5087. Two of these were published by Strype, and the whole six are now printed. But a much larger collection, amounting to more than fifty in Latin, and nearly as many in Greek, the whole (excepting one) as originally written by the King, now forms the volume in the British Museum marked as the MS. Addit. 4724. From this volume a further selection is made; but of the remainder it is deemed sufficient to give the following account.

The MS. Addit. 4724 was presented to the national collection by Mr. Hollis, as is recorded by a memorandum inserted before the first page :—

> "Thomas Hollis is desirous of having the honor to deposite
> this manuscript in the British Musaeum.
> "*Pall Mall, mar.* 10, 1763.
>
> "To The Trustees of the British Musaeum."

It is a folio volume of 222 leaves, of which the first half consists of the King's Latin orations, and the rest of those in Greek. They were written on loose sheets of paper, with uncut edges, and subsequently bound together. Though in some degree placed in the order of their composition, they are evidently partially disarranged. Many of them are dated, but many are not. Few have any title or theme; but their general character may be gathered from the introductory lines, which are extracted in the following account.

The first is headed thus :—

1. Ed. Rex. Χρεια. Anno D'ni milesimo 500° 48°. Apri. 22°.
   Plato dicit : nos non debere habere voluptatem quasi virtutem. (Four full pages, ff. 2—3.)

2. Cicero dicit: Adolescentia est senum consilio et prudentia gubernenda. (Four pages, ff. 4—5.)

3. *Χρεια.* Chreia.
Christus dicit: non debetis facere quicquid contra mandata Dei, ut sequamini vestra ipsius præcepta. (ff. 6—7.)

4. Isocrates: Oportet regem regnare inquit cum mansuetudine et clementia. This is printed hereafter, Oratio VII.

5. 1548. 21° Septembris. Num Cato rectè censuit evertendam esse Carthaginem. (Four pages, ff. 12—13.)

6. 1549. 23 Junij. Omnes quidem et Philosophi, &c. Printed hereafter, Oratio I.

7. 3° Junij, 1549. An prescientia rerum sit utilis. (Four pages, ff. 17—18.) Printed hereafter, Oratio II.

8. 13° Martij, 1551°. a° 6° R. R. E. 6[i].
Quandam difficilem quidem et arduam provinciam postrema hebdomada suscepimus, videlicet disserere quæ sit natura angelorum, qui sæpe in specie et forma humana ad homines eos (*sic*) mittuntur, quos Deus vult converti ad pietatem, &c. (Two pages, sixty lines, f. 18.)

9. 17 Maij, 1551°, post pascha.
Quanquam illi opus sit (auditores optimi) non solum magna cognitione, et scientia, sed etiam bene spectata atque diuturna experientia, qui velit de rebus civilibus ad Rempublicam pertinentibus graviter atque acutè disserere. (Four pages, ff. 20—21.)

10. 31° Maij, 1551.
Hac quæstione proposita (judices optimi) utrum liceat lugere mortem amici. (Four pages, ff. 22—23.)

11. 14 Junij, 1551.
Nullum est fortius nec munitius præsidium, (auditores optimi,) nulla arx tam firma, nullus murus ita validus ut veri amici. (Four pages, ff. 24—25.)

12. 28° Junij, 1551°.
Cùm multi viri sint, quorum alii student scientiis mathematicis, alii cœli et stellarum ordinibus et cursibus, alii in rebus bellicis magnam operam navant, quærentes quomodo optimè possint adoriri inimicum et fortissimè seipsos defendere, atque hostem vincere, alii etiam sunt qui in actibus quæ ad usum vitæ pertinent perfectè ediscendis elaborant, nullum est liberalius, nobilius, præstantique viro dignius studium, quàm illud quod in cognoscendo et investigando mala bonaque consistit. (Four pages, ff. 26—27.)

13. 12 Julij, 1551°.
Non temerè, nec sine causa, (auditores optimi,) veteres illi sapientissimi et gravissimi philosophi soliti sunt ponere tria genera bonorum, præcipua in animo quasi totius

hominis divinissima, celerrima, præstantissima, et præclarissima parte, secunda in corpore, tertia in fortuna. (Two pages and a half, ff. 28, 29.)

14. Bellum esse Turcis inferendum, religionis gratia. Printed hereafter, Oratio VIII.

15. 9° Augusti, 1551°.
Quemadmodum ocio, languore, et desidia, (optimi auditores,) hominum mentes et ingenia corrumpuntur, ita etiam diligentia, labore, et exercitio corrobantur, confirmantur, et ad perfectionem quandam perveniunt. (Four pages, ff. 32—33.)

16. 23 Augusti, 1551°. 5° R.
Quemadmodum (Judices clarissimi) est unius cujusque artificis officium (si modo peritus esse volet) non solum probè scire, quomodo ex aptis instrumentis, aut ex apta materia, illud quod conatur perfici possit. (Three pages, pp. 34—35.)

17. 1° Septembris, 1551°.
Cum variæ sint mutationes hujus mundi, varii status fortunæ. (Four pages, ff. 36, 37.)

18. 20 Septembris, 1551°.
Sæpe contingere (auditores optimi) video cum hi qui bonis fortunæ aut corporis ut appellant sint exornati, improbitati et nequitiæ totos sese dedunt. (Three and a half pages, ff. 38—39.)

19. Cum omnes virtutes sint in his rebus quæ eis sunt subjectæ maxima laude afficiendæ. (Two pages, f. 40, with date at the end —) 31 Oct. 1551.

20. Non possumus beatam pacatamque vitam degere (optimi auditores) nisi normam aliquam et regulam imitemur. (Four pages, ff. 42—43, concluding thus—

18° Octobris. E. R.
Eduardus Rex.
Finis orationis.
Anno domini. 1551°.
Non licet naturam imitari.

21. Nihil magis est necessarium his omnibus qui Rerumpublicarum et nationum magnarum gubernacula atque curam tenent quàm ut malos suppliciis afficiant, bonos autem præmiis donent. (Four pages, ff. 44—45, signed) 1° Novembris, 1551°.
E. Rex.

22. 29° Novembris, 1551°.
Duo inter omnes philosophos (optimi auditores) constituuntur genera vitæ, quorum unum totum ponitur in actione. (Two pages, f. 46.)

23. 13° Decembris, 1551°.
Cum quisque instituerit post maturam deliberationem (auditores et judices optimi)

aut facultatis bonitate, aut commodo, aut sua ad aliquid inclinatione persuasus, quod genus vitæ velit imitari et sequi, &c. (Four pages, ff. 48—49, concluding—)

Dixi. Dixi. Dixi. Finis.

13° Decembris
Anno domini
1551°.
Eduardus Rex.

24. Nulla res utilior, &c. on the question, Quæ rectè cognita a multis magnis et gravibus periculis hominem liberat et tollit, ignota vero opplet vitam miseriis et calamitatibus. (Four pages, ff. 50—51, signed)

E. Rex. 1551°. 10 Januarij.

25. Quanquam sapientis sit (optimi auditores) non nimium scrutari, aut exquirere illarum rerum naturam quæ supra captum suum existunt. (Three and a half pages, ff. 52—53.) 24° Januarij, 1551°.

26. 14° Februarij, 1551, a° 6° R° R$^{s}$ E. 6. Sapientis est (auditores optimi) nihil conari, nihil aggredi, nihilque incipere, quod non antea perpendit et secumipse cogitavit bonum ne esset, et num perficere possit. (Four pages, ff. 54—55.)

27. 28° Februarij, a° d'ni 1551°. Quanquam admodum sit mirus et vix narrabilis ordo ille quo supremus Deus noster et dominus (optimi auditores) regit, gubernat, et dirigit ea quæ creavit. (Three pages, ff. 56—57.)

28. 14° Maij, 1552°. Nullum quidem donum, nullum munus, nullum ornamentum a Deo datum est homini melius ex omnibus illis ornamentis quibus abundè fuit ditatus, et mirificè ornatus, nullum inquam ex illis fuit perfectius, nullum absolutius, nullum excellentius, nec quo magis differret homo a brutis animantibus et beluis quàm ratio. (Four pages, ff. 58—59.)

29. 5° Julij, a° d'ni 1552°. Quemadmodum nec ille armorum opifex qui nescit unde paranda sit materia illa ex qua conficiuntur arma, nec ille coriariarus (*sic*) qui ignorat ubi emendæ sint belluarum pelles, nec ille panni confector quem latet ubi sit acquirenda lana, possunt vel arma conficere, vel corium, vel pannum, sic equidem nec homo ille qui profitetur se rerum honestarum et bonarum studiosum et diligentem imitatorem, potest aliquid facere quod vel perfectum, vel bonum, vel ulla laude dignum videatur, nisi sciat et bene intelligat unde sit petendum auxilium, &c. (Four pages, ff. 60—61.)

30. Cùm (ut Plato rectè dicit,) non nobis solum nati sumus. (Four pages, ff. 62—63.)

31. Quanquam (judices optimi) non sit consuetudinis veterum oratorum de his rebus consilium capere quæ præterita sint. (Four pages, ff. 64—65.)

32. Non sumus sponte mali. (ff. 66—67.) Printed hereafter with Oratio XII.

33. Hi (auditores optimi) qui ita flagrant studio et amore rei optimæ et quæ præclarissima videatur, ut cætera nihili ducentes contemnant. (Four pages, ff. 68—69.)
34. Quemadmodum ille non est habendus bonus calciarius qui nescit quomodo optimè fiant calcei, nec ille bonus domuum artifex qui, cùm duas videat domus, hanc bonam et illam malam, nesciat inter eas rectè dijudicare, nec ille Consul qui reipublicæ statum ignorat, sic nec ille jure in hominum numero est habendus, qui quid bonum, quid malum, quid ad fœlicitatem adjuvat, quid calamitates afferat, ignorat. (Four pages, ff. 70—71.)
35. Miramini fortasse, auditores clarissimi, nos, qui tantos labores insumimus ut corpus in sanitate conservetur, et in morbis existens restituatur sanitati, has partes jam defendere, mortem non esse malam, cùm factis videamur contrarias confirmare. (Four pages, ff. 72—73.)
36. Cum nulla natio bene institui possit, nisi inferiores superioribus obtemperant. (Four pages, ff. 74—75, signed, Eduardus Rex.)
37. Quanquam multæ sint quæstiones admodum obscuræ in philosophia morali, &c. (Four pages, ff. 76—77.)
38. Magnum mehercule (auditores clarissimi) certamen institui contra illustrissimos et sapientissimos philosophos Platonem et Socratem. (Three pages, ff. 78—79.)
39. Principio cùm populus nullis tenebatur legibus, sed unusquisque hoc solum cogitabat ut proximum interficeret sui commodi causa. (Three pages and a half, ff. 80—81.)
40. Inter omnia illa innumerabilia beneficia quæ Deus in humanum genus contulit, . . . nullum majorem, &c. quandam potestatem eligendi et boni appetendi, mali vero fugiendi. (Four pages, ff. 82—83.)
41. Nulla est præstantior scientia, &c. quàm quomodo quis vitam gubernaret. (Three pages and a half, ff. 84—85.)
42. Quanquam multa erant inter majores nostros genera Reipub$^{cae}$. (Four pages, ff. 86—87.)
43. Nulla est firma possessio, nullæ facultates diuturnæ, nihil quod hominis proprium bonum meritò appellari possit, nisi sola virtus. (Four pages, ff. 88—89.)
44. In omni Republica,&c. The declamation against Adultery, printed hereafter, Oratio IX.
45. Quanquam multæ, &c. The question discussed is, Utrum illa Respublica sit beatior et felicior, num magis tranquillè vivant illi cives qui præscriptione legum bonarum gubernantur, aut illa, quæ nullam habens legem, arbitrio et judicio viri boni et justi gubernatur. (One page and a half, unfinished, f. 92.)
46. Quanquam solem e mundo tollere videtur (judices præstantissimi) qui amicitiam e vita tollit. (Four pages, ff. 94—95, signed, Eduardus Rex.)
47. Satis vobis manifestum est (auditores optimi) quòd nulla Respublica, nec hominum multitudo, civiliter vivere possit, nec bene regi, nisi quosdam habeat magistratus constitutos. (Four pages, ff. 96—97, signed, E. Rex.)

48. An argument, Magis decere Patrem quàm Preceptorem amare, printed hereafter, Oratio X.
49. Inter omnia munera quæ donantur, vel eburnea, vel aurea, vel argentea, vel preciosis lapillis ornata, quæ quidem magno labore, inveniuntur, et magno precio emuntur, nihil et mihi aptius, et vobis utilius, quàm patefactio officii, demonstrans quid quemque facere oporteat, et quomodo suo officio fungi, videbatur. (Four pages, ff. 100—101.)
50. Manifestum est et omnibus vobis cognitum (judices et auditores clarissimi) unumquemque naturali quadam dispositione et motu præditum esse, in hoc ut fœlicitatem consequatur. (Three and a half pages, ff. 102—103.)
51. Multi fuerunt, &c. On Astronomy, printed hereafter, Oratio XI.
52. Quanquam fateor (optimi auditores) me rerum magnarum ita esse inexpertum, in usu loquendi ita imperitum, et propter juvenilem ætatem ita invalidum et debilem, ut in dubia et difficili quæstione ne certare quidem cum viris doctis possim. He proceeds to consider, Utrum homines possint vivere sine peccato. (Three pages, ff. 106—107.)
53. Si præcipuus sit scopus finisque philosophiæ moralis (ut certe est, optimi auditores,) prospicere quid in unaquaque re sit bonum, quidque malum. (Three and a half pages, ff. 108—109.)
54. Cùm nulla alia re homo sit præstantior cæteris animantibus quàm ratione. (Two pages, f. 110.)
55. On the question, Utrum quis sit sponte malus. Printed hereafter, Oratio XII.

Here end the Latin Orations, and at fol. 116 commence those in Greek, which are just fifty in number. Very few have any title, but those that have are,—the fourteenth, *περὶ εὐφημίας*, at fol. 142; the eighteenth, *περὶ τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου, πότερον ἂν εἴη*, de contingentia, at fol. 150; the twenty-second, Justitia præstantior prudentia, commencing with one page in Latin, and continued in three pages of Greek, fol. 158; the twenty-third, *Θάνατος οὔκ ἐστι φαυλός*, fol. 160; and the thirty-fourth, *Μῶν εξείην τῆς θρησκείας ἕνεκά τινα Τούρκαν ἀποκτείνειν*. (This is printed in a subsequent page, Oratio XIII.)

The first Oration in Greek is dated "6° Martij, 1551, a° reg$^{ni}$ R$^{is}$ E$^{i}$ 6$^{i}$ 6°." (*i. e.* 1551-2.) And those which follow are all dated down to the 20th, which is marked "12° Junij, 1552." Afterwards there are no dates, except that three which occur at ff. 172, 174, 176, belong to June and July 1551, and are consequently out of their place. The King appears to have composed two Greek Orations every month.

The volume closes with nine leaves, ff. 214—222, which are filled with fragmentary sentences in Greek and Latin, being portions of the Orations set down during their composition, or memoranda for future use.

## ORATIO I.

[MS. Harl. 5087, fol. 78 ; and MS. Addit. 4724, fol. 14.]

This was printed by Strype in his Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. Appx. L. No. XIII.

### [ACTIO VIRTUTIS MELIOR EST HABITU.]

Junij 23, 1549.

OMNES quidem et philosophi ethnici et doctores ecclesiastici concludunt, quod Virtus sit affectus quidam imitans decora, honesta, et laudabilia ; vitans vero turpia, seu obscœna, et omnia illa quæ pugnant cum norma rationis. Hanc ob causam omnes viri docti in hoc mundo nihil præstantius, nihil pulchrius, nihil magis decorum judicaverunt, quam illa Virtus. Si homo excellat cæteris animantibus, quia est animal ac particeps rationis, tum etiam illa res, quæ ab hac parte hominis procedit, est optima et pulcherrima. Quanquam autem hoc omnes univoce affirmant *Virtutem esse summum bonum*, aut magnum bonum, et doctissimi inter se disceptaverunt, quæ par virtutis sit alteri præferenda ; ut, *An actio Virtutis, an habitus, sit laudabilior et præstantior.* Hoc igitur est thema, de quo jam tractabo. Ego autem in hac questione seu controversia has teneo partes, habitum non esse præstantiorem actione, idque per partes probabo. Sunt autem duo virtutum genera, quorum unum est philosophicum, aliud theologicum. Et quanquam omnes philosophicæ sunt etiam theologicæ ; tamen plures in theologia recitantur, quàm in philosophia. Philosophicæ enim sunt quatuor ; Prudentia, Justitia, Fortitudo, et Temperantia. Quid ? audetne prudentia se comparare justitiæ ? audetne scientia se comparare fortitudini et temperantiæ ? audetne cognitio se equiparare tam pulchro numero virtutum clarissimarum ? Rectè, rectè dictum est a Cicerone illo pulcherrimo Philosopho : *Omnis laus virtutis in actione consistit.* Jam autem justitiam esse præstantiorem prudentia multis modis probabo. Quod si enim ea vita contigerit sapienti, ut omnium rerum

affluentibus copiis ditetur, quamvis ibi possit rerum ordinem secum considerare et perspicere, tamen si tanta sit solitudo, ut hominem videre non possit, excedet e vita potius quàm hæc patietur. Igitur illæ virtutes quæ maximè hominum societatem defendunt sunt optimæ. Justitia autem et fortitudo et temperantia magis colunt hominum societatem, et magis defendunt rempublicam quàm prudentia; quare sunt meliores prudentia. Ita nisi rerum scientia et cognitio ad se adjuvandum appellet justitiam, solivaga erit cognitio et jejuna. Quam ob causam concluditur justitiam esse potiorem prudentia; et omne officium, quod ad conjunctionem hominum et ad societatem tuendam valet, anteponendum est illi officio quod in rerum omnium scientia, intelligentia, et cognitione versatur aut consistit. Hanc meam sententiam de justitia et prudentia tenet ille præstantissimus philosophus et orator M. T. Cicero, et Aristoteles. Cicero autem in primo libro Officiorum non solum affirmat justitiam esse præstantiorem prudentia, sed etiam non paucas rationes addit. Hoc igitur jam a nobis probatum fuit actionem virtutis philosophicæ esse meliorem habitu. In sacris vero literis apparet charitatem esse meliorem fide. Paulus vero ad Corinthios Ep. 2, c. 13° dicit: Tres sunt virtutes, fides, spes, et charitas; sed optima harum charitas. Dicet autem quis, Fides justificat: ergo fides est melior operibus. Nego argumentum, non enim habet consequentiam: Fides justificat, ergo est melior charitate. Si enim essent contradictoriæ sententiæ, tum Paulus non [utraque *] affirmasset, et charitatem esse meliorem fide, et fidem justificare. Hæc vero ratio est, quare non sunt contradictoria hæc duo. Prima bona opera quæ facimus nos justificant. Primum vero opus Christiani ordine naturæ est effectus. Ergo fides justificat. Sed prima opera non sunt semper optima. Ergo non necesse est sequi et valere hoc argumentum, Fides justificat: ergo est melior operibus. Cùm igitur in omnibus et philosophicis et theologicis virtutibus actio sit melior quàm habitus, tum in omni genere

* In the King's manuscri pt: the word left blank in the copy.

virtutis actio est melior quàm habitus. Finis enim propositus unius cujusque rei sit melior, quàm res spectantes ad illum finem in bonis rebus. Sed finis omnis habitus est actio. Finis enim propositus omnis prudentiæ est, ut justitiam administremus, et piè vitam colamus, atque in societate humana totum tempus vitæ, totum honorum et divitiarum cumulum, totas denique opes et facultates impendamus. Ergo illæ virtutes, quæ versantur in actione hominum et societate tuenda, meliores sunt quàm hæ quæ in habitu consistunt. Hæc vero ratio a firmis dictis sumitur; et quomodo confutari possit adhuc non video. Hoc igitur sequitur, quod actio sit melior habitu. Illæ enim virtutes, quæ administrant, regunt et defendunt respublicas, multo pulchrius negotium susceperunt quàm illæ quæ solum in rebus perspiciendis versantur. Sed illæ primæ omnes in actione, aliæ vero in habitu. Ergo illæ virtutes quæ sunt in actione sunt meliores iis quæ sunt in habitu. Objicient fortasse adversarii, quod causa bonæ rei est melior effectu. Sed habitum esse causam actionis affirmabunt, eamque ob causam meliorem actione. Respondeo, me negare consequentiam, quia major loquitur de causa tota et perfecta, minor vero de parte causæ. Voluntas enim conjuncta animi habitu est causa actionis, non solus habitus. His ergo rationibus persuasus in hanc sententiam pedibus eo, quod actio virtutis sit melior et laudabilior habitu. Dixi.

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## ORATIO II.

[MS. Harl. 5087, fol. 79 v.; and MS. Addit. 4724, fol. 16.]

Before published by Strype, in his Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. Appx. L. No. xiv.

### An præscientia Rerum sit utilis?

Junij 30 1549.

Omnes philosophi et oratores, quanquam in multis rebus dissentiebant, tamen hoc omnes concluserunt, hominem differre a cæteris animantibus quia est particeps rationis. Animum enim cæterorum

animalium dicebant solum in se habere affectus rapidos et expertes rationis ac intelligentiæ, hujus vero animum non solum affectuum rapidorum, sed etiam rationis, in qua omnis scientia cõtinetur. Eas vero res quæ consistebant in parte expertæ rationis nulla laude dignas putabant. Contra vero eas virtutes et scientias, quæ erant in parte participes rationis, omni laude efferendas judicabant. Quare cum sit hæc questio nobis proposita: *Utrum præscientia rerum futurarum sit utilis ad vitam?* Ego quidem intelligens, quod præscientia sit quædam res consistens in illa parte animi quam vocant participem rationis, videlt. mente, puto et existimo utilem ad vitam. Omnia enim honesta et bona utilia sunt. Rectè enim dictum est a Cicerone illo sapientissimo philosopho et oratore, quod omnia utilia sunt honesta. Sed præscientia rerum futurarum est honestum. Omnis enim res est honesta, aut inhonesta. Sed præscientia rerum futurarum non est inhonesta, qua propter honesta. Ex hac ratione rectè et argutè spectata licet intelligere, quod præsciencia rerum futurarum sit utilis ad vitam. Omnis enim notitia et cognitio rerum est utilis, bona et honesta. Sed rerum præscientia seu præcognitio est intellectus, notitia, aut cognitio. Quare præscientia rerum est utilis. Videmus quidem in universitate rerum multa futura, quæ nisi præscirentur, omnes male suum tempus in otio et tranquillitate, non in labore consumerent. Si enim servus non præsciret iram sui domini, nisi et sibi commissa servaret, et mandatis pareret, certe nunquam suo domino obediret et pareret, sed totam vitam in otio et stultitia et illa mala libertate seu licentia tereret. Nos omnes qui sumus servi Dei et filii sui Jesu Christi, nisi cognosceremus sibi displicere nostrum peccatum, in vitiorum omnium cumulo et mole permaneremus. Nunc autem animi ejus iram præsciamus, cùm ejus vindictam intelligamus, et ejus minas præcognoscamus, primum veremur, ne si peccaremus, et vitiis potius faveremus quàm virtuti, in hoc mundo nos affligat, prematque molestiis, et ludibrio exponat; deinde si malefaciamus, perterrefimus hac cogitatione Deum nos in æternum ignem conjecturos,

videlicet in infernum locum omnis supplicii et pœnæ, ubi erit gemitus et stridor dentium : contra vero, si benefaciamus, et rectè vitam in hoc mundo degamus, tum scimus Deum nos fortunaturum in nostris actionibus, ut fortunavit Abrahamum, Josephum, et Jacobum, qui erant patriarchæ, et omnes illos qui erant in cœtu et ecclesia ejus. Adhæc vitam æternam expectamus, et gaudium solatiumque in Deo. Utile quidem est cognoscere nos morituros, in hoc ut nos præparemus ad mortem. Utile præscire tempus fluctus et refluctus maris, ut nos paremus ad navigationem. Utile est præcognoscere tempus seminandi et arandi, ut paremus aratrum et semina. Hæc omnia præscire est utile ad colendam vitam. Si enim præsciremus nihil, ad nihilum nos paratos redderemus. Illa vero, quæ subito sine deliberatione et paratione rerum fiant, nunquam, aut paucissimis temporibus, rectè fiant. Quamobrem præscientia rerum est utilis, bona, et honesta. Videmus enim et intelligimus multos et philosophos, et viros hoc tempore sanè eruditos, censere, quod placatio animi sit fælicitas, seu summum bonum. Quicquid adjuvat ad placationem animi est bonum, honestum, et utile. Quid vero potest esse dulcius, quid placatius, quid suavius, quod admoveatur animo, quàm præscientia rerum futurarum ? Ergo est utilis ad vitam. Humana enim mens oblita quærit, et inventa semper mandat memoriæ, nunquam desinit laborare, nunquam ociatur, nunquam quietem patitur, semper agit, semper laborat, semper cogitat, et invenit abdita et secreta. Cum enim corpus dormit et quietem habet, animus cogitat et invenit quomodo res sint peragendæ. Hinc illa perpetuitas animi rectè cerni potest. Quicquid ergo ad hunc animum placandum pertinet (non sentio partem expertem rationis, sed partem participem) illud utile est ad vitam. Cùm autem jam ego legerim dialecticam, in ea cerno, quod in naturalibus causis semper causam * bonam sequuntur boni effectus. Causæ vero naturales præscientiæ, videlt. mens et voluntas ei consentiens, sunt bonæ. Ergo ipsa præscien-

* The word *causam* is omitted in the fair transcript, and consequently by Strype.

tia est bona et utilis ad vitam. Adhæc legimus in sacris literis utile fuisse multis, quòd præsciverant Christum venturum. Ergo aliqua præscientia est utilis. Præterea nos duabus in rebus excellimus cæteris animantibus; prescientia, et rerum aliquarum ratione. Deus nobis in duabus rebus excellit; præscientia rerum omnium, et potentia. His ergo rationibus persuasus teneo has partes: Quod præscientia rerum sit utilis ad vitam. Dixi.

Finis.

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## ORATIO III.

[MS. Harl. 5087, fol. 81 v.]

### [Voluntas Peccati gravior est quam Actio.]

Julij 7°. 1549.

Quemadmodum omnes philosophi et sapientes viri summa laude extulerant virtutem, ita hi ipsi maximis vituperiis vitium prosequuti sunt. Sunt autem, qui aliqua levia discrimina ponunt inter vitium et peccatum. Illi vero simul nobiscum decernunt, quod et vitium et peccatum ex iisdem fontibus profecta, videlicet ex voluntate et actione; dubitant autem, et in controversiam habent plerique, utrum peccati vis consistat et magis constet in voluntate peccandi, an in actione. Itaque in hoc ut omnis veritas discutiatur et omnis controversia dissolvatur, tractabimus hanc questionem. Nostra quidem sententia peccatum gravius et perniciosius est respectu voluntatis, quam actionis. Primum igitur, antequam ad rem et causam tractandam veniam, ad definitionem peccati, actionis, et voluntatis me conferam. Peccatum est factum, seu actio voluntaria, quæ pugnat aut cum lege divina, aut cum aliqua civili lege constituta ab iis qui tenent reipublicæ gubernacula. Voluntas vero est appetitio malæ actionis, quæ actio est factum iniquum. Hinc ergo intelligimus, quòd affectus ipse consistit in voluntate peccandi. Peccati vero nomen omnes præclarissimi et majores nostri, viri omni

pietate et sanctitate prædiți, tribuerunt affectui. Dicebant enim vitium esse malum affectum pugnantem cum lege naturæ. Quid ergo hiscere nostri adversarii, quid loqui, quomodo sese defendere possunt? Negabuntne peccatum consistere in affectu malo? At ei omnium veterum auctoritas reclamat. Possuntne affirmare voluntatem non esse affectum? Tum non solum in errorum cumulum et voraginem incidunt, sed etiam contra omnium priorum auctoritatem frustra nituntur: quod est hominis aut insani aut planè dissoluti: quid igitur clamant? quid vociferantur? quid omnes locos sua loquacitate replent, qui tam absurda pronunciant? Si enim in actione magis consisteret vis peccati quàm in voluntate, tum voluntas non esset causa actionis. Ne igitur contra nos, immo contra veritatem, tam imprudenter et audaciter adversarii verba tanquam pestes evomant. Cedant, cedant, inquam, veritati; ne eos premat effrenata audacia male de rebus sentiendi et loquendi. Illorum enim honestas non est expectanda, nec speranda, qui effrenata fronte contra omnem rationem mendacia, immo deliramenta, sine pudore asserunt et affirmant. Si itaque virtutis laus et vis magis consistat in voluntate benefaciendi quàm in ipsa actione, tum etiam peccati vis magis in voluntate malefaciendi quàm in ipsa actione versatur. Vetus enim et certissima regula est, omnia contraria esse sub eodem prædicamento. Voluntas vero beneficiendi obtinet majorem locum in virtute quàm factum. Christus enim cum videret pauperculam quandam minutam nummi (*sic*), magis sibi arridere dixit, quàm omnes illos divites, quia ex intimo corde proficiscebatur illa oblatio pecuniarum. Cum igitur virtus magis consistit in voluntate quàm actione, tum etiam necesse est vitium magis consistere in voluntate quàm actione. Quid ergo nonne obstructa sunt ora adversariorum his firmis et certis argumentis? Minimè. Procaciter enim contra veritatem alloquuntur. Quid igitur faciam? Addam adhuc unam orationem, quæ est hæc. Peccatum non potest esse in actione sine voluntate, sed potest in voluntate sine actione. Œdipus enim non peccavit versus divinam majestatem, nec cùm patrem invitus inter-

fecerat, nec cum Jocastam matrem suam inscius uxorem duxerat. Adhæc cum L. Tarquinius imperator (vel ut meliore eum nomine appellem vere Tirannus) vi violaret illam castissimam fœminam Lucretiam, illa quicquam offendit legem et voluntatem divinam. Vi enim rapta est. Præterea Ozeas propheta jussus est a Deo ducere fornicatoriam mulierem in uxorem; ipsa actio obtinebat per se vim peccati, sed voluntas virtutis et honestatis divino præcepto obtemperantis. Deus vero indidit ei rei virtutis nomen, non vitii. Multæ fuerunt præterea virgines castæ et sanctæ, quæ tamen a tirannis constupratæ nomen pudicitiæ non amiserunt. Peccatum enim non consistit in actione, sed in voluntate. Objicient fortasse adversarii locum Xenophontis, ubi dicit: Multa per ignorantiam peccant homines. Respondeo dupplicem esse rationem peccati; peccatum et peccatum spontaneum. Peccatum per se est tale, quale peccatum Ozee; quod a Deo potius laudabatur, quàm vituperabatur. Peccatum spontaneum, de quo nos jam loquimur, quod verè dictum est peccatum, videlicet res est horribilis Deo: ut si sanus aliquis mente incurret in patrem, cognoscens eum esse patrem, et eum occideret. Igitur debent rectè intelligi, et non leviter percurri sententiæ authorum. Objicient et aliam rationem adversarii, quod involuntaria peccata puniantur legibus. Verum est, et non sine causa. Majores enim nostri, cùm intellexerant hominum pravitatem, constituerunt pœnam involuntariis peccatis, ne homines quererentur sibi fieri injuria cùm puniantur. Dicent enim suum peccatum esse involuntarium. Hæc igitur nihil contra nos faciant. Christus autem dixit: Non quod ingreditur in hominem corrumpit hominem, sed quod exit ex corde hominis eum contaminat. Voluntas, non actio, procedit ex corde. Præterea David dicit: Cor mundum crea in me, ô Deus. Videmus etiam ex Matthæi quinto, peccatum posse in voluntate sine actione. Christus enim dicit: Si quis aspexerit ad concupiscendam eam, jam mechatus est eam in corde suo. His rationibus plurimis teneo hanc sententiam: Quod voluntas peccati gravior sit quam actio. Dixi.

## ORATIO IV.

[MS. Harl. 5087, fo. 83.]

[RERUM EXPERIENTIA COGNITIONEM LECTIONE COMPARATAM ANTECELLIT.]

Julij 13°, 1549.

Si ullæ divitiæ, si ullæ opes, si denique facultates, vel ulla magna vis pecuniæ possent miram et perfectam sapientiam et intelligentiam adferre, sunt, scio, qui suas omnes facultates et opes ad eam comparandam insumerent. Laborem vero iidem maximè oderunt, eamque ob causam quærant vias facillimas aditu ad cognitionem rerum. Sunt autem qui putant rerum experientiam, et mundi totius experientiam esse utilissimam viam ad res perspiciendas. Contra vero sunt, qui illud negant, et affirmant lectionem librorum et auctorum homines fieri aptos ad scientiam rerum. Non igitur inutile videtur extremos fines hujus controversiæ speculari. Ego quidem sentio meliorem et præstantiorem esse experientiam doctrina, id est, lectione authorum et studio ingenii. Quid enim? potuitne Pompeius sua doctrina, sine experientia, totum vincere mundum? At Alexander per suam experientiam totam Asiam, et maximam partem Africæ et Europæ, sibi subegit. Julius Cæsar imperator, vir fortis, audax, et sedulus, qui ipsum subactorem et victorem orbis terrarum, Pompeium illum, in fugam miserat, nunquam tantam partem Europæ Asiæ adjunxisset, nec reliquam partem orbis, quam Pompeius reliquit intactam, sub jugo misisset, nisi singulari experientia præditus et ornatus fuisset. Contra vero, quàm paucas nationes potuit Cicero subigere, qui tamen singulari doctrina, cognitione, et ingenio præditus esset? Quid illi fortes et prudentes viri Romani? quid Græci? anne magis armis polluerunt, quàm doctrina? Minimè. Si enim is, qui plurimos legerit libros aut qui plurimas res bellicas literis acceperit, possit maximè valere in bello, nulla alia solertia usus

fuisset Pompeius contra Julium Cæsarem quàm consilio Ciceronis: quod hoc erat, ut fugeret ante adventum hostis. Adhæc nunquam Alexander vicisset Athenienses, si scientia rerum literariarum omne negotium belli progrederetur. Illic enim Athenis omnium doctorum scientia, omnium eruditorum cognitio, omnium sapientium cognitio maxime florebat. In illa alma civitate florebant studia doctrinæ, amor veritatis, et cognitio. Ibi nascebatur, ibi crevit, ibi diu mansit, illinc denique promanabat in totum orbem. Si igitur cognitionis, experientiæ vires, scientiæ studium, usus et consuetudinis vim, si investigatio veritatis rerum experientia superaret, certè nunquam nec Alexander, nec Peloponenses, nec Romani ullo modo Athenarum vires diminuissent, immo ne quidem debilitassent. Videmus ergo, et manifestissimis signis nobis patefit, quanto majorem vim in bello adfert usus et experientia rerum, quàm scientia et cognitio rerum literariarum. Dicet fortasse quis, rerum et authorum cognitio non versatur in bello, sed in pace, in qua multum experientiæ antecellit. Videte autem et audite, quanto majorem vim habet experientia in pace, quàm rerum cognitio, et investigatio, et inquisitio. Quanto melius gubernasse Ciceronem rempublicam putatis, quam aut Aristoteles, aut ullus alius e numero philosophorum, vel Latinorum, vel Græcorum, vel Zeno, vel Arcesilaus, vel quiscunque fuerit? Nemo quidem furores Catilinæ tali modo compremisset, nemo insaniam perditorum extinxisset, nemo ita malitiam latronum, homicidarum, furonum, sicariorum, adulterorum, perditorum, gladiatorum, denique omnium impetus sustulisset, idque tuta et quieta civitate. Ille enim rem sua diligentia, vigiliis, et labore ita fecit, ut fœlix, beata, et fortunata sibi civitas videbatur, quæ antea tot malis, cedibus et seditionibus extincta jam pridem; recuperata salute a tot, tantis et tam grandibus sceleribus hominum impiorum et nefariorum. Quid ergo? potuitne quis sua immensa et miranda doctrina amplius præstare, quam hic Cicero sua experientia? Quare autem hic ordo inter nos observatus esset, juvenem admodum doctum dare locum et cedere seni, qui in tanto

studio rerum non sit versatus; nisi quia hoc majoribus nostris, viris sane admodum piis, persuasum erat, majus lumen adferre experientiam, quàm studium librorum. Hinc intelligimus quanto majus lucem accendat experientia rerum cognitione, quanto plus polleat rerum usus et consuetudo cognitione adepta per studium librorum. Ne igitur procaciter contra rationem verba faciamus, sed illi adhæreamus. Ne nos igitur teneat odium veritatis. Præterea certitudo est res, quæ maximè expetitur in omni cognitione et scientia rerum; quam quidem hæc experientia. Cùm enim hæsitamus, seu dubitamus de re aliqua, meliores et beatiores videremur si rem nunquam quæsissemus. Jacobus igitur jubet, ne fluctuemur in fide et spe inani. Quare enim dicebatur Salomon sapiens? Certè non quia hæsitabat de rebus, nec ut Academiæ nulla certa et perspicua habuit; sed quia rerum fontes, causas, et fines rectè intellexerat. Experientia autem quantam certitudinem in rebus adfert, unusquisque potest testari. Si enim plus certitudinis adferunt sensus humani quàm aliorum opiniones, tanto majorem adferat experientia quàm doctrina. Denique si verum rectè perspexerimus, experientia est fons omnis doctrinæ. Igitur quemadmodum fons adferat majorem aquam quàm ulla alia pars rivi, ita experientia est utilior doctrina. Ille enim, qui non habet experientiam rerum nihil cognoscit, ut recitant Ecclesiastici ca. 34 in litera b. Cum denique hæc mea pars, quam cepi defendendam, tot, tantis, et tam gravibus argumentis munita, illisque exemplis sic ornata, ut vix eorum lumen possit extingui; ego quidem pergo has partes defendere, usque dum audiam rationes magis probabiles. Vosque, judices, rogo, ut hanc meam oratiunculam in bonam partem accipiatis. Dixi.

## ORATIO V.

[MS. Harl. 5087, fo. 85.]

### [MORS PULCHERRIMA EST IN BELLO PRO PATRIA MORI.]

Julij 21°, 1549.

Cùm pulchrè sit dictum a Platone nos non nobis solum esse natos, sed etiam patriæ, parentibus, et amicis; cumque omnia, quæ habemus, in ejus utilitatem ac commodum conferre planè debemus, tum quidem etiam vitam ob ejus utilitatem consumere ac terere debemus. Cùm igitur jam sit quæstio: Num mors in bello sit mors præclarissima et pulcherrima? Ego quidem sentio esse. Si enim patria nobis dederit vitam, bona, fortunas, copias, divitias, denique omnia quæ habemus in hac vita, quæ videlt. erunt utilia, ad ejus utilitatem atque commodum hæc conferre quare dubitaremus? præcipuè cùm in nostra patria fœliciter, quietè, et honestè vivere possimus, in aliena republica in omnibus miseriis vitam degimus? Quàm igitur pulchrum nobileque sit nostram vitam ad eam defendendum insumere prudentes facile judicare possunt. Contra vero, quàm misera et infortunata mors sit in lecto decumbentem mori, quis non manifestè intelligit? Hinc enim et fortitudo cogit mori, illinc morbus; hinc patria, illinc luxuria; hinc virtus, illinc fortuna; hinc audacitas, illinc casus; denique quanto fortitudo præstat morbo, quantum patria præstat luxuriæ, quantum fortitudo fortunæ, et audacitas casu, tanto præstat mori in bello patriæ defendendæ causa, quàm mori ullo alio modo. Quid enim? Scipiones, viri clarissimi, nunquam in tam atrocem aciem hostium se immisissent, nec obstruxissent viam ad patriam suis corporibus, ni hoc etiam senissent (*sic*), quanta virtus, quanta gloria, quanta fortitudo in illo genere mortis. Adhæc illa mors, quæ maximè prodest, et affert maximum emolumentum, est præstantissimum. Nunc ergo videamus, num ulla mors majus emolumentum afferat reipublicæ quàm mors in

bello. Primum autem intelligere debemus, illam mortem, quæ est in bello, multo magis defendere patriam, et illum protegere a malis, quàm mortem domi. Deinde etiam nobis non parvam utilitatem adfert, non solum quia nos a magnis miseriis et tormentis mortis liberat, sed etiam quia gloriam sempiternam nobis adferat, quæ est finis et dulcissimus fructus omnium laborum, ad quam omnes docti et indocti, civiles et inciviles, christiani et ethnici, domini et servi aspiraverunt. Si autem majores nostri putassent optimum genus mortis mori in pace, tunc denique ille Lucius Brutus, cum arcens reditu tyrannum, quem ipse expulserat, in prælio non concidisset; non cum Latinis decertans pater Decius, non cum [*blank in MS.*] filius, non cum Pyrrho nepos, se gladio obtulisset; non Scipiones Hispania, non L. Emilium Cannæ, non Venusia Marcellum, non Latini Albinum, non Lucani Gracchum occubuisse vidissent. Præstantissimos denique viros et duces videmus, qui in bello mortem sunt passi. Nec quidem ulla mors illis dignior, nec aptior esset, quàm occumbere pro patria. Si enim hostes sint invasuri patriam, quid præclarius quàm eam defendere, protegere, et tueri? Si causa sit religio, ut in hodiernis bellis sæpe fit, tum quid dignius piis sanctisque viris, quàm omnia pati potius quàm deserere suum Deum, suam fidem, suam veritatem, et rectam opinionem de Deo? Si vero causa sit principis sui et regis, quod aliqua injuria sit ei illata, nihil est nobilius, nec præstantius, quàm principi suo obedire, parere, inservire, et ad eum defendendum omnia sua et bona et vitam conferre. Nihil enim magis gloriam parat, nihil magis honorem adfert, nec ignominiam diluit, quàm mori aut Dei aut patriæ aut principis [causa]. Non enim solum suam fortitudinem ostendit, sed suam pietatem in Deum, suum naturalem amorem in patriam, et mirum officium suum erga principem. Quando unquam magis profuit ullius mors in pace reipublicæ et sibi ipsi, quàm Romanorum mortes profuerunt reipublicæ Romanæ? Quàm lætè, quàm hilariter, quantoque cum gaudio accessit Epaminondas ad mortem, qui trucidatus erat ab hostibus defendens patriam! Nullum periculum est

tantum, quantum sapiens patriæ causa dubitabit pati. Ille enim hoc modo secum ratiocinabitur: Non mihi soli, sed etiam, atque adeo multo potius, patriæ natus sum. Vita igitur mea potissimum solvatur saluti patriæ. Aluit hæc me tutè, atque honestè produxit usque ad hanc ætatem, muniit meas rationes bonis legibus, honestissimis moribus, optimisque disciplinis. Quid igitur est, quod a me solvi illi abundè possit, a qua hæc omnia sunt accepta? Nec mors, nec periculum, discrimen, aut damnum ullum est mihi effugiendum, omnia vero ejus causa sunt ferenda. Sæpe enim fit, ut cùm pro republica perire nolimus, simul nobiscum pereat respublica, parentes, patria, amici, cognati, denique omnes noti et propinqui: et quoniam omnia commoda sint a republica accepta, nullum incommodum pro patria est grave. Illi igitur qui nolunt subire mortem pro patria, sed aliud genus mortis volunt pati, stulti rectissimo jure habentur; quia neque effugere possunt incommoda, et ingrati cives reperientur. At qui patriam suo periculo, rectè faciunt: quia et debitum honorem reddunt patriæ, et mallent perire pro multis quàm cum multis. Iniquum est enim, cum possis mortem patriæ causa oppetere, per dedecus et ignominiam vivere. Cum igitur tot rationes adduxerim, facile intelligitis, judices castissimi, quod hæc meæ partes non sint a me susceptæ sine magna mole gravium rationum. Dixi.

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## ORATIO VI.

[MS. Harl. 5087, fol. 87 v.]

### Dulce bellum inexpertis.

Julij 28°, 1549.

Exordium are et adversariorum contemptu.

Omnia quidem, judices castissimi, iis, qui rerum experientiam et cognitionem non habent, videntur dulcia et suavia, etiam cùm sint pessima. Sic equidem, quanquam aliquibus bellum sit suave et

dulce; tamen ii, qui illud experiuntur et probant, invenient bellum non esse domitum animal, sed ferocissimum serpentem; non preciosissimam gemmam, sed vilissimum lutum; non humanam et mitem ovem, sed crudelissimum leonem, qui omnia rapit ac vorat. Quapropter, judices castissimi, ne iis credite, ne auscultate, ne attendite, qui hoc vobis suadent, bellum esse dulce et suave unicuique. Non enim digni sunt ut aut assentiamini, aut ullo modo annueretis. Est enim extra omnem controversiam, quanta sint incommoda in bello; quanquam sint dulcia iis qui re non sint experti. Primum igitur, ut ejus incommoda narrem vobis, eum considerate, quantum thesaurum quantamque vim pecuniæ exhauriat bellum. Deinde perpendite quanta scelera quantaque mala oriantur ex bello. Adhæc hoc cogitatum ne omittatis, quanta mors, pestis, atque fames oriatur ex hac peste belli; quot nobilissimos viros, quot præstantissimos principes, quot optimos et honestissimos milites illa belli pestis voravit, et adhuc pergit vorare. Quod ad primum incommodum attinet, non solum Anglia, Gallia, Scotia, Hispania, Germaniaque ejus possunt esse testes, sed etiam Italia, Roma, Greciaque. Inter Angliam enim Scotiam et Galliam vobis omnibus, judices optimi, manifestè notum est, quanta vis pecuniæ in classibus, exercitibus, et aliis munitionibus bellicis contra Scotos Gallosque est impensa, quotque domus villæque et nationes vastatæ, combustæ, prostratæque sint. His nostris temporibus apud nos insula Vecta* a Gallis erat vastata, apud Gallos tota Britannia a nostris fere vastata erat. In Scotia vero quot nationes, quot villæ domusque combustæ, subversæ, deletæque erant, inimicum esset referre, et tempus mihi ante materiam deesset. Quod ad Germaniam attinet, omnes Germani, præcipuèque nobis vicini, indicare possunt, quot domus deletæ, quot villæ destructæ, quotque nationes vastatæ erant jam pridem a militibus imperatoris. Italia vero

Narratio.

Divisio.

Confirmatio a testimonio.

* This alludes to a descent made upon the Isle of Wight by the French in the year 1545.

Romaque diri belli atrocitatem cognovit. Non enim diu est, ex quo ille dux Burgoniensis totam Romam* spoliavit combussitque; atque antehac illa ipsa urbs a Gothis Vandalisque erat direpta. Omitto denique exempla veterum, quæ quidem nimis prolixum videtur explicare; præcipuè cum nullus sit qui non sentiat ab experientia
Distributio. quantum mali et doloris ex bello et tumultu oriatur. Principes enim satis superque hoc intelligunt; quippe qui totum suum thesaurum, omnia sua bona, omnesque divitias et facultates in illam belli voraginem mittunt. Nobiles vero non parum hoc percipiunt; quippe qui, cùm in pace et quiete antea vitam degerent, cùm bellum incipiat, cùm tumultus oriatur, cùm contentio floreat, non solum sedibus moveantur, sed etiam suam patriam, suam domum et agrum magna cum difficultate tuentur atque defendunt. Adhæc mercatorum in bello est pessima fortuna. Cùm enim bellicæ naves in mari evagentur et navigent, tum via mercatorum non est tuta a periculo. Hanc ob causam aut coguntur suas merces omittere, quod si faciunt vivere non possunt; aut se gratiæ divinæ committere, quæ se liberabit ab omnibus malis. Artifices vero si sua vendere nec illa quæ ex aliena patria veniunt emere possunt, quo tandem incommodo, qua paupertate, quaque penuria affici eos putabitis? Pauperibus vero et egenis in bello nullo modo consuli potest. Cùm enim artifices et mercatores sua vendunt pro maximo et summo precio, tum quomodo pauperes possunt ea emere et comparare, quæ sunt ad victum, vestitum et alimentum necessaria? Hanc ob causam Antysthenes, cùm quidam diceret pauperes mori in bello, respondit, At illic plures fiunt pauperes. Hoc sibi volvit hic clarissimus philosophus, quod magnam vim pecuniæ et thesauri auferat
Peroratio primæ partis. bellum. Cùmque ergo tot tamque præclaræ nationes sentierunt quantam paupertatem, quantam inediam et egestatem afferat hæc bellica pestis; cùmque viri præclari in omnibus nationibus tempore belli non possunt quiescere, mercatores sunt nulla hora sine periculo

* Rome was sacked by the duke of Bourbon (not Burgundy) in 1527.

mortis, artifices sine paupertate, ac pauperes sine fame : hoc omnibus erit notum magnam vim thesauri et pecuniæ esse in bello per singulos dies exhaustam, non solum a regibus sed etiam ab iis qui nobili aliquo sanguine orti sunt. Quantum hoc bellum displiceat, quanta scelera, quanta flagitia, quantaque et quàm grandia delicta, peccata, homicidia, furta, adulteriaque commissa sint, quis nostrûm ignorare potest ? Quis enim gladiator, quis homicida, quis sicarius, quis adulter, quis fur, quis latro, quis veneficus, quis ganeo, quis denique nebulo, aut fornicator in toto est orbe terrarum, cujus solatium, gaudium, et exultatio in belli tumultu et peste non versatur ? Illic enim locus est aptissimus gladiatoribus, qui cupiunt pugnam ; illic homicidis, qui desiderant aliorum mortem ; illic sicariis, qui per astutiam ; illic veneficis, illic furibus et latronibus, qui nihil præter predam optant. Denique ubi locus est omnibus homicidis, sicariis, veneficis, latronibus, nebulonibusque, illic locum esse omni impudicitiæ, quis inficias ire potest. Ubi vero virtuti nullus est locus, illa respublica aut locus est admodum infœlix. Effugiamus ergo hoc pestiferum bellum, effugiamus, effugiamus, inquam, hanc contentionem evitemus, hunc tumultum insectamur, et sequamur pacem, in hoc, ut domino Deo nostro placere possimus. Cùm vero bellum suscipere cogamur, tum ita nos geramus, ut pacem, non bellum, suscipere videamur. O alma pax ! ô pulchra concordia ! quàm decora sunt tua lumina, tui conatus, tuique honores ! Te homines colere, te venerari, teque diligere debent. Tua illa facies omnes pios, omnes honestos, omnesque bonos exhilarare videtur. In quantam quàmque horrendam cæcitatem incidit mundus, qui bellum quàm pacem, tumultum quàm quietem, dissentiam quàm concordiam expetit et optat ? Jam ergo vobis, judices optimi, notum fecimus, quantam molem et vim thesauri bellum exhauriat et penitus expromat. Nunc ergo quot præclarissimi viri, quot præstantissimi duces, et optimi milites in bello occubuerunt vobis manifestè explicabitur. Videmus non solum in his bellis hodie, quot homines occubuerunt, hique nobi- Belli fructus.

lissimi; sed etiam accepimus atque legimus, quantæ clades cedesque nobilissimorum virorum commissæ erant a ducibus hostium Romanorum, et ab ipsis Romanis. Primum ex Romanis interfecti sunt duo Scipiones, clarissimi viri, quorum vita magis quàm exitus reipublicæ Romanæ profuisset. Itidem Marcellus et Regulus multo magis profuissent reipublicæ si belli pestis eos non vorasset. Nec denique respublica unquam tantum desiderasset P. Æmilium, nisi belli vorago eum absorpsisset. Omitto vero Timoleonis, Pelopidæ, patris Decii, filii, et nepotis sui, Gracchi, M. Bruti, et Ciry regis Persarum, aliorumque innumerabilium exempla; quorum vita charissima erat reipublicæ, mors vero odiosissima. Thebanis enim quàm odiosa, quàm lugenda, quàm lamentanda erat mors Epaminondæ, qui eos a servitute ad libertatem, ab obscuritate in summam gloriam, ab ignominia ad summum honorem eduxit. Ex hoc intelligere possumus verissimum esse illud dictum Euripidis, *Φιλεῖ τοι πόλεμος οὐ πάντ' εὐτυχεῖν, Ἐσθλῶν δε χαίρει πίωμασι νεανίσκων. Ἄνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, πόλιν δὲ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει.* Solet fere bellum non fœliciter succedere, sed fortium gaudet casu juvenum. Adhæc dicit, occiduntur viri in bello, civitas vero igne consumitur. Indicat mala et incommoda belli, quàm gravia et pernitiosa sint. Fortasse dicet aliquis, Mors hominum pugnantium in bello est ipsis honesta. Fateor: sed maximum damnum oritur patriæ ex clari viri exitio et morte. Adhæc, nulli sua mors et exitus potest esse dulcis et jucundus. At hoc certissimum est, nullum incommodum aut utilitatem privatam præferendam esse publico emolumento. Bellum vero facit homines audaces; sed eos tandem vorat, et deterret sequentes. Objicient etiam adversarii hoc modo, Euripides jubet esse audaces, quam audaciam non possumus demonstrare, nisi in bello et discordia. At quia audacia in bello est honesta, non sequitur inde bellum esse dulce, suave et honestum. Nam audacia monstratur a rebellibus; sed tamen seditio, et ille motus subditorum contra principem, non est honestus. Quid ergo jam dicent adversarii? fortasse bellum prodesse patriæ, quia facit latius patere imperium. At illud non

[Temen. Fr. 6.]

[Homer, Il. ix. 597.]

Confutatio.

bellum, sed favor et clementia Dei affert. Belli enim propria est natura nationes comburere, regna vastare, reges spoliare, et regiones penitus delere. Favor autem et clementia divina iis qui eum sequuntur, et toto corde investigant, donat victoriam et præmium. Quare cùm bellum exhauriat divitias, et magnam vim thesauri; cùm afferat scelera, homicidia, furta, et adulteria; cùmque mortem, pestem, famemque adducat, et homines præclarissimos et optimos voraverit; hoc affirmo, hoc assero, et huic sententiæ plane assentior: quod bellum dulce sit iis, qui illud non sint experti; sed amarum et ingratum iis, qui rerum vices et ordines, rerumque pericula perspexerunt et probaverunt. Paci igitur studeamus, ei assentiamur, eamque sequamur, in hoc, ut quietè viventes Deum nostrum domi colere, venerari, et adorare possimus. Nec, ut nautæ stulti in tempestate bacchemur et exultemus, sed ut viri qui non prorsus rerum omnium ignari fuimus. Sed belli pericula et amaritudinem cognoscimus; illud detestemur, pacem sequamur. Dixi. Conclusio.

## ORATIO VII.

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 4724, f. 8.]

ISOCRATES. OPORTET REGEM REGNARE (INQUIT) CUM MANSUETUDINE ET CLEMENTIA.

ISOCRATES erat maximè studiosus sapientiæ, quæ est cognitio et investigatio inquisitioque rerum divinarum et humanarum. Quamobrem ego eum summa laude dignum judico. Is enim qui studet et confert totum tempus vitæ suæ perbrevis in iis rebus quæ ei ipsi maximum adjumentum et auxilium afferunt, non solum suæ animæ, quæ debet esse ei charissima et maximo amore prosequenda, sed etiam corpori, quod quanquam non sit spirituale nec cœleste sed terrestre et vile, tamen non est leviter curandum et in nullo Laus.

prætio habendum contemnendumque, is mihi summa et maxima laude afficiendus et prosequendus videtur et existimatur justa de causa. Illæ enim res quæ afferunt et adducunt adjumentum et auxilium ad rectè honestèque vivendum et ad degendam honestam et bonam vitam sunt præclarissima et optima. Isocrates autem ille splendidissimus et præstantissimus philosophus dedit operam et contulit laborem totum in iis rebus quæ ei maximè profuerunt. Quid enim potest esse melius splendidiusve arte rhetorica, quæ consistit in eloquentia, quaque ille nobilissimus philosophus maximè excelluit et præstitit omnibus cæteris? Ii enim qui audiunt et auscultant iis qui maxima et summa eloquentia præditi et exornati sunt, maxima admiratione et delectatione tenentur et capiuntur; et ii quibus amici, potentiæ, honores, et ubertas abundantiaque omnium divitiarum et facultatum desunt, audientes viros eloquentes maxima spe afficiuntur: iique qui vel accusantur aut defenduntur concipiunt maximam et summam gratiam ex eloquentia; denique ii non solum reficiuntur et oblectantur qui audiunt qui indigent, quique defensi sunt, verum etiam is ipse qui illa eloquentia præditus et exornatus est in summo favore et gratia retinetur. Quare Isocrates est summa laude dignus. Hic vero Isocrates non solum est dignissimus summa laude quia erat suavissimus orator et comptus nitidusque in diverso genere loquendi et dicendi, sed etiam ob multas alias diversasque causas. Quicunque enim multos doctrina et cognitione rerum exornant, quæ cognitio debet esse charior nobis ullis imperiis, honoribus, divitiis, potestatibus, facultatibus et ceteris dignitatibus, et iis quæ sunt dona corporis nostri, quod est admodum vile, ut forma, viribus, pulchritudine, ii etiam merentur bene de omnibus et meritò maximis et summis laudibus vehuntur ad supremos cælos. Deus enim gubernator cæli terræque, qui omnium est potentissimus, vellet nos non solum nobis ipsis commodum afferre sed etiam aliis. Sed ille nobilissimus et splendidissimus orator et philosophus, hoc est si interpretari velis studiosus cognitionis et sapientiæ, Isocrates, non solum seipsum studio exornavit, et omnibus præclarissimis et nobilissimis

virtutibus et præcipuè maximèque in eloquentia de qua satis commemoravimus, sed etiam aliis impertivit fructum ejus nobilissimæ doctrinæ et sapientiæ. Ejus enim domus erat schola (si vel credere velis historiis vel famæ hominum) totius Greciæ et omnium suavissimorum oratorum, inter quos erat Plato ille qui maximè excelluit ceteros illa nobilissima et splendidissima arte philosophandi et cognoscendi tum res divinas tum humanas, cujus de laude satis explicavimus et disputavimus alia oratione aut ut potius appellarem in mea postrema *χρεια*. Hic vero nobilissimus philosophus ortus erat Athenis, ex qua omnes optimi oratores oriebantur, quæ fuit fons omnis doctrinæ, cognitionis, intelligentiæ, et eloquentiæ quæ pertinet ad artem et scientiam rhetoricam. Ibi vero non solum in hunc mundum erat prognatus, sed etiam educatus et nutritus, et ex ea civitate accepit totum fructum intelligentiæ suæ. Ille vero omnes dicendi veneres sectatus est inventione facilis et compositione diligens, qui etiam erat occasio doctrinæ Aristotelis, qui ut aiunt dicere solet, Turpe jacere cum Isocrates loquatur eloquenter et facetè. Hic nobilissimus philosophus multos libros literis mandavit et edidit, præcipuè unam orationem præclarissimam ad Nicoclen, ubi inveni hanc sententiam præclarissimam, (de qua tractare et disputare accommodatissimum putavi, quia puto ejus disputationem nullius omnino aures fatigaturam, sed omnibus futuram jucundam, quia quod honestum est debet esse jucundum omnibus, præcipuè vobis qui ut certè scio maximè exornati estis virtutibus, non solum quia prudens dixit qualis est Isocrates, sed etiam quia ex seipsa bona est,) Est officium *παραφρασις*. et munus ejus, qui gerit gubernacula quique constitutus et designatus est a Deo creatore et conditore cœli terræque et gubernatore duce et præsidio, omnibus qui firmam spem et fiduciam collocant in eo, cujus opera et facta sunt mira in conspectu et visu mortalium, (quæ cùm philosophi nulla humana ratione intelligere, videre, et perspicere potuissent, ascripserant omnia hæc mira naturæ et fortunæ mutabili,) ut administraret, gubernaret et regeret hanc ingentem

molem et numerum hominum collectum et congregatum ad designandum et constituendum ordinem civilem et leges quibus vivere possent quietè et tranquillè, et quibus unusquisque non solum possit adipisci et conciliare suum, sed etiam augere et conservare (quod munus qui non rectè nec secundum voluntatem Dei, regis regum, domini dominorum, exequitur, is maximo supplicio meritò afficietur et dignissimis plagis et idoneis aptisque, quia non solum peccat contra totum humanum genus quia suscipit ita grave munus onusque, ut illud nullo modo ferre posset, et contra regem suum, qui est Deus unicus et solus, quod nihil turpe potest placere nec esse jucundum Deo,) semper eam gubernare cum justitia, quæ nemini omnino infert injuriam, sed conatur omnibus benefacere et prodesse et succurrere, in quibus ulla species aut simulachrum virtutis aut bonitatis appareat eluceatve, mixta vero et quasi imbuta cum nobilissima et pulcherrima splendidissimaque virtute (quanquam omnes virtutes sunt præclaræ et nobiles pulchræque), quæ maximè attingit et maximè similis est misericordiæ et liberalitati, quæ sanè a vulgo dicitur mansuetudo et clementia aut benignitas.

Causa. Est enim officium et munus ejus quem Deus constituit et designavit, qui Deus est numen et potestas cœlestis, ut sub eo eique parens et obedientiam summam gerens erga illum solum ut domino, ut regi, ut duci et gubernatori suo, cui confidit et gerat gravissimum gladium authoritatis, quo ii qui Deum non cognoverunt nec in ejus semitis gradiuntur, quique insidias ponunt iis quos ille sibi elegit conservandos et defendendos ab omnibus malis et periculis gravissimis et molestissimis, summo dolore et cruciatu afficerentur et maximis pœnis; et ii qui Deum gubernatorem omnium rerum et dominum omnium mortalium timore et amore prosequuntur, non solum summa reverentia habeantur et ducantur nobiles eximiique viri, sed etiam defendantur et conserventur maximèque chari sint omnibus mortalibus et singulis hominibus, ut seipsos curent et videant esse eruditione et doctrina exornatos et præditos, et prudentia quæ omnium rerum maximè attingit et maximè prope est naturam, quæque con-

sistit in investigatione et inventione veri in rebus omnibus; et justitia, quæ defendit et tuetur maximum et fortissimum vinculum societatis humani generis quod est infinitum, et communitatem vitæ totius, quam qui disrumpit aut violat is maximo supplicio est afficiendus et omnino ex vita eripiendus; et fortitudine et excelsitate animi, humanas res spernentis et pro nihilo omnino ducentis, et omnes fortunas æquo animo ferentis et gerentis res preclaras; et temperantia, quæ cohibet affectus animi nimios non obtemperantes rationi qua excellimus bestiis; et iis virtutibus quæ in eisdem concluduntur virtutibus quas paulo ante commemoravi et dixi, simul cum eorum naturis quæ sunt admodum præclaræ et nobiles. Is enim qui administrat et regit eam maximam et ingentem multitudinem et numerum hominum collectum et congregatum in uno, ad constituendum et designandum civilem ordinem, et ad construendas domus et ferendas leges salutares quibus simul quietè possint degere vitam, quæ perbrevis est, debet curare et videre ut populus (*sic*) sit et justus, liberalis, mansuetus, prudens, sapiens, perspicax, fortis, magnanimus, continens, et abstinens, omnibusque aliis virtutibus præditus et exornatus imbutusque. Sed multitudo et numerus hominum quos Deus creavit et fecit, quique sunt opera ejus manuum, semper sequitur et imitatur mores ejus (*sic*) qui eos regunt et gubernant ducuntque quo illis placet veluti oves. Si enim rex et administrator reipublicæ favorem summum præbeat et ostendat veræ et puræ religioni et disciplinæ Dei Christique ejus filii, quæ disciplina et religio in omnia secula durabit et manebit (ut Christi dictum posset esse manifestum, dicens, Cœlum et terra peribunt, sed meum verbum nunquam peribit,) tum populus, saltem maxima pars et numerus hominum qui sunt ejus subditi servique, favebunt veritati et puræ religioni Dei potentissimi et optimi maximique, domini cœli, terræ, et maris profundi.

Ex quo efficitur et constat eum qui administrat et regit societatem humani generis et communitatem vitæ humanæ, quique gladio corrigit impios et malos homines qui capiunt delectationem in malis et mendaciis, et bonos piosque summa laude prosequitur, et affert in

amorem hominum et in maximam authoritatem adducit, debere esse omnibus eximiis et nobilibus virtutibus exornatum et præditum, ut prudentia, justitia, liberalitate, fortitudine, magnanimitate, excelsitate et robore animi, continentia, temperantia, hisque similibus præclaris virtutibus et dotibus animi. Sed ea res quæ consistit et continetur in præbendo nosipsos misericordes et jucundos omnibus, et in condonando, ignoscendo et remittendo ea quæ sunt facta et commissa contra nos quanquam sit gravia et molesta et vix ferenda vel toleranda, secundum mandata et jussa Dei quæ nos jubent et nobis præcipiunt ut ignoscamus et condonemus fratribus, hoc est non solum iis quibus devincti sumus et deligati natura quam nullus potest depellere nec mutare nisi solus Deus, sed etiam omnibus hominibus (omnes enim sunt fratres tui qui amore Deum prosequuntur, et eum verum et unicum Deum agnoscunt et sciunt, creatorem cœli et terræ et profundi maris,) est ea res in qua consistit finis bonorum et summum maximum bonum et fælicitas, non voluptas et delectatio animi quam Epicurei, Cyrenaici, Ænnicerii, philosophi pessimi et flagitiosissimi, putaverunt et existimaverunt summum bonum et maximam fælicitatem, sed virtus et honestas quæ omnes amplecti debent amore et inquirere et investigare, quæ consistit in iis rebus quæ supra recitavi et commemoravi, ut in prudentia cognitioneque rerum fugiendarum et expetendarum quærendarumque, et in justitia quæ defendit et tuetur societatem humani generis et totam communitatem vitæ humanæ, quæ nobis est a Deo data ut eam nos conferamus et ponamus totam in iis rebus quæ olim nobis erunt utilissima et jucundissima, et in robore et magnitudine excelsitateque animi qui omnes humanas res spernit, negligit, contemnit, et pro nihilo ducit, et qui omnes fortunas et adversas et prosperas æquo animo fert, et in temperantia quæ cohibet appetitus et affectus animi nimios, rationi dominæ et reginæ omnium virtutum non obedientiam gerentes et parentes, quæ est voluptatis et libidinum maxima inimica et adversaria, et maximè consentanea et amica decoro quod Grecè dicitur τὸ πρέπον. Quicquid enim inest in robore et magnitudine excelsi

animi est virtus. Fortitudo enim et contemptio dolorum et laborum est virtus. Sed mansuetudo et clementia continetur et consistit in illa præclarissima et nobilissima virtute, quæ dicitur fortitudo animi. Est enim fortis et nobilissimi animi non esse severum nec crudelem, sed mansuetum, clementem et jucundum omnibus. Quare mansuetudo et clementia sunt nobilissimæ et præstantissimæ virtutes. Quibus consideratis et intellectis a viro summis ornamentis et prudentia prædito et imbuto, facile intelligi et conspici ab omnibus potest eum qui administrat, regit et gubernat societatem humani generis et illum ingentem et magnum numerum hominum simul et collectum et congregatum ad civilem et humanum ordinem, debere exornari misericordia et clementia mansuetudineque, quæ virtutes non solum magnis laudibus afficiebantur apud gentes sed etiam debent apud nos christianos.

Contrarium.

Omnis enim non solum qui administrat et regit gubernatque societatem humani generis et communitatem humanæ vitæ, quam qui disrumpit et violat is est dignus ut maximo supplicio et gravissimis molestissimisque pœnis afficeretur, sed etiam privatus minister debet curare et videre ne Deus et numen cœleste et æternum, director et gubernator omnium rerum et animalium et earum quæ carent vita, ut lapidum, ut chartarum, ut lignorum, convertat suam gravissimam et molestissimam iram, quæ a nullo potest ferri nec tolerari omnino, sed ut maximum pondus plumbi alligatum homini in aqua eum demerget, ita ira Dei vel ut potius appellarem justa et recta animadversio et castigatio Dei in omnes illos qui eum oderunt, est ita grave et molestum malis et impiis ut non possint omnino illud ferre nec tolerare. Quum enim ira regis terrestris sit admodum gravis et molesta, quanto gravior est ira Dei, cœlestis regis omnium regum et domini omnium dominorum. Sed cùm rex non prosequatur amore Deum, sed omni crudelitate inimica omnium virtutum, cujus inimicæ omnes sunt turpes, flagitiosæ, et inhonestæ, et ferocitate qua homines ratione utentes sunt similes reliquis bestiis quæ ratione et intelligentia, quæ est fons et principium omnium

virtutum præclarissimarum et nobilium, expertes et vacui sunt, tum Deus mittit suam iram gravissimam in humanum genus, et maximè præcipuèque in eum administratorem et gubernatorem reipublicæ et saluṭis omnium qui negligenter et crudeliter exequitur suum munus et officium manṣuetum et clemens. Deus enim, hoc est numen et potestas cœlestis, animadvertit in impios. Sed feroces reges sunt impii. Quare Deus irascitur regibus crudelibus. Ex quo constat et apparet facile eos qui gubernant rempublicam debere cavere ab crudelitate et ferocitate.

Similitudo. Quemadmodum enim is qui gubernat et regit apes, quanquam est apis, tamen admodum aliis dissidens et varians caret aculeo quo aculeo possit aliis nocere, sic ii qui administrant et gubernant societatem humani generis et communitatem humanæ vitæ, debent curare et videre ut careat (*sic*) et expers omni crudelitate et ferocitate sit. Fortasse quis mihi hoc objiciet meam similitudinem non esse veram, quia subditi non debent esse apes. Fateor; sed reges debent præcipuè esse mansueti et clementes.

Exemplum. Facile autem hoc potest videri non sòlum olim, sed etiam his diebus, quia videmus eos qui crudeles sunt administratores reipublicæ semper esse relictos aut interfectos a sociis et subditis, ut universa et tota multitudo Agrigentinorum Phalarim interficiebat, et Macedones reliquerunt Demetrium et ad Phirrum se contulerunt.

Testimonium. Hujus rei Cicero est locupletissimus author et testis, dicens: Crudelitas est maximè inimica virtuti et honestati.

Επιλογος. Quare, cùm rex debet esse præditus omnibus virtutibus, et cùm Deus irascatur regi malo, et cùm rex debet esse similis regi apum,* et Agrigentini impetum fecerunt in Phalarim et Macedones in Demetrium, et omnes philosophi optimi probent hanc sententiam, non possum illam non judicare optimam.

* The King first wrote "aculeorum," which he corrected to "aporum." The composition has not had the advantage of correction from his tutor, like those transcribed in the letter-book: it is not only very rambling, but has several grammatical as well as clerical inaccuracies, but is, therefore, a better example of the King's unassisted efforts.

## ORATIO VIII.

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 4724, fol. 30.]

### [Bellum esse Turcis inferendum, religionis gratia.]

26° Julij, 1551.

Three years had passed between the composition of the preceding essay and the present, during which the king's style had materially improved

This oration, and the Greek oration printed hereafter, are upon the same subject, and maintain the old argument of the Crusaders, that the kingdom of Christ was to be advanced by the sword. As previously in Oratio V., it is asserted that there could not possibly be any better *causa belli* than religion.

Nihil est præstantius, nihil excellentius, nihil utilius his omnibus qui Rerumpublicarum, nationum, aut civitatum tenent gubernacula, quàm cognoscere quæ sint licitæ, æquæ, et justæ belli gerendi causæ, inhoc, ut per suam ignorantiam aut potius negligentiam, frustra aut (quod pejus est) in causa non licita, vitæ et bona civium non consumantur. Illud enim est præcipuum officium magistratuum et gubernatorum, ut efficiant sua diligentia omnes status Reipublicæ augere, ditescere, honestè tranquillèque vivere, et denique nunquam privati odii aut amoris causa bellum aliquod inire, nisi videant Reipublicæ id fore emolumento. Ad hujus rei cognitionem non inutilis est hæc questio, *Num Turcis bellum sit inferendum propter religionem*, quippe quæ quærit num religio sit satis licita belli causa. Mihi videtur bellum esse Turcis illis qui Christi deitatem, et Dei prope potentiam negant, inferendum. Nullus enim est vehemens in Dei causa, nec bonæ religioni aliquid omnino addictus, qui audiens eorum absurdos et impios errores, quos contra Deum finxerunt, nolit eorum memoriam e terra deleri. Nulla enim est melior nec præstantior nec magis legitima causa belli, quàm ipsa religio existit. Cæteræ enim quanquam sint licitæ, tamen non tantum

valent quantum religio. Si enim paucorum agrorum, aut unius villæ direptio et spoliatio, si terrarum vendicatio, si civium injuria affectorum querelæ, sint licitæ causæ belli gerendi, tum quanto magis licitum est bella gerere contra eos qui et Deo sunt inimici, et multos alios suo veneno inficiunt. Ex quibus apparet licitum esse id bellum quod cum Turcis geritur religionis causa. Nam si honestorum morum similitudo, et religionis veræ consensus, et unius fidei professio sint aut solæ aut maximæ causæ perfectæ amicitiæ et pacis, tum necesse est nihil tam cito, tam vehemens gignere et procreare bellum, quàm morum dissimilitudo, in religione dissensio, et varia fidei confessio; atque si amicitiæ sit præcipuum officium eisdem gaudere, et eisdem dolere, quod genus amicitiæ potest inter eos coli, qui contrariis gaudent, et contrariis dolent? Quod ad morum dissimilitudinem pertinet, quanto absunt viri optimi a viris pessimis, tanto et veri Christiani differunt ab his qui ritè sequuntur Mahometicam professionem; quod ad religionis differentiam, quantum Christi contemptus a Christi vero et syncero cultu: quod vero ad fidei varietatem attinet, quanto differt dicere per Christi mortem nos redimi, a dicendo Mahometam ducem esse ad obtinendam fælicitatem et ejus legis imitatores debere eam as. qui. Quapropter cum nulla morum similitudo, nullus religionis consensus, nec fidei, nobis sit cum Turcis, nec amicitia ulla servari debet. Si nulla amicitia servanda, tum bellum est gerendum. Hi enim om.es qui Christum negant, qui tantas habent hæreses et errores, quorum mentes sunt ita cupiditatibus et tenebris offusæ, ut veritatem a falso discernere non possint, in impiorum numero sunt habendi. Sed non solum licet sed etiam decet bonos viros, contra impios belligerare. Si enim liceat bonos contra similes pugnare, et Christianos contra eos qui sunt Christi religionem professi, tum multo magis licet et decet bonos contra impios bellum gerere. Ex quo perspicitur bellum esse Turcis inferendum propter religionem. Nam quibuscum nulla communio nec societas potest servari, his amici nullo modo esse possumus. Nam ut amicitia inter privatos est

commodorum et officiorum quædam communitas, sic et amicitia inter nationes est commerciorum et utilitatum commutatio et communio. Quibuscum autem communionem habet quis, eorum similis evadit, unde et hoc proverbium natum est, consuetudinem esse alteram naturam. Nihil enim plus mutat et repellit malam naturam quàm bona educatio, nihil plus pervertit et corrumpit bonam naturam quàm mala consuetudo. At is qui Turcicis utitur moribus, impius et scelestus videtur. Quare nullam vitæ nec commerciorum societatem, nec communitatem tenere debemus. Idcirco nec amicitiam. Et quo perspicitur bellum esse Turcis inferendum. Hujus rei ad corroborandam meam sententiam pulcherrima habemus exempla in sacris literis. Nam Deus persæpe jussit Israelitas multis in locis suæ legis, ne se gentibus immiscerent, ne eorum opera discerent, et suam legem relinquerent. Intellexit enim et prævidit fore ut si quando cum illis amicè viverent et tranquillè, tum populum suum ita fore eorum operibus contaminatum, ut penitus ab ejus ministerio vellent discedere. Quocirca non solum jussit eos ubique ne gentium mores imitarentur, sed etiam in aliquibus locis monet eos per prophetas, et judices, ut bellum gentibus inferant. Cum igitur liceat propter terminos imperii violatos aut spoliatos belligerare; cùm religionis, morum atque fidei similitudo firmam efficiat pacem, et dissimilitudo bellum; cùm contra impios liceat bella gerere; cùm nulla sit veris Christianis communio cum Turcis; cùm denique Deus jusserit Israelitas ne se gentibus immiscerent; sequitur quidem, ut mihi videtur, bellum esse Turcis inferendum religionis gratia. Dixi. Finis.

E. 26° Julij. R$_{EX.}$
1551°.

## ORATIO IX.

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 4724, fo. 90.]

### [OMNES ADULTEROS ESSE MORTE MUCLTANDOS.]

In omni Republica bene et civiliter constituta (auditores clarissimi,) hic mos, hæc consuetudo, hic ordo semper est observatus, ut non solum præmia unicuique bono secundum merita et benevolentiam erga patriam darentur, sed etiam ut mali possint secundum magnitudinem criminum puniri; ob eamque causam multi magistratus sunt constituti, quorum alii viros sub sua ditione positos corrigere debent, alii prospicere ut inferiores magistratus non sint nẽgligentes in suis officiis. Quæ enim Respublica unquam sine legibus floruit coercentibus iniquos, punientibus maleficos, et bonos præmiis afficientibus? Num aliqua δημοχρασια, ut Athenarum? Num ολιγαρχια, ut Romanorum? Num aliqua μοναρχια, ut Macedonum, Persarum, Medorum, Gallorum, et Anglorum? Minimè; sed hæc maxima fuit cura in omnibus his statibus, ne malorum turba bonis esset molestiæ, et ne impiorum caterva honestis noceret. Sed inter genera suppliciorum magna est differentia. Præcipuè vero in adulterio multum intererat inter supplicia quæ in Rebuspublicis variis contra illud oriebantur. De qua re quidem nunc quædam controversia est orta, num adulterium sit morte mulctandum. Ego quidem esse maximè equum et honestum puto in hac Republica si lex decerneretur omnes adulteros esse morte mulctandos. Æquitas enim hoc vult, justitia rogat, lex naturæ constituit, ut supplicia legum moderemur secundum duas regulas, quarum una est magnitudo vitii, altera prompta natura gentis ad maleficium. Gravissima enim supplicia decerni debent in ea crimina, ad quæ nos sumus maximè apti, in hoc ut severitate supplicii a malefaciendo deterreamur. Si igitur et hæ ambæ causæ concurrant, tum gra-

vissima supplicia sunt demonstranda. Quare primum probabo aliqua supplicia esse morte mulctanda, tum vero si aliquid sit ita mulctandum, adulterio esse locum in eodem supplicio. Si enim malos non oportet morte punire, quare gerit gladium magistratus? Certe frustra, quanquam Paulus affirmat eum gerere gladium, in hoc ut sit impiis terrori. At quis dicet Deum nolle mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat. Cujus loci interpretatio vera nihil pertinet ad supplicium mortis, a magistratibus affectum, sed sibi vult Deum suas leges hominibus demonstrare, sua præcepta facere cognita, quia non querit mortem peccatoris, nec damnationem alicujus vitiosi, sed potius gaudet cùm ad illum convertamus, nihilominus tamen puniens si nolimus convertere. Attamen Deus in lege præbita erga Judeos jussit et latrones, et adulteros, et patrum execratores et idololatras esse morte mulctandos. Quare est manifestum, licere aliqua peccata morte mulctare.

Si autem liceat aliqua mala morte mulctare, ut ex supradictis manifestum est, tum ea licet morte mulctare quæ minimè sunt mihi necessaria et aliis maximo incommodo. Quod autem malum majus, et detestabilius esse potest, quàm adulterium? quod majus scelus, quàm uxorem proximi contaminare? quæ major injuria quàm hominem spoliare sua carne? Etenim latrones, qui non sine causa maxima secundum leges morte damnantur, solum pecunia spoliant hominem, quæ ut cito dilabitur, sic multis variisque hominibus iterum paratur.* At adulter non vestes aufert, quæ corpus ornant; non equos, quibus homines insident; nec pecuniam, quæ res corpori utiles parat; sed uxorem, qua nihil est preciosius, nihil charius, nihilque magis ab homine diligendum. Nam Deus cùm Evam crearet ex osse Adami dixit, Hæc est unum tuorum ossium, et caro de carne tua. Propter hanc relinquet homo patrem, et matrem,

* Who steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands.

Were King Edward and Shakspere alike indebted for these expressions to some previous writer?

uxori adhærens. Quare qui hanc conjunctionem a Deo constitutam talibus verbis, et præceptis, violare velit, hominemque spoliare suis membris, suæ cupiditatis et affectus causa, multo pejor et major hostis videtur quàm fur aut latro, qui hac et illac currens, ubi populum frequentare videt, bona aufuratur, pecuniis spoliat, vestibus nudat, et res necessarias sibi ipsi tollit ab alienis. Alter enim pecuniis spoliat, alter uxore; hic quidem res necessarias sibi ipsi a te tollit, ille ardet amore rei inulitis, et contra mandatum divinum. Si igitur illa lex quæ de suspendendis furibus recta de causa sit facta, et multum prosit Reipublicæ, non video qui fiat adulteros non debere eandem aut majorem pænam subire, cùm majori in crimine et delicto versentur. At fortasse dicent adversarii, Paulum excommunicasse adulteros, non morte mulctavisse. Cui objectioni respondeo, Paulum ideo non mulctasse morte quia se fatebatur nullam habere authoritatem nisi spiritualem, in qua solum consistit authoritas excommunicandi. Tum asserunt Christi exemplum, qui videns Phariseos lapidantes adulteram, dixit illis, Quicunque est sine criminibus primum lapidem in eam conjiciat. Cui etiam exemplo respondeo, Christum non reprehendisse legem, sed eorum vitia qui legem administrabant. Illi enim cum majoribus criminibus erant onerati, illam puniebant, sua vitia non corrigentes. Cùm igitur maxima sint supplicia Dei inusta in multos propter hoc teterrimum vitium, quod multò est gravius et majori pæna dignius quàm furtum, morte mulctatum, sequitur adulterium esse morte mulctandum. Dixi. Finis.

## ORATIO X.

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 4724, fo. 98.]

[Magis decere Patrem quam Preceptorem amare.]

Si sit justitiæ (auditores clarissimi,) suum cuique tribuere, si sit æquitatis non eodem modo compensare eos qui magna fecerunt, et

pericula obierunt patriæ causa, quo eos qui domi quietam sine periculis et laboribus degunt vitam, si denique gratitudinis sit, in eos maxima conferre beneficia, qui maximè nobis sunt amici, tum est perutile, his qui quærunt se justos, æquos, et gratos præstare, cognoscere quæ quibus sint majora beneficia, inhoc ut unusquisque secundum dignitatem compensetur. Quamobrem non inutile mihi visum est, cùm quosdam viderem dicentes, nos magis debere amare præceptorem quàm patrem, contrariam sententiam veriorem mihi visam suscipere defendendam, in hoc ut veritas melius cognoscatur, et ex disputatione utraque ex parte penitus excutiatur (*sic*). Prima autem ratio quæ me suadet has partes tueri, *Magis decere Patrem quàm Præceptorem amare*, est eo quod pater nos magis amet, et naturaliter diligat, quàm præceptor, atque hoc declarat semper experientia, unumquemque (ut Aristoteles optimè docet) proprium opus maximè diligere, poetam suos versus, philosophum suos ipsius libros a se compositos, artificem unumquemque opus a se fabricatum, quoque major labor est in opere conficiendo eo majore amore affici artificem erga opus. Patris autem est opus filius, eamque ob causam (eoque magis quod sit naturale opus) maximè debet pater a filio, et filius a patre diligi. Discipulus autem non est opus præceptoris, nisi eo quod sit relatio. Quare sequitur magis unumquemque teneri erga patrem quàm præceptorem. Quid quod pater non solum sit causa quare sit filius, sed etiam suæ bonæ educationis in sacris literis, in liberalibus scientiis, in honestis disciplinis, et honesto instituto vivendi? Num nihili est, curare eum nutriendum, proprio sumptu alendum, et libenter ei relinquere copias omnes et cætera necessaria ad vitam, quæ ei ad aliquod opus commoda esse possunt? Quî potest igitur quis rectè comparare beneficia et amorem præceptoris cum amore et beneficiis paternis, cùm pater hæc faciat et hæc conferat beneficia ita magna in filium, non munere aliquo, nec benevolentia in alium, provocatus, sed quodam naturali in illum amore commotus et illectus; præceptor autem tantum insumat laborem in puero educando, non amoris causa in ipsum puerum, sed

aut benevolentia erga patrem commotus aut munere astrictus, aut ut Reipublicæ possit prodesse in bene instituendo eo, qui postea ejus membrum futurus est. Videtur autem hoc satis cognitum fuisse omnibus philosophis, qui maximum honorem attribui volunt parentibus, et talem qualem nulli alio, præceptorem autem inter cæteros qui beneficia conferunt minora quàm parentes ponunt, satis legislatoribus, præcipuè autem a Deo ipso in lege Mosaica consideratum, ubi severissima supplicia constituuntur erga eos qui parentibus sunt offensi, et non obediunt, minora autem multo præceptoribus comprehensis in numero aliorum proximorum. Ipsa etiam lex civilis, quæ jam est maximè vulgaris et palam usitata, statuit maximam potestatem esse paternam in filium, et vult filios maximè esse subditos eorum potestati, nullam autem statuit potestatem præceptorum. Lex autem divina, quæ eo tempore non sine magna causa erat ab ipso Deo constituta et stabilita, mansitque inter Judeos usque ad tempus Christi, mira intolerabilia et acerbissima sumit supplicia in eos qui parentes aut percutiunt aut execrantur; cùmque omnes alios percutiens aut execrans mulctetur solum pœna talionis, ut oculum reddat pro oculo, dentem pro dente, et sic in similibus, ille
Exod. 21° c. qui percutit patrem aut matrem et illis maledicet, mortis mulcta punitur. Hoc præterea indicat manifestè officium filii in patrem, et munus illis constitutum qui illa (*sic*) observant, quod scribitur in
Deut. 5° B. 5° Deuteronomii, Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam, sicut præcepit tibi Deus tuus, ut longo vivas tempore, et bene sit tibi, in terra tua. Ipse etiam Christus, cùm nobis omnium virtutum sit dux, tum clarissimum præbuit exemplum amoris et obedientiæ
Luc. ii. erga parentes, cùm (ut apparet in Lucæ Evangelio) subditus erat parentibus, et parebat eorum imperio. Cùm ergo videamus ita clara sacrarum literarum testimonia, de honore et officio debito parentibus, apparet quantum sit officium filiorum erga parentes, quantus amor, quàmque præluceat officio erga præceptores. Alterum enim devincitur solum uno vinculo, alterum autem duobus. Nam causa quare amare debemus præceptorem est, quod magnos labores

suscepit in hoc ut nos erudiret, et ille labor est compensandus amore quodam et benevolentia. Si enim non observetur, tum inde oritur ingratitudo, et injustitia, cùm eos nullo modo compensemus, qui in nos tanta beneficia contulerint. Duobus autem modis cogimur præbere patri honorem ; quorum unus est quod nos genuit, aluit, curavit educandum, et hæredem fecerit, alter autem quod ipsa natura inseruerit patris amorem in filium vix adhuc natum, qui procul abest a cognitione boni et mali, honesti et inhonesti. Hoc autem ex eo manifestius, esse naturalem amorem inter filium et patrem, quod pater, filio nullo modo ne compensante quidem suum beneficium nec compote alicujus rationis, curat eum educandum, alendum, nutriendum, et maxima beneficia confert in eum, quasi puer maximum in eum beneficium contulerat. Præceptoris adhæc officium non tantum procedere videtur ex amore in discipulum, ac patris, qui animus et amor conferentis beneficium magis est curandus, et perpendendus, in compensandis beneficiis quàm ipsa magnitudo beneficii. Si enim magnitudine divitiarum meteremur beneficia, et non animo dantis, injustè admodum perpetraremus, qui majores gratias ageremus diviti, nobis id danti quod ille vilipendet, quàm pauperi danti illud ex quo victum et sibiipsi et suis parat.

Unde et Christus, cùm vidit pauperem quandam viduam mittentem in Gazophylacium parvulum quoddam æneum nomisma, magis eam laudibus dignam existimavit, quàm omnes divites, qui ingentem summam pecuniæ in illud miserant. Quare cùm major sit amor paternus erga filium quàm præceptoris, omnes leges constituant majora supplicia in eos qui violant parentes quàm præceptores, et lex divina (ipso Christo exemplum prebente) jubet maximo amore prosequi parentes, sequitur nos debere magis amare patrem quàm præceptorem. Dixi. Finis.

## ORATIO XI.

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 4724, fol. 102.]

[EXPERIENTIAM ESSE PRÆSTANTIOREM QUAM DOCTRINA.]

MANIFESTUM est et omnibus vobis cognitum (judices et anditores charissimi), unumquemque naturali quadam dispositione et motu præditum esse in hoc ut fælicitatem consequatur, summum bonum obtineat, et vitam beatam habere possit; atque quanquam alii ignorantia rei ducti, alii autem modi per quem fælicitatem obtinerent, (alii enim divitias putant, alii honestum, alii voluptatem, et eorum qui divitias putant, alii mercaturam exercent, alii agros colunt, aliique aliis artificiis victum parant,) tamen omnium horum finis est summum bonum ad quod tanquam scopum collimant. Utilissimæ idcirco sunt illæ tractationes, quæ modum quomodo quis virtutum præcipuarum habitus assequi possunt, manifestent et indicent. Quam ob rem de hac quæstione disserere non inutile putavi, *Utrum experientia an doctrina homini sit utilior*, quia indicat modum quomodo quis cognitionem assequi possit, quam aliis rebus omnibus anteposuit sapientissimus Solomon.

Mea autem est sententia experientiam multo plus valere doctrina et hominem reddere sapientiorem. Hæc enim quæruntur in inquisitione cognitionis, ut modus obtinendi eam sit certus, bene probatus, et sine ambagibus, quæ omnia maximè video in experientia versari, in doctrina autem multo minus. Nam quod ad rerum stabilitatem attinet, nulli vestrum est ignotum (judices clarissimi,) quin ita sint incerti casus rerum ut nullus sit talis nec tam perfectus philosophus in morali philosophia qui possit perfectum opusculum de eis tradere, et (ut Aristoteles dicit) multi putent e lege et non ex natura honestum oriri, et potius hominis esse inventionem quàm naturæ constitutionem.

Neque vero hoc fit in philosophia solum ad mores pertinente, sed etiam in multis aliis artibus, ut medicina. cosmographia, rhetorica, et dialectica. Ille medicus enim qui magnam habet ex libris doctrinam et multa cognoscit ex authoribus et scriptoribus in re medica, si experientiam rerum non habeat nihil præstare poterit, quod quotidie ex multis exemplis facile videre possumus. Nam multos videmus ignaros artis qui experientia edocti plures sanant quàm ii qui estimantur periti et docti medici; videmus eos qui ex libris scientiam chirurgorum edidicerunt pauciores posse curare quàm anus vetulas quotidiana experientia edoctas (*sic*); videmus adhæc mercatores qui multis laboribus terras longinquas peragrant perfectius scire descriptionem terræ, quàm hi qui arti cosmographicæ multos annos operam dederint. Denique videmus eos qui in senatibus liberarum civitatum et foris fuerunt, multo ornatius et gravius posse disserere et disputare de rebus quàm eos qui diu dialecticam et rhetoricam in academiis didicerint. Ex quibus exemplis manifestè patet experientiam esse multo præstantiorem et certiorem doctrina, quia homines docti et inexperti facilius errant, quam hi qui experientiam habent in scientiis. Eamque ob causam in deligendo magistratus publicos non tantum inspicitur et curatur [ut] homo ad ea ministeria delegatus sit doctus in mathematicis quàm ut experientiam habeat earum rerum quæ pertinent ad administrationem Reipublicæ, quanquam quidem fateor utraque, videlicet experientia et doctrina, sint admodum quærendæ in magistratu civili.

Quia autem virtutis laus maximè in actione consistit (ut Cicero testatur), et ii qui res præclaras et excellentes (*sic*) magis laudantur quàm ii qui rerum cognitionem habent et quæ cognoscunt non exequuntur, idcirco mihi videtur eam cognitionem quæ maximè apta est ad agendum res quæ honestæ existentes in mente et intellectu versantur, esse præstantissimam et maximè eligendam. Ducit enim ad eam rem quæ est scopus quare homines boni doctrinam cupiant. At ille aptior est ad actionem, et paratior ad perpetranda ea quæ cognoscit, qui experientia est edoctus, et quo-

tidiano usu res didicerit, quàm ille qui ex libris legendis intellexerit quid sit agendum. Quod quidem non sine causa accidit. Nam nullus sermo nec scriptura potest ita manifestè res actas aut agendas perscribere et denotare, et quid in unoquoque casu sit faciendum demonstrare, atque illi qui viderunt possunt in mente imaginem circumferre. Quod ex eo apparet, quod juvenes (*sic*) (secundum proverbium) et non expertis dulce sit bellum, quia nullus ejus miseriam possit, ita ut est, perfectè vel oratione vel stilo depingere. Qui autem experti sunt pericula quæ accidunt in bello, et ejus miseriam satis gustaverint, exclamant, et vociferantur, nullas esse tales miserias, nulla tam magna tormenta, nullos tantos dolores corporis et animi timores, quanti quotidie accidunt in bello, et propter ingentem multitudinem a militibus contemnuntur. At contra illi qui legerunt historias Trojæ, ubi Achilles et Ulisses simul versabantur, atque etiam Alexandri res gestas, putant potius se fore in ludo aut comædia quàm in bello, ubi res serio agetur. At dici potest opus esse et majore labore, et tempore diuturniore, in cognoscendo res ex experientia, quàm ex doctrina, quia multo citius leguntur historiæ rerum quàm res ipsæ aguntur. Respondeo autem eos qui nolint laborem suscipere, cognitionis causa, nunquam fore sapientes, et homini esse præstantius pauca bene et firmiter in memoria retinere, quàm multa percurrere legendo; et ea quæ ex experientia discuntur, multo firmius memoriæ inhærent, quàm ea quæ leguntur. Adhæc jucundus est ille labor qui suscipitur cognitionis causa, præcipuè autem rerum experientia, illi qui honestus est, quia majus delectamur iis rebus quas ipsi excogitamus, quàm iis quas alii homines invenerunt. Cùm igitur et certior et aptior ad actionem rerum nobilium et præclararum sit experientia doctrina, sequitur, ut mihi quidem videtur, experientiam esse multo prestantiorem et utiliorem generi humano quàm doctrina, quanquam neutri suam laudem derogare vellem. Dixi.

## ORATIO XI B.

### [ASTRONOMIAM UTILEM ADMODUM ESSE HUMANO GENERI.]

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 4724, fol. 104.]

This oration, being a defence of the study of astronomy, is remarkable, as showing how that sublime science was subject to disrepute, in consequence of its professors having generally presumed, either from motives of worldly advantage, or themselves misled by vain imaginings, to profess to foretell the future course of human affairs. It was assumed that the stars influenced the destiny of each individual, according to their aspects at the time of his birth or other great events of his life; and those who, having given credit to such fancies, found themselves deceived, were naturally irritated, not only against astrology, but also against astronomy, between which they could not distinguish. Edward's tutor, sir John Cheke, certainly gave some attention to both the legitimate and the illegitimate sister, as shown by the King's quadrant, which is described in the Preface, and his entertainment of Cardano, noticed in the King's Memoir.

MULTI fuerunt apud majores nostros (auditores clementissimi) qui cùm aliquod crimen falsò objectum cuiquam esset, aut hominem purgare a vitio aut defendere susceperant, præstantius opus putabant hominem innocentem defendere, quàm vitiosum oppugnare. Quo magis igitur mihi elaborandum est in hac parte defensionis, cùm non hominem aliquibus vitiis contaminatum, non quid fragile et caducum, sed artem, scientiam et cognitionem nobilissimam, omniumque aliarum prope certissimam defendendam suscipiam, oppugnatam quidem sed non victam multis firmis validisque argumentis adversariorum.

Scientia autem et ars de quâ hoc tempore disseremus est Astronomia. Sunt enim qui tenent eam neque utilem esse corpori neque animo neque Reipublicæ, quæ quidem sententia multo vituperio haud immerito affici debet. Nam quid turpius esse potest quàm eam dicere cognitionem quam omnes ab instinctu divino moti appetunt et avent, ad nihil utile necessariumve esse? Prudentia enim, quæ a Deo fonte omnis boni oritur, dividitur in cognitionem rerum

naturalium, rerum ad sermonem pertinentium, ut ars Rhetorica et Dialectica, atque rerum moralium, quæ ad mores privatorum et ad rectionem Rerumpublicarum pertinent. Quid vero magis naturale quàm cognitio elementorum, cœli, astrorum, stellarum, planetarum, per quorum cursus nostra corpora, et non solum nostra sed etiam omnium bestiarum eis subjectarum, omnium herbarum, florum, arborum, frugum, vinorum, ceterorumque omnium gubernantur et reguntur? Cum itaque sit pars prudentiæ, quæ, a Deo procedens, omnia secundum rectam rationem facit et constituit, res naturales investigare, cùmque quasi instinctu divino provocemur ad inquisitionem omnium rerum (ratio enim hoc in nobis efficit), necessariò sequitur Astronomiam utilem admodum esse humano generi, quia Deus non solum omnia membra corporis sed etiam omnes scientias artesque quas hominibus revelavit ad aliquam necessitatem sive summam utilitatem instituit.

Adhæc, is qui res satis perfectè et exquisitè præcipuèque in hac arte existentes contemplari velit, inveniet eam non inventam fuisse sine mirâ diligentiâ, cognitionis maximâ cupiditate, et quodam singulari instinctu et inflatu divino. Nullum enim ingenium humanum est ita perfectum, ut per se tam divinarum et cœlestium rerum cognitionem invenire possit, præsertim cùm eos videamus arduè ea intelligere quæ liber demonstrat atque præceptor doceat. Perpendamus ideo perfectè et deliberatè quis homo eam artem invenerit, videlicet, filius Adami, Seth, qui pius et honestus admodum fuit: eos etiam qui eam magna perfectione locupletarunt, videlicet Ægyptii, Israelitæ, viri sanè doctissimi, eruditissimi, sapientissimi, omnique genere cognitionis et virtutis præditi. Putamus autem tantos tam insignes sapientesque viros quales illi fuerant non solum tantum laborem in res nihili insumere voluisse, sed etiam tantum temporis quod est præciosissima impendere cogitasse, nisi res admodum utilis foret? aut etiam eos tam alienos ab humanitate fuisse, quod si res inventa fuisset inutilis aut incommoda humano generi, eam voluisse promulgare? Minime.

Præterea, non video quomodo isti novi qui eam videntur contemnere, et nihili facere, sint pares vel gravitate vel judicio vel auctoritate vel doctrinâ iis viris antiquis, qui ei arti studuerunt, atque in hoc ut alios allicerent ad idem studium atque multos socios sibi asciscerent, scholas adificarant, præceptores nutrierent, et ipsi summo studio eidem operam dabant. Quàm enim multæ scholæ in Græciâ constitutæ erant non solum a regibus sed etiam a liberis civitatibus ad eam artem propagandam, ita cognitum unicuique est vestrum ut mihi opus non sit demonstrationis magis amplæ. Inter illos etiam, omnes juvenes qui ullam operam literis dabant studebant mathematicis scientiis, videlicet, Astronomiæ, Geometriæ, et Arithmeticæ, has etiam cum aliis quatuor liberales, videlicet dignas viro libero dicebant. Quare cùm hi viri tanti, tot, tam eruditi, tantâ auctoritate, tantâque gravitate Astronomiam (ut digna est) in magno præcio habuerint, in eâ soleant instruere juventutem, eam nominibus præstantissimis appellare, stultè, ineptè atque temerè faciunt hi quidem, qui Astronomiam nulli rei esse usui affirment.

Si enim nihil aliud inesset in hac arte nisi quod animum tranquillum et pacatum reddat, cupientem omnium rerum cognitionem adhibere, nihil sibi ignotum esse, nil latere, tamen utile non immerito appellari debet, quia implet illam naturalem et bonam cupiditatem mentis aventis omnia cognoscere eoque modo ei satisfacit. Si vero esset ars quæ in omnibus rebus incerta atque varia existeret, tum aliquam causam forte aut saltem aliquem prætextum veritatis habere possent. Sed cùm sit ars omnium certissima et verissima, (quid enim certius quàm cursus stellarum, planetarum, cœlorum, cæterarumque rerum quas Astronomia nobis commendat?) non rectè faciunt qui in eam tantum vituperium conjiciant.

Adhæc, omnes artes quæ gloriam Dei propagant inter homines non temerè appellantur utiles. Hoc enim est summum bonum hominis, ut Deum cognoscat, et cognito adhæreat. Sed Astronomia indicat opera Dei, ex quibus patefit hominibus. "Cœli enim (ut David dicit in suo Psalterio,) enarrant et patefaciunt cœlestem,

invisibilem et immarcessibilem gloriam Dei, atque orbis terræ suam potentiam." Paulus etiam in 1° capite in epistolâ suâ ad Romanos dicit gentes, quanquam perfectè non norant Deum, tamen cognocisse Deum ex suis operibus. Quo magis autem discimus Astronomiam, eo magis admirabilia esse Dei opera comperiemus.

Præterea, cum optimæ Respublicæ magnâ ex parte consistant ex mercatoribus et agricolis, Astronomia non parvam utilitatem in eis beneficio afficiendis Reipublicæ affert. Agricola enim cognoscens tempestates quas verisimile est futuras quietas, aliasque perturbatas, potest opportunè terram seminare, arare, metere, et in horrea adducere, cùm his diebus sæpissimè, per ignorantiam Astronomiæ cæterarumque artium ei similium, tempestate, pluviâ, tonitru, interdum etiam siccitate multæ fruges consumantur et perdantur. Mercator vero sine cognitione stellarum nullo modo navem suam rectâ dirigere neque gubernare potest. Omnes enim illi secundum astrorum motionem suas naves gubernant.

Quare, cùm omnis cognitio sit naturalis, et donum Dei insitum in cordibus humanis, cùm ingenia inventorum et augentium Astronomiam fuerent divina, cum sit ars liberalis, veritatem demonstret, satisfaciat cupiditati mentis aventis omnia cognoscere, cùm denique utilis sit agricolis et mercatoribus, gloriam Dei demonstrans toto orbi, putamus non esse inutilem corpori, animo, et Reipublicæ. Dixi.

# ORATIO XII.

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 4724, fol. 112.]

The following declamation, though imperfect, from a portion of its first leaf having been torn away, is printed because, in conjunction with another paper, it shows how these exercises were carried on. The only declamation in the volume which is not in the King's own handwriting is that at fol. 66, the argument of which is *Non sumus sponte mali.* This heathenish doctrine was evidently supported by one of the King's schoolfellows; whilst he adopted the more orthodox one, *Multos esse sua sponte malos.*

The former declamation is written in a firmer hand than the King's. At the head of the third page, among other scribbling, is the name of his friend *Barnabas*, who may have tried his pen there; but if so, it was after the copy was finished. On the second page is the more remarkable dotting (of which a fac-simile is given), the author of which seems to have been inclined to attribute the worst vices to the duke of Suffolk. This little bit of malice is scarcely deserving of much regard, though a faithful editor could not pass it unnoticed. At any event, there is no reason to conclude that such an ill opinion of the duke was entertained by Edward himself.*

The argument of the King's opponent shall be first given.

## NON SUMUS SPONTE MALI.

Cum communis sit omnium mortalium natura, ut nunquam vacent contagione mali, et perpetuò in maxima vitia incurrant, certè illi mihi videntur in maximo errore versari, qui nos sponte malos esse affirmant. Etenim multæ rationes me docent, et omnino mihi persuadent, peccata omnia minimè esse voluntaria. Quis autem peccat, nisi per ignorantiam? Duplex vero est ignorantia, quemadmodum et ipse Aristoteles, philosophus sagacissimus, scribit. Prima est ea quæ dicitur rei ipsius ignorantia, atque efficit ut, cùm aliquid agamus, ignoremus eventum improbum futurum. Altera et secunda ignorantia est cùm res universas ignoremus, hoc est cùm ea quæ sunt peccata prorsus non esse

* Another explanation suggests itself. Henry Grey, duke of Suffolk, was not created to that dignity until the 10th October, 1551. If this declamation was written before that date (as it may well have been), the reference must be to Henry Brandon his predecessor, whose death did not occur until the 16th of July in the same year. He was a boy, and a fellow-pupil of the King; and it is not impossible that the dotting was made by his own hand, and that this exercise was his. But if not so, and the dotted side-note was intended to have reference to the text, we can only regard it (supposing the composition to be of the earlier date) as a piece of boyish satire perpetrated by one of his school-fellows.

peccata existimemus. Quæcunque vero per ignorantiam delinquimus, quis voluntaria peccata dicenda esse putabit? Nemo certè, nisi rationis expers sit. Cum igitur omnia peccata atque scelera per ignorantiam admittantur, et ea quæ per inscitiam agimus non sint voluntaria, concludamus peccata non esse voluntaria. Præterea, unde mali dicimur? Annon quod actionibus improbis utamur. Ad hæc omnia, facile apparet, nos sponte malos non esse, quod nobis non insit libera voluntas rectè agendi. Quocirca nec peccamus, nec rectè agimus, nostra sponte. Quicquid enim boni honestive agimus, a Deo proficiscitur. Similiter, diabolus in omnia scelera nos detrudit. Preterea Plato philosophorum princeps nos nec sponte beatos esse posse affirmat, nec sponte miseros. Ille vero summam putabat esse miseriam male agere. Ego existimo, hujus gravissimi philosophi authoritate, vos debere frangi, et de vestra sententia depelli. Nam, quod ad philosophiam attinet, quis unquam divinior? quis propius accessit ad Dei cognitionem? quis verius atque sanctius de rebus omnibus judicavit? quis unquam philosophus tot, tanta, tamque pia præcepta tradidit posteritatis memoriæ? Nemo certè quem aut legi aut audivi. Tamen nil æquius puto, quàm ut omnes eatenus de rebus liberè loquantur, quatinus ea quæ dicant ejusmodi sint, ut a ratione prorsus non abhorreant. Sed nunc ista omittamus, et ad rem redeamus. Quis prorsus tam alienus a ratione est, qui sua sponte illas res acturus sit, quæ ipsi postea maximarum miseriarum causæ erunt? Nullum enim est peccatum, nullum maleficium, nullum scelus, quod non sequatur aliquod damnum. Quemadmodum si hominem occidamus, si furtum admittamus, si patriam prodamus, si leges sacrosanctas offendamus (sic enim omnes pias et sanctas leges appellandas puto), vel capite, vel aliquo alio supplicio, pro atrocitate criminis, mulctamur. Sed quæ major miseria esse potest quàm cruciatibus affici? Simul enim pœna et infamia insunt. Quamobrem manifestum est, miserias omnia peccata sequi. Jam ad ea peccata veniamus, quæ legibus non puniuntur, etiamsi puniri deberent. Ista sunt, adulterium, stuprum, ignavia, ingratitudo, pauperum oppressio, largitionum receptio, blasphemia, obtrectatio, invidia, odium, lis, et reliqua ejusmodi. Ista omnia aut offensiones corporum, et plagæ a Deo inustæ talibus viris, aut inopia amicorum, aut mendicitas, aut bonarum amissio sequuntur. Præter ista omnia est quiddam majus, nimirum infamia. Certè, si in nobis esset non peccare, ista omnia nos a peccando deterrerent. Quem enim non moveret, ut propter sua scelera ab omnibus exosus sit? Certè si quis rectè ista contemplatur, facillime intelliget, neminem tam stolidum et insipientem esse, qui voluerit istas tot tantasque miserias voluntate sua subire. Hæ omnes rationes in unum coactæ manifestissimè demonstrant, nos non peccare sponte, sed diaboli impulsu ad scelera admittenda cogi. Necessitas peccandi nobis imponitur Velimus nolimus malefacimus. Etenim cùm Adam pater noster, quasi angelus Dei, fuisset ab omni contagione peccati solutus, ipsius delicto ita infectus est natura nostra, ut in peccato nascamur, et cùm adhuc nihil egerimus peccatores fimus. Quocirca nemo est mortalium, qui non aliquando peccat. Cùm igitur ea sit nostra imbecillitas, ut a peccato abstinere non possimus, num peccata sint voluntaria, vestris

judiciis relinquam, modo æqui judices esse velitis. Quicquid autem ex impulsu et necessitate fit, non est voluntarium. Sed necessitate impulsi peccamus. Itaque peccatum non sponte fit nec voluntarium est. Neque ista dico quo probem quòd peccata non sint punienda, tametsi non sint voluntaria. Sed cum Paulo dico, Bonum quod volo non facio, malum vero quod nolo hoc facio. Hic igitur videtis Paulum electum a Deo, ut nomen suum gentibus predicaret, hominem plenum spiritus sancti, Paulum inquam videtis, sua sponte non peccasse, sed, ut ipse de seipso fatetur, se ad peccandum impulsum, vitio carnis. Ipse enim dicit, se lege mentis servire Deo, sed se affirmat invenire in membris suis aliam legem, huic contradicentem, et rebellantem, quæ se devinctum captivumque tenet, atque reddit obnoxium peccato. Cernitis nunc Paulum invitum ad peccandum rapi. Similiter et cæteri omnes. Objicietis nunc fortasse eum virum bonum et pium fuisse, nec quod ille peccata oderit, propterea consequi omnes odio prosequi peccata. Huic objectioni ita respondeo. Paulus improbis hominibus hac in re præstitit quod quænam peccata essent melius scibat. Sed et homines maximè improbi ea quæ mala quæque peccata judicant, quàm maximè possunt, vitant. Jam ut ad portam tandem veniamus, ea sponte agimus, quæ cùm rationem et mentem consuluerimus, facimus. Hæc vero mens atque ratio pia et sancta est, et nil nisi quod pium est appetit. Cùm vero perturbationibus dimota sit mens mea de sede propria, non ego amplius pecco; sed perturbationes, quæ in me sunt, me in hoc malum intrudunt. Quare non sponte malus jam sum, sed necessitate. Jam igitur, cùm tot rationes, in unum concurrentes, quasi summatim probant nos sponte non esse malos, certè nunquam de mea sententia dimovebor, donec confutatas rationes meas audiero. Jam igitur orationi meæ, qua nimis diu vos detinui, finem imponam. Dixi.

## Multos esse sua sponte malos.

Exordium.

Cum unumquodque animal, præcipuèque homo, qui rationis est particeps, appetat omnium rerum quæ aliquid emolumentum afferunt cognitionem et scientiam, (quod quidem apparet ex omnibus artibus, ut Geometria, Musica, Arithmetica, Dialectica, atque aliis compluribus,) tum maximè desiderat earum rerum, quas scit sibi maximè profuturas, ut membrorum corporis, affectuum animi, et virtutum mentis. Aliis enim externis quanquam animus interdum delectetur, tamen earum rerum cognitio non est ita utilis hominibus, ut propinquiorum, neque ad vitam degendam, neque mores instituendos. Quemadmodum enim omnes boni gubernatores rerumpublicarum magis student et quærunt

quid sit propriæ eorum patriæ utilissimum, quàm quid emolumenta afferat externa, sic unusquisque honestus vir magis appetit rerum cognitionem quæ in se existunt, quàm rerum externarum. Quocirca cum sit hæc quæstio proposita, utrum
Narratio. quis sit sponte malus, quoniam pertinet ad voluntatem in animo consistentem, admodum utilem judico, de qua hoc tempore disseram, et meam sententiam demonstrem. Illa igitur hæc est; multos esse qui sponte, et sua voluntate, mali impiique sint (*the leaf torn away*) virtutes omnes sponte suscipiantur, necesse est nos . . . . . nostrapte sponte. Si autem essent invitæ, tum . . . . . Nil enim ad quod cogimur, . . . . . fit, laude est dignum, a . . . . . quicquam ad quod . . . . . nos neque agimus . . . . . aut infidelis imperator capiens Christianum, eum cogeret sua vi et manu, adorare imagines, aut aliquas creaturas, Christianus non esset in ea re vituperandus, neque redarguendus. Sed si sponte, nullo manus inferente, neque cogente, summo cum supplicio dignum, omnino judico. Sic etiam contingat in tempestatibus. Qui enim sponte bona ejecit de navi, nulla tempestate coactus, insipiens et negligens est habendus; qui autem tempestate obrutus, sapiens est judicandus, eo quod vitam, in qua possit prodesse suæ patriæ, pluris fecerit, quàm divitias, quæ tam cito et affluunt et diffluunt. Sequitur ergo aut vitia non esse vituperiis afficienda, aut sponte fieri. Omnes autem qui aliquam rationem sequuntur, fatentur omnia vitia esse vituperanda, omnesque virtutes esse laude dignas. Videmus ergo eos malos, qui in magnum opprobrium cadunt, sponte malefacere. Præterea quare non dicitis vos qui mihi contrarias tenetis partes, omnes leges, et . . . . . ta constituentia malis supplicia, esse . . . . . crudelia et injusta, quàm bona et saluta[ria] . . . . . enim crudelius dici, aut cogitari . . . . . vitus aliquid committentem, sum- . . . . . are, quid inhumanius, quàm coactum

. . . . . denique injustius, quàm
. . . . . manu, ad malefaciendum nocere. Adhæc si virtutes non fiant sponte nostra, quamobrem aut dux ad fortitudinem milites suos hortaretur, et omnem timorem abjiciendum, aut consul cives ut obtemperent legibus, aut concionatores auditores ut caveant a luxuria, aut rex subditos ut prosint suæ patriæ, nullo modo cernere queo. Si enim in eorum potestate non sit sua sponte benefacere, quare notitiam, et cognitionem, in animo conaris inserere, qui nil bonum efficire potest. Nam nemo conatur ea persuadere, quæ scit nos credere non posse ; neque ad ea hortari, quæ fieri non possunt ; nec denique ea vitare, a quibus nemo abstinere possit, ut a cibo, potione, cæterisque necessariis. Denique cùm bonos coactos ad benefaciendum, malos vero ad malefaciendum, dicatis, quis nos cogat malefacere non satis videre possum. Dicetis fortasse aliquem malum genium, aut diabolum, qui nostros sensus occœcat suis illecebris, et rationem voluptatibus absurdis, quæ ad corpus pertinent. Audite vero quid ille pientissimus propheta, et sanctissimus testis verbi divini, Hoseas dicat : *Perditio tua* (inquit Dominus, alloquens populum Israeliticum qui eum irritavit multis libidinibus, et cultu imaginum,) *ex te est, salus autem a me proficiscitur*. Videmus igitur illa horrenda peccata, quæ Judæi commiserunt, sua sponte, non coactè fecisse. Si vero mala fecerint sua sponte, sequitur non invitos fuisse malos. At dicet quis forte, unumquodque animal simul atque natum sit, quæ sibi utilia sint quærere et investigare, ea vero quæ noceant fugere et vitare. Hoc enim insitum dicet in natura omnium animantium, et præcipuè hominis, ut se suaque defendat. Si ergo cupiat sibi prodesse, quomodo sponte ea facerit, quæ sibi noceant, ut quomodo in ebrietatem, nimiam iram, intemperantiam, cæteraque turpia vitia incidet ? Respondeo equidem neminem omnino cupere ut sibi noceat, neque ad hanc quasi finem spectare, sed sæpe cùm quis putet se sibi ipsi prodesse, revera multum nocere, falsa opinione adductum. Quum enim quis nimium bibat, aut absurdam voluptatem ex eo percipit, putans sibi illum potum fore maximum emolumentum, aut familiari

consuetudine putat se amicos multos parturum, quanquam re vera et corpori noceat et animum loco moveat, et se contemptum orbi terrarum reddat. Cùm ergo satis probaverim multos esse sua sponte malos, et adversariorum rationes confutaverim, nolo vos diutius hac mea inculta oratione (auditores optimi,) detinere, vos rogans quæ dixerim æqui bonique consulere. Dixi.

## ORATIO XIII.

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 4724, fol. 182.]

This Oration is selected as a specimen of the King's composition in Greek, because its subject has something of a political bearing, and it may be presumed to show the current opinions of the time with respect to Mahometans. One of the Latin Orations already given is on the same topic.

The King's Greek is written without accents or aspirates, but he has generally dotted the letter iota. The iota subscriptum is also omitted. Except in contracted characters, the following copy corresponds with his manuscript.

Μων εξειην της θρησκειας ενεκα τινα Τουρκαν αποκτεινειν.

Παντες οι καλοι και αγαθοι ανδρες (ως νομιζω, βελτιστοι ακροαται,) ευχονται και μαλιστα επιθυμουσι, ινα ο αριθμος των Χριστιανων αυξανοιτο, και η των Τουρκων η Μαὁμετιστων ελλαττοιτο ως μαλιστα, ινα πλειους ανθρωποι προς το ευαγγελιον και αυτου γνωσιν ελθωσιν, και πασαι αι αιρεσεις καθ'αυτου ουσαι ολως αναιροντο και εκ των γνωμων των ανθρωπινων ευθυς εξελκοιντο. Τουτο δε ειμη δυσι ταις οδοις παντελως ποιεισθαι δυναται, ων το μεν εστι τω το ευαγγελιον κηρυσσειν, το δε τη ρωμη και δυναμει αυτους νικαν, ινα νικωμενοι αναγκαζοιντο προς το ακουειν, και ακουοντες λαβοιεν αν το ευαγγελιον. Καιπερ δε βελτιστον και χρηστιμοτατον ειναι νομιζω, ει δυνατον αν ειη, αυτους το (*sic*) κηρυσσειν πειθειν προς την πιστιν, ομως οταν πασι αν ειη γνωριμον οτι ουδενα εα ο αυτων βασιλευς κηρυσσειν τον εις τον Χριστον πιστευοντα, και δια τουτο ου δυνονται τω κηρυσσειν προσαγεσθαι προς το ευαγγελιον, τοτε ωφειλειν τον δευτερον τροπον δοκιμαζειν, τουτο εστι την δυναμιν της μαχαιρας εις αυτους ασκειν. Παντες γαρ

συγχωρουσι, οτι εξεστι την εαυτου πατριδα κατα παντων η πιστευοντων η εθνικων επαμυνειν, και αυτους τους Τουρκας αποκτεινειν τους βουλομενους υπο του δικαιου κτητου τα αυτου αναιρειν. Αλλως γαρ κακως εποιησαν οι Χριστιανοι ηγεμονες, πολλακις εν το (*sic*) τα αυτων επαμυνειν πολλας στρατειας των εχθρων νικωντες και φυγαδευοντες. Ει δε εξειην των χρηματων και κτηματων ενεκα τους Τουρκας αποκτεινειν, απερ εστι ματαια και ταχεως απολειπεται, ως εντυγχανει, πανυ μαλλον εμοι φαινεται δειν τουτο πραττειν τῆς θρησκειας αγαπης και πιστεος εις τον Θεον ενεκα, οτι οι αληθεις Χριστιανοι μαλλον αιρωνται αποστερεσθαι παντων των χρηματων και τε αποθνησκειν, η απαξ απαρνεισθαι τον Χριστον η τι συλλαμβανομενον εν τη Νεα Διαθηκη. Μετα ταυτα και αυτοι τουτοι οι απαρνουμένοι της θρησκειας ενεκα εξειναι τον Τουρκαν αποκτεινειν βουλονται ομως, δι' αυτην την αιτιαν η πολλακις ελαττονα, τους Χριστιανους τους μαλλον αγαπητους και φιλους, οι και αδελφοι Χριστου υφ' εαυτου ονομαζονται, αποκτεινειν και τιμορουσθαι, οπερ μαλιστα αδικον εστι. Και γαρ αυτους ους ουκ δει αγαπαν τοσουτον, μαλλον επιθυμουσι εν ζωη ταυτη τερειν (*sic*) η αυτον προς ον δει μαλιστα φιλον ειναι, και τηλικαυτην εχειν αγαπην, ωστε ουδεποτε μεθ' αυτου οργιζεσθαι. Και γαρ ου μονον η κοινη αγαπη οφειλουσα εν ανθρωποις ειναι, αλλα και θρησκεια μια, εις Θεος, μια πιστις, εις βαπτισμος, και εν καλον ποιει τους Χριστιανους εις αλληλους αγαπαν. Εν δε τοις εθνικοις ουκ εστι μια γνωμη, μηδε η αυτη πιστις ην ημεις κατεχομεν, αλλα πανυ διαφερουσα, η μεν πανυ την φιλιαν αναιρειν (*sic*). Ει δε λεγοιειν αν τις, οτι ημεις ου μονον πασης της αγαπης καταλελειμμενης το σωμα αυτων αποκτεινειν αλλα και την ψυχην, αποκρινωμαι ημας ουκ ειναι αιτιαν αυτην και αληθη του τας ψυχας αποκτεινειν, αλλα εαυτους τους ουκ πιστευοντας τω ευαγγελιω οταν αυτοις σημαινεται, διοτι πιθανον εστι οτι ει αυτους εωμεν ζην, ουκ καταλειπωσι την αυτων γνωμην. Μηδε μεν ημεις πολεμον ποιουμεν δια τι μισος η ανελευθεριαν, η του αρχεσθαι ενεκα, αλλα ινα αναγκαζοιμεν αυτους ακουειν τα του Θεου ρηματα (*sic*), και ακουοντες δυννοιντο (*sic*) λαβειν το ευαγγελιον του Θεου. Διοπερ προτον (*sic*) δει τω πειθειν (ει δυνατον αν ειη.) και τω κηρυσσειν την του Θεου βουλην, προσαγεσθαι τους Τουρκας προς το ευαγγελιον, ει δε αδυνατον αν ειη, τοτε δει την δυναμιν της μαχαιρας εις αυτους ασκειν, ινα αναγκασμενοι ακουειν, ραδιοτερον πειθοιντο προς το λαβειν την εις Χριστον πιστιν. Λελεχα.

Τελος.

# EXERCISES

IN THE

# FRENCH LANGUAGE.

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The reader will now pursue the studies of the young King from the dead languages, to that which was already the most prevalent of the modern tongues. His French master, Belmaine, who was evidently a zealous Protestant, chiefly directed his attention to religious subjects; and the result was the composition of at least three manuscript volumes, the posthumous publication of one of which, in a translated form, has entitled King Edward (before the production of the present volume) to a place in the list of Royal Authors.

The three ensuing compilations were all formed by the King after he had succeeded to the throne, and before the death of his uncle the Duke of Somerset, to whom they are all dedicated. The first is not dated, but must belong to 1547, or the beginning of 1548. The second was written in 1548, and the third in 1549.

They are the only compositions of King Edward in French that are known to be extant, excepting the two letters which have been printed in the earlier pages of this volume.

# A COLLECTION

OF

# PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE AGAINST IDOLATRY.

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[MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 7. 31.]

The King's manuscript of this is a paper book of twenty leaves, measuring five and a half inches in height by four in width, and bound in green velvet: now in the Library of Trinity college, Cambridge; where it was deposited among the manuscripts of Sir Henry Pickering, in 1691.

In the introductory portion addressed to the duke of Somerset the King states that he had collected the sentences out of his English bible, and then translated them into French, for his amusement, and improvement in the language. This introduction, with the conclusion, was printed by bishop Burnet, History of the Reformation, fol. 1681, vol. ii. Records, p. 68.

Edward. Sixiesme de ce nom, par la grace de Dieu Roy d'Angleterre, France, et Irlande, Defendeur de la Foy: et en Terre, apres Dieu, Chef Principal de l'Eglise d'Angleterre et Irlande, A son trescher et bien aymé Oncle, Edward Duc de Sommreset, Governeur de sa personne, et Protecteur de ses Roiaumes, Pais, et Subjectz.

Le fervent zele que je vous apperçoy avoir en la réformation de l'ydolatrie, Threscher et bien aymé Oncle, m'a incité comme par manière de passetemps en lisant la Sainte Escriture de noter plusieurs lieux en icelle qui deffendent de n'adorer n'y faire aucunes ymages, non seullement de dieux estranges, mais aussy de ne former chose pensant la faire semblable à la majesté de Dieu le Créateur. Symesbahy, veu que luymesme, et son Saint esprit, par la bouche de ses prophetes, l'a si souvent deffendu, que tant de gens ont osé et osent commettre ydolatrie, en faisant et adorant des ymages: Mais

je croy que c'estoit pourtant qu'ilz n'avoient ou n'entendoient pas ses parolles, Car comme il dit, il ne peut estre veu en choses qui soient matérielles mais veult estre veu par ses œuvres, ne plus ny moins que quand on voit quelque excellente piece d'ouvrage, sans voir l'ouvrier qui l'a faite, on peut ymaginer son excellence: Ainsy regardant et considerant l'excellence du firmament et les choses tant parfaites et merveilleuses qui y sont comprises, nous pouvons ymaginer quel est le Créateur qui les a formées, seullement par sa parolle; et en telle maniere nostre œil spirituel pourra beaucoup mieux voir quelle chose c'est que de Dieu, que nostre œil corporel ne le pourroit voir en chose que creature humaine ait faite et formée. Pourtant, cher oncle, apres avoir noté en ma Bible en Anglois plusieurs sentences qui contredisent a toute ydolatrie, à celle fin de m'apprendre et exercer en l'Escriture Françoise, je me suis amusé à les translater en ladite langue Françoise, puis les ay fait rescrire en ce petif livret, lequel de tresbon cueur je vous offre. Priant Dieu le Créateur de vous donner grace de continuer en vostre labeur spirituel, au salut de vostre ame et à l'honneur et gloire d'iceluy.

S'ensuivent aucunes et nompas toutes les Sentences de la Sainte Escriture qui accordent à ceste qui sensuit,

### Tu n'auras autre Dieu que moy.

Dieu a dit cela, signifiant que nous ne devons adorer quelque autre Dieu que luy: laquelle chose est escrite au livre d'Exode, ou il dit que nostre Dieu est un Dieu jaloux, et veult que nul autre sinon luy seullement soit adoré. Exod. 20. A.

Aussy y a il une sentence au Livre de Sapience, laquelle accorde a cela, car il dit: Ceux sont malheureux, et ont esperance aux mortz, lesquelz invoquent dieux qui sont faitz d'or, ou d'argent, ou choses inventées par art, qui sont ymages de bestes, ou quelque autre vaine chose laquelle a esté faicte par les mains des hommes: Car un charpentier couppe le bois premièrement, et d'une partie d'iceluy il en fait un vaiseau, de l'autre partie il en fait une ymage,

et de la reste il en rostit sa viande : Et quand il a fait ceste ymage cy, adonc il fait un tabernacle, ou estuy pour la mettre, et l'enferme : puis l'attache avec crampons de fer à la muraille, afin que l'ymage ne tumbe, car il est bien congneu que elle ne se pœut ayder, et pourquoy ? pour tant que c'est une chose faicte de bois. Adonc il vient, et offre de ses biens pour ses filz, et sa femme. Il n'a pas honte de parler à une chose morte. Et quand il est malade il prie son dieu et ydole pour sa guérison, et requiert ayde d'une chose qui ne se pœut ayder : et en toute chose qu'il fait il prie à son dieu qu'il luy vueille ayder. Sapi. 13. C. D.

Semblablement au livre qui est appellé Exode Dieu dit, Tu ne te feras ymage gravée, ny semblance d'aucune chose qui soit au ciel, ou en la terre, ou en la mair qui est dessus la terre, tu n'adoreras leurs ymages. Exode, 20. A.

Quiconques offre à autre dieu qu'au Seigneur qu'il meure sans redemption. Exod. 22. C.

Vous n'aurez en vostre mémoire les noms d'autres dieux que moy. Exod. 24. D.

Si vous servéz à autres dieux qu'à moy seullement, vous seréz destruitz. Idem.

Pareillement au trente et deuxiesme chapitre dudit livre, il dit que Dieu fut courroucé à cause que le peuple adoroit autres dieux que le Seigneur seullement, et que pourtant Moseh rompit les tables à cause que le peuple adoroit autres dieux que le vray Dieu.

Semblablement Dieu dit au trente et quatriesme chapitre, Tu n'auras nulz dieu de metal ny nulz dieux estranges.

Moseh aussy dit, Maudit soit celuy qui fait pour soy mesme aucune ymage, et tout le peuple dira, Amen. Deuteronome, 27. C.

Vous n'aurez nulles ymages et ne ferez dieux de metal, pour tant que je suis vostre Seigneur. Leviti. 19. A. B.

Dieu a aussy dit, Qui est semblable à moy entre les dieux des Gentilz ? Qui est si glorieux ? ou qui est celuy quy monstre si grans miracles entre les dieux ? Exod. 18. C.

Prenez garde à vousmesmes pourtant que vous ne veistes nulle ymage au jour que le Seigneur parloit à vous en Horeb, hors du feu, afin que vous ne vous abusiéz et faciéz ymages à la semblance de quelque chose, car le Seigneur l'a deffendu. Si vous engendrez des enfans, et demouréz long temps en un pais, prenez garde à vousmesmes, afin que vous n'adoriéz ymages faictes à la semblance de quelque chose qui soit sur la terre, afin que vous ne courrouciéz le Seigneur. Deute. 4. C.

Je suis le Seigneur vostre Dieu. Vous ne vous feréz aucune ymage gravée, ny dresseréz aucune coulonne ny ymage en vostre terre, à intention de l'adorer, pourtant que je suis vostre Seigneur vostre Dieu, et que je vous l'ay deffendu. Leviti. 26. A.

Dieu est un Dieu jaloux, et a deffendu que vous ne suiviéz autres dieux que luy. Josue, 24. E.

Quand autres nations feront voz filz adorer dieux estranges, adoncq je seray courroucé encontre vous, et vous seréz déstruitz. Vous ne serviréz à leurs dieux, pourtant que le Seigneur l'a deffendu. Vous, Enfans d'Israel, quand vous bruleréz les ymages des Gentilz vous ne desireréz l'or ou argent qui est dessus leurs ydoles : car c'est abhomination devant la face de Seigneur : Et pourtant n'apportez confusion en vostre maison, acellefin que ne soiez condemnez ; mais détestez telle abhomination, pourtant que c'est une chose qui doit estre destruite. Deutero. 7. C. D.

Quand vous conquestez quelque nation estrange, mettez bas leurs ydoles, et couppéz les testes à leurs dieux. Deuterono. 12. B.

S'il y a un faux prophete entre vous qui vous commande d'adorer autres dieux que moy seullement, ne tenéz compte de ses parolles. Deute. 13. A.

S'il y a entre vous quelque homme qui face abhomination devant la face du Seigneur, et serve à autres dieux qu'à luy seul, soit au soleil, ou à la lune, ou à quelque autre chose qui soit au ciel, ou en la terre, si vous sçavez qu'il soit vray que l'homme ait fait telle abhomination envers le Seigneur, vous le lapideréz. Deutorono. 17. A. B.

Ilz ont provoqué Dieu à corroux, et ont servy à autres dieux qu'à l'Eternel. Ou sont voz dieux, et rochers, aus quelz vous aviez espoir. Deute. 32. c.

Soyez fermes, et vous fiez en toutes les choses qui sont escrites au livre de Mosch, afin que vous n'adoriéz point d'ymages et que vous ne juriéz par leurs noms et ne serviéz à icelles. Josue, 23. B.

Semblablement Josue dit au livre des Juges que les enfans d'Israel servirent à autres dieux qu'au Seigneur, comme à Baal et à Astaroth, et qu'alors le Seigneur fut courroucé, et les livra entre les mains de leurs ennemis. Juges, 3. B. C. D.

Josue dit en une autre place dudit livre des Juges, que quand les enfans d'Israel vindrent entre autres nations, ilz se mariérent aux femmes d'icelle nation par ou ilz passerent, et servoient à leurs dieux, et que pourtant le Seigneur fut courroucé. Juges, 3. B.

Pareillement il dit au 6 chapitre dudit livre des Juges, que les enfans d'Israel faisoient choses abhominables devant le Seigneur, et servoient dieux des Gentilz, et que pourtant le Seigneur estant courroucé les delivra entre les mains des Madianites, et aussy que le Seigneur commanda de déstruire l'autel de Baal, et faire sacrifice au Dieu seul.

Semblablement Josue dit que Dieu disoit une terrible sentence aux enfans d'Israel, quand ilz le prierent que par sa bonte il leur vousist pardonner, pourtant qu'ilz avoient servy à autres dieux qu'à luy, car il dit qu'il ne leur vouloit pas pardonner, mais qu'il vouloit voir si leurs dieux leur povoient aider, et delivrer de la main de leurs ennemis. Juges, 10. B. C. D.

Aussy vous povéz voir, et ouyr, comme on dit mal de la mere de Micab, pourtant qu'elle avoit fait une ymage. Juges, 17. B.

Pareillement Hanna dit au premier livre des Roys, qu'il n'est nul si sainct comme est le Seigneur, et qu'il n'est Seigneur sinon luy seullement. 1 Rois, 2. A.

Samuel dit que quand les Philistins avoient l'arche du Seigneur,

ilz la mirent devant Dagon leur dieu, et qu'il fut trouvé prosterné devant l'arche du Seigneur. 1 Roys, 8. A.

Aussy Dieu dit au livre de Samuel, Ainsy comme ilz m'ont delaisse, et ont servy à autres dieux qu'à moy, ainsy maintenant font ilz à toy. 1 Rois, 8. B.

Pareillement David dit, Qui est Dieu, sinon le Seigneur, ou qui est tout puissant, sinon nostre Dieu? Dieu est ma deffence en adversité: Il me deffend encontre tous mes ennemis. 2 Rois, 22. C.

Semblablement Dieu dit à Salomon, Si vous et voz filz vous vous destournéz de moy, ou adoréz autres dieux, adoncq je destruiray vous, voz filz, et voz filles, et Israel servira de proverbe et mocquerie à toutes nations. 3 Rois, 9. B.

Il est aussy escrit audit troisiesme livre des Rois que Salomon irrita Dieu acause de ses ydoles, Astaroth et Misco. 3 Rois, 11. B.

Pareillement il appert que quand Jeroboam faisoit sacrifice au veau d'or, le Prophete le reprint. 3 Rois, 12. 13. G. A.

Semblablement, il appert que quand les prophetes de Baal appelloient leur dieu, il ne leur respondit point: mais quand Eliah appelloit le Seigneur, il luy respondit, et luy donnoit cela qu'il desiroit. 3 Rois, 18. C. D.

Aussy Eliah disoit au roy Ohozia, que pourtant qu'il cherchoit ayde à autres dieux qu'au Seigneur, qu'il le vouloit déstruire. 4 Rois, 1. D.

Voicy comme ceux qui n'adorent pas les ymages, sont apres leur mort d'éternelle mémoire, comme Ezechias et Josias furent et sont. 4 Rois, 18. 23. A. C.

Aussy David dit au prémier livre de Paralipomenon, Tous les dieux d'estranges nations sont ydoles, mais le Seigneur Dieu tout puissant a fait ciel et terre. 1 Paralipomé. 16. C.

Il est aussy escrit au second livre dessusdit que le Seigneur fut courroucé aux enfans d'Israel pourtant qu'ilz servoient aux ymages. 2 Paralipomenon, 24. E.

Aussy Esdras dit à Dieu, O Seigneur, jaçoit ce que nos ayons fait abhomination devant toy, et ayons servy à autres dieux qu'à toy, je te pry nous pardonner. Esdras, 9. c.

Pareillement David dit en la personne du Seigneur, Tu n'auras et n'adoreras dieux estranges, pourtant que je suis le Seigneur ton Dieu. Psalm, 81. B.

Aussy David dit encor, Entre tous les dieux, il n'y en a pas un semblable à toy, ny qui puisse estre accomparé à toy. Psalm 86. B. 89. B.

Semblablement au cent et sixiesme Pseaume, il reprouve les Juifz, pourtant qu'ilz feirent un veau d'or.

Aussy Isaie dit que quand les Israelites estoient fort peuplez, adonc ilz feirent des simulachres, et ymages qui desplaisoint à Dieu. Isaie, 2. B.

Dieu dit, A qui me vouléz vous faire semblable? Fera l'ymager une ymage, et puis dira il quelle est semblable à moy? Isaie, 40. E.

Voz dieux sont meschans et vous mesmes avéz fait abhomination devant la face du Seigneur. Isaie, 41. F.

Et pourtant que ceux se convertissent qui ont mis leur espérance aux ymages. Isaie, 42. C.

Je suis le premier, et le dernier: pourquoy donc faites vous des ymages? Isaie, 44. A. B. C. D.

Apres cecy il déclare comme le charpentier fait une ymage et puis l'adore. Aussy au mesme livre il dit, Qui est Dieu sinon moy? Isaie, 48. C.

A qui vouléz vous faire resembler Dieu? Vouléz vous dire qu'il est semblable à quelque ymage laquelle est faite par les mains des hommes, et est portée sur leurs espaules? Isaie, 4. 6. A. B. C. D.

Lequel de voz dieux pœut dire les choses lesquelles le Seigneur fera par le roy de Babilone? Isaie, 48. C.

Quand vous vous declariéz à autre Dieu qu'à moy, et adoriéz les ydoles, adonc vous tumbiéz en une fosse. Isaie, 87. B.

Je ne seray pas courroucé encontre vous si vouléz recongnoistre

que vous avéz fait blaspheme devant Dieu, et avéz servy à Baalim. Jeremie, 3. B.

Si vous ne vouléz servir aux dieux estranges, je seray en ceste terre. Jeremie, 7. B.

Vous donnéz sacrifices aux dieux estranges, mais vous ne me nuiséz en rien, car vous nuiséz à vous mesmes. Jerem. au mesme.

Pourquoy m'avéz vous courroucé à cause de voz ymages et ydoles? Jerem. 8. C.

Les dieux des Gentilz sont faitz d'or et d'argent, et nul d'eux n'a faict ciel ny terre, car ilz pourriront en icelle. Jeremie, 10. B.

Pourtant que vous avéz servy aux dieux estranges, vous seréz comme ceste ceinture qui n'est prouffitable à rien. Jerem. 13. B.

Pourtant que voz peres m'ont delaissé, et ont adoré autres ymages, et servy à autres dieux qu'à moy, vous souffréz le mal que vous avéz, et serviréz à estranges nations. Jeremie, 16. C. D.

Ilz ont contaminé mon nom par leur ydolatrie: car leurs ydoles sont vaines. Aumesme.

Aussy David dit, Confonduz soient ceux qui mettent leur esperance aux ymages. Psalm 97. A.

Puis Dieu dit encor au livre de Jeremie, Je les puniray pourtant qu'ilz m'ont delaissé, et ont contaminé ce lieu par leur ydolatrie, pourtant qu'ilz ont adoré dieux estranges. Jerem. 19. A.

Ilz ne serviront plus aux dieux estranges, mais ilz serviront à leur roy David, lequel je mettray entre eux. Jeremie, 30. B.

Vous avéz veu toutes les miseres que je vous ay envoyées, acause que vous avéz adoré les ydoles. Jeremie, 44. A.

Semblablement Dieu dit au livre d'Ezéchiel qu'il veult destruire les autelz des enfans d'Israel, et qu'il mettra les charongnes d'iceux devant leurs ymages en leurs mesmes temples. Puis il dit encor au mesme chapitre, Voz charongnes seront mises devant voz ydoles, afin que vous puissiéz congnoistre que je suis vostre Dieu, et nul autre.

Je vous créveray les yeux, vous qui avéz commis fornication avec les ydoles. Ezéchiel, 6. A. B. C.

Repentéz vous et delaisséz voz ydoles. Ezéch. 14. B.

Si tu es bon, tu ne leveras tes yeux envers les ydoles. Ezéch. 18. B.

Gardéz mes loix et ordonnances, et santifiéz mes jours de festes, pourtant que c'est un signe entre vous et moy, afin que vous congnoissiéz que je suis le Seigneur vostre Dieu, et qu'il n'est nul autre Dieu que moy seullement. Ezéchiel, 20. C.

Ilz ont contaminé mon nom avec leurs ydoles, et abhominations qu'ilz ont commises. Ezéchiel, 43. B. C.

Aussy Nabuchodonosor disoit, Le Dieu de Daniel est par dessus tous les autres seigneurs. Daniel, 2. G.

Pareillement Nabuchodonosor disoit à Sidrac, Misaac, et Abdenago, Ne vouléz vous pas adorer ceste ymage que j'ay faicte? et ilz respondirent, Nous ne ferons pas ainsy, pourtant que nostre Dieu nous pœut sauver du feu : mais encor qu'il ne le face, nous voulons que vous sachéz que nous n'adorerons voz dieux lesquelz vous avéz faitz, et le charpentier a tailléz. Daniel, 3. B.

Aussy, au livre d'Osée le Prophete, Dieu dit que de leur argent ilz ont fait des ymages à celle fin de destruire euxmesmes. Osée, 8. A.

Le Seigneur rompra les ydoles d'Israel et destruira les autelz : et alors ilz diront, Pourtant que nous n'avons pas craint le Seigneur, nous n'avons point de Roy. Osée, 10. A.

Il y a autres places en la sainte escriture, tant Apocriphes qu'autres, desquelles je ne fais nulle mention pour le present, qui toutes fois sont correspondentes à celle dont est faite mention par cy devant : Mais pourtant que quasi tous les Prophetes, et autres Saintz desquelz la sainte escriture parle, deffendent de ne commettre ydolatrie, je desire et exhorte toute la congrégation des Chrestiens qu'un chacun d'eux vueille delaisser cest abhominable vice.

# A COLLECTION

OF

# PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE UPON FAITH.

[MS. Addit. Brit. Mus. 9000.]

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This collection is contained in a small volume of 35 leaves, measuring $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 4, bound in green velvet, with silver clasps and mountings, and gilt edges. It formerly belonged to the library of the Duke of Roxburghe, and was purchased for the British Museum at Evans's Auction-room, in April, 1832.

The compilation resembles the preceding, and it is introduced in like manner by a preface addressed to the Duke of Somerset. The King tells his uncle that he had formed this collection of texts in his English Bible, had then translated them into French, and now caused them to be written out for his uncle's perusal. The introduction is written in a different hand to the rest of the book, and is no doubt from the King's own pen, in his best calligraphy. In the MS. Addit. 5464 (described under the next article) are now placed two leaves of this same introduction, also in the King's writing, and accompanied by pattern or trial alphabets, both of the capital and small letters.

EDOVARD Sixiesme de ce nom par la grace de Dieu Roy d'Angleterre, France, et Irlande, Defendeur de la foy, et en terre apres Dieu Chef de l'Eglise d'Angleterre et Irlande, A son trescher et bien aymé Oncle Edouard Duc de Sommerset, Gouverneur de sa personne, et Protecteur de ses Royaumes pais et subjectz.

Considerant (Trescher et bien aymé Oncle) la vanité du monde, la mutabilité du temps, et le changement de toutes choses mondaines : comme de richesses, biens, honneurs, jeux, et plaisirs ; considerant aussy que telles semblables sont les ornements ou serviteurs de la

vie briefue, laquelle est ostée par un petit moment de temps, je voiois que nulle chose n'est si bonne ou excellente que congnoissance, principalement de l'escriture, et parolle de Dieu : car, comme Paul dit a Timothée, L'escriture est assez pour nostre salvacion et justifi- 2 Timo. 3. D.
cacion : pource qu'en elle est contenue la somme de nostre foy, de nostre loy, et de nostre espérance, par la conjonction desquelles nous serons sauvéz : car si nous croions en Dieu, comme l'escriture dit, nous n'aurons point de honte : pource que la foy en Jesu Christ est Rom. 5. A.
la source de bonté, la fin de la loy, le but de vie, et l'arc des Chrestiens.

Pourtant quand je considerois que non seulement il y avait beaucoup de doutes sur la justificacion (pource qu'aucuns disent que les œuvres de la loy justifient, et nompas la foy), mais aussy voiant que l'escriture doit par droit juger de toutes doutes touchant la religion Chrestienne, à cause que c'est la foundacion d'ycelle, et comme la pierre de touche a chascunne doute, je me suis amusé d'assembler aucunes places de l'escriture, touchant la foy, lesquelles demonstrent au large que foy remedie a toutes maladies, justifie, ayme paix et tranquillité, et engendre guerre, comme dit l'escriture, *Je ne suis pas envoié pour mettre paix au monde, mais le glaive :* car Math. 10. D.
le glaive et inimitie est la ou l'escriture est premierement demonstrée, pourtant quelle a tant d'ennemis, et qu'il y a tant de gens embrouilléz de superstitions qu'ilz ne veulent sans le glaive consentir à la parolle de Dieu. Or, non seulement pour ceste cause, mais aussy pour d'autres semblables, J'ay voulu prendre le seur baston de l'escriture et avoir les armures de la foy, afin qu'avec mes armures je me puisse defendre, et de mon baston battre les ennemis de Dieu, en dechassant toutes les superstitions diaboliques, ou papistiques. Donques, cher Oncle, ayant fait ce recueil en ma bible en Anglais, et l'ayant traduit en François afin de m'y exercer, je l'ay fait réscrire aynsy que vous le voiez, lequel de bien bon cueur vous presente, pource que J'apperçoy qu'estes du nombre des fideles, desquelz l'escriture parle en tant de lieux, ce qui est veu par voz œuvres en restorant

la vraye religion Chrestienne, la ou paravant tout y alloit par escuelles : Suppliant yceluy, sur lequel est le seul appuy de nostre foy, vous donner grace de tellement perseverer et prosperer en vostre vocacion, que tout autre empire ou royaume puisse prendre example a cestuy.

De mon palais de Ouestmester, lez Londres,
ce deuxiesme de Decembre, 1548.

Sensuit un Recueil des principales places de la sainte Escriture, qui traitent de foy en Dieu nostre pere, et createur. Traduites d'Angloys en Francoys.

Dieu esprouva Abraham, et l'appella par son nom, et il respondit, Seigneur, me voicy. Lors le Seigneur luy dit ; Pren ton filz unique Isaac lequel tu aimes tant, et t'en va en Moria, et le sacrifie la dessus une des montaignes laquelle je te monstreray. Adonc Abraham se leva au matin, mit le bast sur son asne, puis print deux de sa mesgnie avec soy, et Isaac son filz, et fendit du bois pour un sacrifice, puis s'en alla ou Dieu luy avoit commandé. Lors le troisiesme jour Abraham leva ses yeux, et veit de loing le lieu. Adonc il dit a ses serviteurs, Demeurez icy avec l'asne, car moy et mon filz voulons aller a ce lieu la : et quand nous aurons sacrifié, nous reviendrons à vous. Lors Abraham print le bois qui estoit preparé pour le sacrifice, et le mit dessus son filz Isaac ; puis print du feu en sa main, et ilz s'en allerent ensemble ; et Isaac appella son pere, et Abraham luy respondit, et dit, Me voicy, mon filz. Et Isaac luy dit, Voila du feu et du bois, mais nous n'avons nulle brebis pour sacrifier : et Abraham luy dit, Mon filz, Dieu nous prouvoira assez de brebis pour faire sacrifice. Et ilz s'en allerent ensemble : puis quand ilz vindrent en la place que Dieu avoit monstrée a Abraham, il feit un autel et apresta le bois, puis lia son filz Isaac, et le mit dessus l'autel, et dessus le bois : et apres estendit sa main, et print le glaive pour tuer son filz. Adonc l'Ange du Seigneur l'appella du ciel, disant, Abraham, Abraham, et il respondit, Me voicy ; lors l'Ange

luy dit, Ne metz pas ta main dessus ton filz, car maintenant je congnois que tu crains Dieu, pource que tu as voulu offrir ton filz unique. Lors Abraham leva ses yeux, et vit un belier prins par les cornes en un taillis, et le print, puis l'offrit en sacrifice. Genesis, 22. A.

Adonc la parolle du Seigneur vint a Moseh, disant, Le filz de Eleazar ne sera pas ton heritier, mais un qui sortira de ton corps. Et l'Ange le mena dehors l'huis, disant, Voy le ciel, et nombre les estoilles si tu pœux : ainsi sera ta semence. Et Abraham le creut, et cela luy fut imputé à justice. Gen. 15. B.

Les Levites et filz des Cathathites et Coarites donnoient louange à Dieu, et se leverent au matin, et allerent au desert de Thékua. Et quand ilz furent dehors, Josaphat leur dit, Croyéz en Dieu vostre pere et seigneur, et croyéz a ses prophetes, et vous prospererez. 2 Paralipomenon, 20. E.

Quiconques ne veult croire, son ame perira, et sera destruite, car le juste vit de foy. Abakuc, 2. A.

Quand Jesus vint a Capernaum un centenier luy dit, Mon serviteur gist paralitique en ma maison, et seuffre grand peine ; et Jesus respondit, Je viendray le guérir ; mais le centenier respondit, Sire, je ne suis pas digne que tu viennes en ma maison, mais dy seullement le mot, et il sera guéry : car je suis subject a l'auctorité d'un autre, et ay charge de soudars, et je dy a l'un, Allez, et il va, et a l'autre, Venez, et il vient. Lors Jesus, en se tournant, dit, Je ne trouvay jamais tant de foy en Israel, que j'ay fait en cest homme cy : adonc il dit à l'homme, Va t'en, qu'il te soit fait ainsi que tu as creu ; et son serviteur fut guéry à l'heure mesme. Mathieu, 8. B.

Et quand Jesus fut entré en la navire il vint en sa cité, ou ilz luy apporterent un paralitique gisant en son lict, et quand Jesus veit leur foy, il dit a l'homme qui estoit malade, Mon filz, fais bonne chere, tes fautes te son pardonnées. Aussy une femme qui avoit esté douze ans malade d'un flux de sang, venoit apres luy, disant, Si je puis toucher une partie de son vestment, je seray guérie. Et Jesus se retourna, et voyant la femme, luy dit, Ta foy t'a

sauvée, et elle fut guérie a l'heure mesme qu'il parloit. Et quand Jesus s'en fut party de la deux aveugles le suivoient, disans, O filz de David, monstre nous ta pitie : et quand il fut venu les aveugles vindrent a luy, et il leur dit, Croiéz vous que je le puis faire ? et ilz luy respondirent, Ouy, sire, nous croions que tu es le filz de Dieu : adonc il toucha leurs yeux, et dit, Qu'il vous soit faict ainsi que vous croyéz ; et leurs yeux furent ouvers. Math. 9. A. C. D.

Une femme Cananée vint es parties de Tyr et Sidon, et crioit apres Jesus, disant, O filz de David, ma fille est tourmentée du diable ; et il ne respondoit pas un mot : adonc ses disciples vindrent à luy, disans, Laissez l'aller, car elle crie apres nous ; et il respondit, Je ne suis pas envoyé sinon aux brebis perdues de la maison d'Israel; mais elle l'adoroit, disant, Seigneur, aide moy : et Jesus luy dit, Il n'est pas bon d'oster le pain des enfans, et le donner aux chiens ; et elle respondit, Seigneur, il est vray, mais aussy les chiens mangent des miettes qui cheent de la table de leur seigneur. Et Jesus respondit, Votre foy est grande, qu'il vous soit fait ainsi que vous croyéz ; et elle fut guérie à l'heure mesme. Math. 15. C.

Et quand Jesus vint devant le peuple, un homme, l'adorant, luy disoit ; Sire, monstre ta pitie a mon filz, car il est lunatique, et est grandement troublé : car aucunesfois il se jette au feu, aucunesfois en l'eau, et je l'ay amené a tes disciples, mais ilz ne l'ont peu guérir. Lors Jesus dit, O génération incredule et mauvaise, combien de temps seray-je avec vous, et combien de temps souffreray-je ce peuple cy ? Et Jesus dit, Amenez le moy : puis Jesus reprint le diable, et il s'en alla. Adonc ses disciples luy demanderent pourquoy ilz ne povoient guérir l'homme ; et il leur dit, A cause de vostre incrédulité : car si vostre foy estoit aussy grande qu'un grain de senevé, rien ne vous seroit impossible, et vous pourriez mouvoir les montaignes par foy. Math. 17. D.

Jesus entra en Capernaum, et fut dit par tout qu'il estoit en la ville, et tout le peuple ensemble venoit à luy, tant qu'il n'y avoit lieu pour eux, nompas tant qu'alentour de l'huis : et il preschoit la

parolle de Dieu, et l'evangile. Lors quatre hommes apporterent un paralitique, gisant en son lict, et pourtant que la multitude ne souffroit qu'ilz entrassent au lieu ou Jesus estoit, ilz descouvrirent le toict de la maison, et avalerent embas l'homme qui estoit malade au lict; et quand Jesus vit leur foy, il dit au paralitique, Tes pechez te sont pardonnéz. Marc, 2. A.

Il y avoit une femme malade d'un flux de sang, laquelle toucha une partie de son vestement, et par le toucher fut guérie de sa malade. Et Jesus sentoit la vertu que sortoit de luy, et en se tournant dit, Qui a touché mon vestement? et ses disciples respondirent, Ne voyéz vous pas le peuple comme il vous presse, et vous demandez qui a touché voz vestemens? Lors Jesus regarda a l'entour de soy, et la femme trembloit, et vint à Jesus, et luy dit tout ce qu'elle avoit fait, et il luy dit, Fille, ta foy t'a sauvée, va en paix, et soys guérie de ta maladie. Marc, 5. C.

Quand Jesus vint en Jericho, avec ses disciples et grand nombre de peuple, Barthimeus, filz de Timeus, lequel estoit aveugle, se seoit au grand chemin, et oyant que Jesus de Nazareth passoit par la, il commença à crier et dire, Jesus filz de David, ayéz pitie de moy; et plusieurs le reprenoient, disans, Tais toy; mais tant plus il crioit, Filz de David, ayéz pitie de moy. Et Jesus commanda qu'on l'appellast, et ilz appellerent l'aveugle, luy disans, Fais bonne chere, il l'appelle; et il dejetta son manteau, et s'en vint à Jesus: et Jesus luy dit, Que veux tu? et l'aveugle respondit, que je puisse voir; lors Jesus luy dit, Va t'en, ta foy t'a guéry, et il voioit. Marc, 10. G.

Quiconque dira à ceste montaigne, Oste toy d'icy, et te jette en la mair, et croira que toutes ces choses aviendront, ce qu'il desirera sera accomply: pourtant toute chose que vous desirez quand vous priéz, croyéz, et il vous sera fait. Marc, 11. C.

Quand Jesus vint en Capernaum, un centenier (duquel le serviteur estoit malade, et quasi mort,) oyoit dire que Jesus estoit venu, et il envoyoit vers luy les anciens des Juifz, le priant qu'il vousist visiter son serviteur: et ilz desiroient Jesus, disans, Il est homme

digne pour lequel tu faces quelque chose, car il ayme nostre nation, et nous a édifié une sinagogue. Lors Jesus s'en alla avec eux ; et quand il fut aupres de la maison, le centenier envoya ses amys a Christ, disans, Seigneur, ne te travaille pas, car je ne suis pas digne que tu viennes en ma maison, mais dy seulement le mot, il sera guéry : car je suis soubz la puissance d'autruy, et ay charge de gensdarmes, et ilz font cela que je leur commande : et Jesus s'esmerveilloit, et disoit au peuple, Certes je n'ay pas trouvé tant de foy en Israel ; lors ceux qui furent envoyéz retournérent, et l'homme fut guéry. Luc, 7. A.

Un homme vint à Jesus et luy dit, Voicy mon filz unique, et voiéz comme le diable le prent, et il crie jusques a ce qu'il escume, et avec grand peine s'en va hors de luy ; aussy j'ay prie tes disciples de la guérir, mais ilz ne povoient jetter hors le diable. Et Jesus respondit, O géneration incrédule et mauvaise, combien de temps seray-je avec vous, ou combien de temps vous laisseray-je faire ainsi, et ne croiréz point ? amenéz le moy ; et cependant le diable le deschiroit. Lors Jesus reprint l'esprit, et guerit l'enfant ; puis le rendit à son pere, et tout le peuple s'esmerveilla du povoir de Dieu. Luc, 9. E.

Quand Jesus vint en une ville, dix ladres le rencontrerent, lesquelz se tindrent loing de luy, disans, Jesus, Rabbi, ayéz pitie de nous ; et quand il les veit, il leur dit, Allez vous en, et vous monstrez aux prestres ; et cependant ilz furent guéris. Lors l'un des dix voiant qu'il estoit guéry, s'en revint, et en criant louoit Dieu, qui l'avoit guéry ; puis il tomba dessus sa face devant ses piedz, le merciant de tresbon cueur ; et iceluy estoit Samaritain. Adonc Jesus demanda ou estoient les autres neuf, sont ilz pas guéris, et il n'y en a pas un qui soit retourné, et ait adoré Dieu, sinon ce Samaritain cy, qui est estranger ? auquel il dit, Leve toy, ta foy t'a sauvé, et ta foy aussy t'a guéry. Luc, 17. C. D.

Il advint que Jesus entroit en Jericho, et un aveugle se seoit en la voye, belistrant, et quand il ouyt le peuple passant par la, il

demanda que c'estoit, et on luy dit que c'estoit Jesus qui passoit par la : adonc il crioit et disoit, Filz de David, ayéz pitie de moy ; mais ceux qui alloient devant le tençoient, et luy commandoient qu'il se teust : mais il crioit de plus en plus, O Jesus, filz de David, ayéz pitie de moy ; lors Jesus se tint coy, et commanda que l'homme fust amené, et quand il s'approcha pres de luy, Jesus luy dit, Quelle chose veux tu que je te face ? et l'aveugle respondit, Que je puisse voir ; et Jesus respondit, Reçoy ta veue, ta foy t'a sauvé. Luc, 18. G.

Comme Moseh esleva le serpent d'airain, ainsi le filz de l'homme doit estre eslevé en la croix. Quiconques met sa fiance et esperance en luy ne sera destruit, mais aura vie eternelle : car Dieu a envoyé son filz, nompas pour condemner le monde, mais pour le sauver par luy, comme par un moyen, car tout chacun qui croit en luy ne sera condemné, ny ne voirra les peines d'enfer embas ; mais tout chacun que ne croit pas en luy, sera condemné, pourtant qu'il ne croit pas au nom de seul filz de Dieu. Jan, 3. B.

Pierre disoit, Le Dieu d'Abraham, Isaac, et Jacob, le Dieu de noz peres, a resuscité son filz, lequel vous avez livré à mort, et lequel avez dénié en la presence de Pilate quand il l'avoit jugé d'estre deslié ; ainsi vous avez jugé le saint et le juste, et avez desiré un murdrier affin qu'il fust delivré, et avez mis à mort le Seigneur de vie, lequel Dieu a resuscité de mort, de laquelle chose nous sommes tesmoins, et par la foy de son nom avons guéry cest homme cy, lequel vous congnoissez bien, et voyez maintenant present ; et la foy qui est in luy, par Jesus Christ, luy a donné santé en la présence de plusieurs. Actes, 3. C.

Alors l'esprit dit a Philippe, Va et t'approche du chariot lequel tu voys : et il s'y en courut, et ouït un chamberlan d'Ethiopie lire un texte d'Isaie le prophete, et luy demanda s'il l'entendoit, ou non : lors le chamberlan respondit, Comment pourroy-je entendre le texte, quand je n'ay personne qui m'y guide ? et il pria Philippe de s'approcher, et se mettre aupres de luy. Le texte qu'il lisoit estoit tel : Il fut mené comme une brebis pour estre tuée, et comme un

agneau muet devant son tondeur: aussi n'ouvroit il pas sa bouche pour parler: et par son humilité il n'estoit pas estimé. Qui declarera sa generation? car sa vie est ostée de la terre. Et le chamberlan luy dit, Je te pry me dire, de qui parloit le prophete cela, de soymesme ou d'un autre? Adonc Philip commença a prescher Jesus Christ; et il y avoit une rivière au chemin: lors le chamberlan dit à Philippe, Voicy de l'eau, que je soys baptisé? et Philippe luy demanda s'il croioit; et il respondit qui ouy; et eux deux ensemble s'en allerent en l'eau, et le chamberlan fut baptisé. Actes, 8. F.

Apres que Paul eut presché en ceste cité la qui est nommée Derba, il s'en retourna à Iconium, Listra et Antioche, et corroboroit les ames des disciples, les provoquant de perseverer en la foy de Jesus Christ le filz de Dieu, affermant et disant que sans tribulacion nous ne pouvons obtenir le royaume de Dieu. Actes, 14. D.

Environ minuit Paul et Silas prioient, et donnoient louange à Dieu: et quand les prisonniers les ouyrent, subitement un grand tremblement de terre suivit, tellement que toute la foundacion de la prison trembloit, et les huis de la prison furent ouvers, et les liens de chacun furent desliéz: et quand le geollier veit les huis ouvrés, il se vouloit tuer: mais Paul luy dit, Ne te fais nul mal, car nous sommes icy tous. Adonc il entra, et amena les prisonniers dehors, disant, Comment seray-je sauvé? et Paul luy dit, Si tu crois, tu seras sauvé et toute ta famille. Actes, 16. F.

Sans doute la justice laquelle est parfaite devant Dieu, vient par foy en Jesus Christ, pour tous ceux qui mettent leur fiance et esperance en luy. Il n'y a nulle difference, car tous sont pecheurs, et n'avons rien de nousmesmes qui soit acceptable à Dieu: mais sommes justifiéz par grace, franchement, et gratis, par la redemption de l'humain lignage, laquelle est en Jesus Christ, lequel Dieu a fait comme un siege de mercy en son sang precieux par foy, affin qu'il monstrast la justice de la foy, en ce qu'il nous pardonne les pechez passéz, laquelle justice Dieu a monstré à tous, acellefin

qu'il soit estimé juste, et justifier ceux qui croyent en luy. Rom. 3. c.

Pourtant nous pensons qu'un homme est justifié par foy sans œuvres de la Loy. Est il le Dieu des seulz Juifz, n'est il pas aussy le Dieu des Gentilz? Ouy, et aussy des Gentilz: car il est seul Dieu le quel justifie circoncision, laquelle est de foy, ou incirconcision aussy par foy. Adonc déstruisons-nous la Loy, par foy? ia Dieu ne plaise; mais nous, par foy en Jesus Christ, maintenons le Loy. Au mesme.

Mais quelle chose dit l'Escriture, Abraham croioit en Dieu, et cela luy fut imputé à justice. Le salaire est deu à celuy qui œuvre, nompas de grace, mais de chose deue. A celuy qui n'œuvre point, mais croit au justifieur des mauvais, sa foy est estimée justice; comme David monstre la benediction de l'homme auquel Dieu impute justice sans les œuvres de la Loy, disant, Bienheureux est celuy duquel l'injustice est pardonné, et les pechez sont pardonnéz: Bienheureux est celuy auquel Dieu n'impute point de peché. Venoit ceste benediction sur les circoncis, ou incirconcis? Nous disons certainement que foy etoit estimée à Abraham pour justice. Comme estoit foy estimée, au temps de circoncision, ou incirconcision? Certainement nompas au temps apres qu'il fut circoncis, mais devant sa circoncision. Et il recevoit le signe de la circoncision comme un seau de justice laquelle est par foy, laquelle foy il avoit devant qu'il fust circoncis, qu'il seroit le pere de tous ceux la qui croient, et ont leur esperance en Dieu le pere, et createur de toutes choses, visibles ou invisibles, nonobstant qu'ilz ne soient circoncis, acellefin aussy que justice soit imputée à iceux, pourtant qu'il devoit estre pere, nompas des circoncis seulement, mais aussy de ceux la qui cheminent en la mesme foy en Dieu, nostre sauveur, laquelle foy estoit trouvée et experimentée en nostre pere Abraham devant sa circoncision: car la promesse qu'il seroit héritier du monde n'advint pas à Abraham et à sa semence par la Loy, mais par la justice de la foy; car si ceux la qui sont de la Loy sont héritiers, adonc foy est vaine et la promesse de nul effect;

car la loy engendre ire, et la ou il n'y a nulle loy, la n'y a nulle transgression. Pourtant l'heritage est donné par foy, acellefin qu'il vienne de grace, et faveur, et que la promesse soit certaine à toute sa semence, non seulement à ceux la qui sont de la loy, mais aussy principalement à ceux qui sont de la foy d'Abraham qui est nostre pere, comme il est escrit, Je te feray pere de toutes nations du monde devant Dieu, auquel tu as creu, lequel rend les mors à vie, et appelle les choses qui ne sont point, comme si elles estoient; laquelle chose Abraham, au contraire d'espoir, croit, en espoir qu'il seroit pere de plusieurs nations; comme il est dit, Ainsy sera ta semence. Car lors il ne fut pas debile en la foy, et ne consideroit son corps, lequel estoit alors mort, quand il avoit quasi cent ans, et que Sara sa femme avoit passé le temps d'enfanter, il ne vacilloit pas en la promesse de Dieu par mescréance, mais estoit confirmé en la foy, et donnait l'honneur à Dieu, estant certain que celuy qui avoit fait la promesse povoit aussy et vouloit accomplir; et pourtant sa foy luy estoit imputée à justice; mais cecy n'est escrit seulement pour luy, et acause de luy, que foy estoit reputée pour justice, mais aussy pour nous, ausquelz il sera imputé à justice, si nous croyons en celuy qui a resuscité Jesus Christ d'entre les mors; lequel estoit donné pour noz pechez, et qui resuscita de mort à vie pour nous justifier. Rom. 4. A. B. C.

Pourtant donc que nous sommes justifiéz par foy, nous aurons paix par foy en nostre seigneur Jesus Christ, par le quel nous avons un chemin aux cieux par foy en ceste grace et faveur, en laquelle grace nous sommes mis, et nous resjouissons en espérance de la gloire laquelle sera donnée de Dieu. Et nous ne faisons seulement cela, mais aussi nous nous resjouissons en tribulacion; car nous congnoissons que tribulacion ameine pacience, et que pacience ameine experience, et aussy nous congnoissons que experience ameine esperance; et esperance ne fait honte à personne, pourtant que l'amour et grace de Dieu omnipotent est demonstrée en nous, et totalement respandue en noz cueurs par le saint esprit, qui donne consolacion à l'ame, lequel esprit nous est donné. Rom. 5. A.

Que dirons nous donc? nous disons que ceux la qui ne suivent pas justice ont obtenu justice. J'entens la justice, laquelle vient seulement de foy. Mais Israel, le quel suivoit la loy de justice, ne povoit pas atteindre à la loy de justice: et pour quoy, pourtant qu'ilz ne la cherchoient pas par foy, mais par les œuvres de la loy; car ilz ont choppé à la pierre de choppement, comme il est escrit, et à la roche laquelle fera tomber les hommes; mais nul qui croit et met sa fiance en luy, aura honte. Rom. 9. F.

Christ est la fin de la loy, pour justifier ceux qui croient, et ont leur esperance en Dieu. Moseh demonstre la justice, laquelle vient par la loy; c'est que l'homme qui fait les choses commandées par la loy, vivra en la loy: mais la justice laquelle vient par foy, dit autrement. Ne dictes pas qui montera aux cieux, car ce la n'est autre chose que tirer Christ de la mort. Mais quelle chose dit l'Escriture? la parolle de Dieu est pres de ta bouche et pres de ton cueur: ceste parolle est la parolle de la foy, laquelle nous preschons: car si tu confesses de bouche que Jesus est le Seigneur, et si tu crois en ton cueur qu'il resuscita de mort, tu sera sauvé: car croire de cueur justifie, et confesser de bouche sauve. Aussy l'Escriture dit que quiconques croit en Jesus Christ sera sauvé, et n'aura point de honte. Il n'y a point de difference entre le Juif et le Gentil; car il y a un seigneur et maistre de tous, lequel est riche pour tous ceux qui invoquent son nom: et quiconques invoquera le nom du seigneur sera sauvé. Mais invoqueront ilz celuy auquel ilz n'ont mis leur esperance? Et comme pœut quelqu'un croire en celuy, duquel ilz n'ont pas ouy parler? et comme pœut quelqu'un ouyr sans prescheur? et comment pevent ilz prescher s'ilz ne sont envoyéz? Comme il est escrit, Voyez la beauté des piedz de ceux la qui disent, ou apportent bonnes nouvelles de paix, et apportent nouvelles de bonnes choses. Mais tous n'ont pas obey à l'esvangile; car Isaie dit, Seigneur, Seigneur, qui croira à noz ditz? Donques foy vient par ouyr: et ouir vient par la parolle divine, et de l'Eternel Dieu. Mais je te demande, n'ont ilz pas ouy? sans doute leur son venoit en toutes terres, et leurs

parolles aux boutz du monde. Et je demande si Israel l'avoit congneu ou non? Premièrement Moseh dit, Je vous provoqueray a envie par un estrange nation, et par une vile et sotte nation je vous courrouceray. Isaie le prophete apres cela dit, et s'enhardit de dire apres luy, Je suis trouvé de ceux la qui ne me demandoient pas, et de ceux la qui ne m'ont point cherché, et me suis apparu à ceux la qui n'estoient pas inquisitifz ou j'estois. Et à l'encontre d'Israel, il dit, Tout le long du jour j'ay estendu ma main à un peuple et nation laquelle est si mauvaise, et a en soy tant d'impieté, malice et vice, qu'elle ne veult pas croire à mes leçons et ditz. Rom. 10. A. B. C. D.

Certainement les dons et vocations sont en telle manière qu'il ne se pœut repentir d'iceux. Car comme au temps passé vous ne croyez point en Dieu, et maintenant par leur incredulité avez obtenu misericorde, aussy maintenant ilz n'ont pus creu à la misericorde qui vous est advenue: affin qu'ilz puissent aussy estre participans de ceste grande misericorde de Dieu omnipotent: pourtant que Dieu a enveloppé toute nation en incredulité, à celle fin qu'il eust pitie de tous, et monstrast sa misericorde à toute nation du monde, quelle qu'elle soit. Rom. 11. D.

Or par la grace laquelle est donnée, je dy à un chacun d'entre nous, que nulle personne n'estime de soy mesme plus qu'il ne doit: mais qu'il juge discrètement de soy mesme, et estime selon que Dieu a donné et distribué à chacun la mesure de la foy. Rom. 12. A.

Le Dieu de tout espoir vous remplisse de joye et paix en croyant en luy, affin que vous puissiéz estre riches en esperance en Dieu le tout puissant, qui a fait toutes choses du monde, par la tres grande puissance et force du saint Esprit, qui est le seul conforteur, et santifieur de noz ames. Rom. 15. C.

Celuy qui fait conscience de manger, et mange, il est condemné: car cela qui n'est pas de foy, est peché. Rom. 14. F.

Mais si tous prophetisent, et si quelqu'un entre qui ne croit pas, et n'ayt pas la congnoissance des choses, non scavant ou ignorant

en choses divines, il est reprouvé, et redargué d'un chacun qui le congnoist, et est jugé et condemné de tous: et ainsi les secretz de son cueur sont ouvers, et il tombe dessus sa face, disant que Dieu est avec nous. 1 Corin. 14. E.

Soyez fermes et stables en la foy, et creance en Dieu le pere: aquitéz vous comme hommes vaillans: et demonstrez vous comme hommes fors. Soient toutes voz affaires en amour et charité. 1 Corin. 16. C.

Si nostre Evangile est cachée de quelqu'un, elle est cachée entre ceux qui sont perdus, et à qui le Dieu de ce monde a caché les yeux de ceux la qui ne croient pas, acellefin que la lumiere de l'Evangile ne luisist pas entre eux. Veu que nous avons le mesme esprit en Christ, comme il est escrit en l'escriture, J'ay creu, et pourtant je parle, nous croyons, et pourtant nous parlons; car nous congnoissons que celuy qui a resuscité le seigneur Jesus Christ, nous resuscitera aussy par le moyen du mesme Jesus en foy, et nous mettra en luy; car je fais toute chose du monde pour l'amour de vous, affin que l'abondance de grace, par l'action des graces données de plusieurs gens, puisse redonder à vous seulement. 2 Cor. 2. A. B. C.

Nous qui sommes naturellement Juifz, et nompas pecheurs des Gentilz, congnoissons qu'un homme est justifié par foy en Jesus Christ, et nompas par les œuvres de la loy. Pourtant avons nous creu en Jesus Christ, acellefin que nous puissions estre justifiéz par la foy et espérance en luy, et nompas par les œuvres de la loy: pourtant que par la loy nulle chair pœut estre justifiée. Si donques nous qui voulons estre justifiéz en foy par Christ, sommes tous pecheurs, est donc Christ le ministre de peché? ia Dieu ne plaise, car si je rédifie les choses que j'ay destruites, je seray pecheur devant tout le monde. Galat. 2. C. D.

Je voudroye seulement apprendre si vous avez receu l'esprit par les œuvres de la loy, ou par le preschement de la foy, et croyance en Dieu. Estes vous si folz que quand vous avez commencé en

esprit, vous vouléz finir en la chair? avez vous souffert tant de choses en vain (s'ainsi est que la chose dont vous parlez soit vaine)? Celuy qui ministre ou fait miracles entre vous, fait il cela par les œuvres de la loy, ou par le preschement de Christ, en foy en luy? Comme Abraham croioit, et mettoit sa fiance en Dieu le pere et créateur de toutes choses, laquelle foy luy fut imputée à justice: ainsy nous devons penser que ceux la qui sont de la foy, sont les filz et heritiers d'Abraham nostre pere, car la parolle congnoissoit bien auparavant que Dieu vouloit justifier les Gentilz par foy: et pourtant la parolle disoit à Abraham ces bonnes nouvelles, En toy toutes nations seront beneites. Ainsy ceux la qui sont de la foy, sont beneitz, et justifiéz avec Abraham plein de la foy. Et ceux la qui sont desouz les œuvres de la loy sont desouz malediction, car il est escrit, Maudit soit celuy qui n'est pas permanant en toutes choses lesquelles sont escrites en la loy, affin de les accomplir: mais que nul est justifié par la loy il appert et est manifeste en l'escriture, laquelle dit, Le juste vit de foy. Aussy l'Escriture conclud toute chose en peché, affin que la promesse par la foy en Jesus Christ pœust estre donnée à ceux la qui croyent: car devant que la foy vint nous estions gardéz dessous la loy, pour ceste foy qui viendroit apres et seroit monstrée et déclarée: parquoy la loy nous apprenoit jusques à ce temps la que nous estions justifiéz par la foy en Christ. Or maintenant que la foy est venue (puis que par foy nous sommes justifiéz) nous ne sommes plus soubz la loy nostre maistresse d'escole; car vous tous estes les filz de Jesus Christ par foy en luy; et vous tous qui estes baptizéz avez mis Christ dessus vous. Il n'y a ne Juif ny Gentil; Serf ny Franc. Il n'y a homme ny femme quelconque au monde entier, mais tous et hommes et femmes, et Juifz et Gentilz, sont une chose en Jesus Christ. Donc si vous estes de Christ, vous estes aussi d'Abraham, et de sa semence. Gala. 3. A. B. C. D.

Vous qui estes alléz hors de la religion Chrestienne, et penséz estre justifiéz par la loy, vous vous estes separéz de la grace: car

nous espérons que sommes en esprit justifiéz par foy: pourtant qu'en Jesus Christ il n'y a point de circoncision, ou incirconcision, mais seulement foy; laquelle par amour este forte en operation. Gala. 5. A.

Pour l'amour de Christ j'estime toute chose perdue, pour la confiance que j'ay d'avoir Christ: affin que je puisse estre trouvé en luy, nompas me glorifiant en ma mesme justice, laquelle est de la loy, mais en ceste justice laquelle vient par foy en Jesus Christ. J'entens la justice laquelle vient de Dieu par foy en la congnoissance de luy: et par la vertu de sa résurrection, et societé de ses passions, pour estre conformable à sa mort, et que puisse attendre à la résurrection des mortz. Philip. 3. B.

Soyéz donc fermes, et ceignéz voz reins de vérité, ayans l'escusson de justice, et chausséz des soliers de l'Evangile, preparéz pour la paix d'icelle. Et aussy prenez le bouclier de la foy, avec lequel vous puissiez esteindre tous les dars du feu des mauvais. Ephe. 6. C.

Comme vous avez receu Christ, ainsi cheminez en action de graces; et soyéz fermes en la foy ainsi que vous avez appris.— Collos. 2. B.

Pour ceste cause nous labourons, et souffrons ignominie, entant que nous espérons au Dieu vivant, qui est le sauveur de tous ceux la qui croyent. Commande telles choses et les enseigne. Nul ne doit despriser la jeunesse: mais soyéz telz en exemple à tous, qu'ilz puissent honestement vivre, en parolle, en maintien, en amour, en esprit, en foy, et croyance en Dieu, et en netteté de cueur. 1 Tim. 4. C.

Evitez les voluptéz de jeunesse, et suivez justice, foy, amour, et paix, avec ceux la qui sont bons. 2 Tim. 2. D.

Toute chose est nette à ceux qui sont netz, mais à ceux la qui sont souilléz toute chose leur est orde. Tite, 1. D.

Il ne prouffite pas à ceux qui ont ouy sa parolle, pourtant qu'ilz ne l'ont pas conjointe avec foy. Mais nous qui avons creu en Dieu, entrons en sa tranquilité et repos: pource qu'il dit au contraire aux

autres, disant quilz n'entreront pas devant sa presence ny devant la lumiere de sa face. Ebrieux, 4. A.

Foy est une ferme confiance en choses ausquelles nous avons espoir; et une certaineté des choses qui ne sont pas veues. Par ceste foy, noz ancestres comme noz peres et parens estoient louéz et estiméz. Par foy nous entendons que le monde fut ordonné par la parolle de Dieu: et les choses qui sont veuës furent faites des choses qui ne sont pas veuës. Par foy Abel offrit un meilleur sacrifice à Dieu que son frere Cain, par lequel il obtenoit tesmoignage qu'il seroit juste, quand Dieu tesmoignoit de ses dons, dont luy maintenant mort parle. Par foy Enoch fut transporté, affin qu'il ne veist pas la mort, et il ne fut pas trouvé, pourtant que Dieu l'avoit osté: mais devant qu'il fust transporté on disoit qu'il avoit pleu à Dieu. Or sans foy il est impossible de plaire à Dieu: car celuy qui vient à Dieu croit qu'il y a un Dieu lequel rémunere ceux qui le requiérent. Par foy Noe honoroit Dieu apres qu'il fut admonésté de luy des choses qui ne estoient pas veuës: et prepara l'Arche acellefin de garder sa famille, par la quelle il convainquit le monde, et fut heritier de la justice, laquelle vient par foy. Par foy quand Abraham fut appellé, il obeit, et s'en alla en un lieu lequel il devoit posseder, et s'en alla dehors, non congnoissant en quel lieu il devoit aller. Par foy il retourna en la terre de promesse comme en pais incongneu, et habitoit en des tabernalces, et aussy faisoient Jacob et Isaac heritiers de la mesme promesse, car il cherchoit une cité de laquelle Dieu avoit fait la foundacion. Par foy aussy Sara receut force d'estre grosse d'enfant, dont fut delivrée quand elle estoit vielle, pourtant qu'elle l'avoit estime loyal, lequel luy avoit promis qu'elle seroit enceinte. Et pourtant d'un qui estoit autant que mort sortirent gens en nombre comme estoilles du ciel, et comme le sablon de la mair lequel est innombrable. Et tous ceux cy mouroient en foy, et ne recevoient pas la promesse, mais ilz voyoient les promesses de long et les salvoient, et confessoient quilz estoient pelerins en la terre: car ceux qui disent ces choses déclarent qu'ilz ont cherché

un pais : et aussy s'ilz eussent eu quelque affection à leur mesme pais, ilz avoient loisir d'y retourner, mais ils desiroient un meilleur pais qui est celeste. Pourtant Dieu n'a pas honte d'eux, ny d'estre appellé leur Dieu, car il a preparé une cité pour eux. Par foy Abraham offrit Isaac quand il fut esprouvé, et offrit son filz unique qui avoit receu les promesses, duquel il estoit dit, d'Isaac viendra ta semence : car il consideroit que Dieu povoit resusciter son filz de mort, parquoy Dieu le receut pour exemple. En foy Isaac donna la benediction à Jacob et Esaü pour les choses futures. Par foy Jacob mourant donna la bénédiction à deux des fils de Joseph en s'enclinant sur son sceptre. Par foy Joseph mourant congnoissoit et luy souvenoit que le peuple d'Israel seroit conduit de Dieu, et donnoit la charge de ses os. Par foy Moseh fut caché par ses pere et mere, pourtant qu'il estoit un tresbel enfant, et il ne leur challoit du commandement du roy. Par foy Moseh desja ancien ne vouloit pas estre nommé filz de la fille de Pharaoh, et choisissoit plustost adversité avec le peuple de Dieu qu'avoir volupté pour un temps : et estimoit plus l'opprobre de Christ que la richesse d'Egipte : car il s'attendoit au salaire. Par foy il s'enfuit hors d'Egipte, et n'avoit pas paour du Roy : car il tint bon comme s'il eust veu l'invisible. Par foy il ordonna l'agneau paschal, et l'effusion de sang. Par foy ilz passerent la mair rouge, laquelle quand les Egiptians voulerent passer, ilz furent noyéz incontinent. Par foy les murailles de Jericho tomboient, apres ce qu'elles eurent esté environnées pour l'espace de sept jours. Par foy Raab ne fut pas destruite avec les autres. Et quelle chose diray-je d'avantage, car le temps me defaudra si je veux parler de Gedeon, de Barak, Sampson, Jephthæ, David, Samuel, et les autres prophetes, lesquelz par foy subjuguerent et surmonterent les royaumes : par justice ont obtenu les promesses : ont estouppé la guelle aux lions ; ont estaint la violence du feu ; ont évité le trenchant des glaives ; vaillans en bataille mettoient leur ennemies en fuite : et les femmes recevoient leurs hommes mortz resuscitéz à vie. Ebri. 11. A. B. C. D. E. F.

Pourtant vous povez bien et manifestement voir, non par ce texte seulement, mais aussy par autres, que chacun qui croit en Jesus Christ, et a mis toute sa fiance en lui, sera sauvé : et que foy est la principale et plus notable chose qui soit en la religion chrestienne : laquelle est aussy la chose plus acceptable à Dieu le
créateur, et aux hommes
ses créatures.

Fin.

# TREATISE

AGAINST

# THE SUPREMACY OF THE POPE.

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[MS. Bibl. Publ. Cantab. Dd. 12, 59.]

There are two Manuscripts of this Treatise, and at least three printed editions of an English translation.

The King's autograph copy is preserved in the British Museum, MS. Addit. 5464, under the title "Alencontre les abus du monde." This was formerly in Sir W. H[atton ?]'s Collection of Manuscripts, being so mentioned in Strype's Life of Cranmer; afterwards it belonged to James West, esq. Pr.R.S. who has left his name on the fly-leaf; and subsequently to John Jackson, esq. F.S.A. from whose library it was purchased by the Trustees of the British Museum for 19*l.* 19*s.* in 1794. It is a 4to. paper book bound in parchment, the edges gilt, and the sides stamped with the King's arms and initials in gold. The title under which this manuscript has always been described in the catalogues was that which the royal writer himself adopted on commencing his essay, and it still stands at the head of the first page:—

"Alencontre les abus du monde, 13 De. 1548."

At the close is written:—

"14 Mars, 1549.

"Finis.

"Edovard."

It thus appears that the composition of the treatise occupied the King during three months: and it was more than five months after when he wrote the introductory address to the duke of Somerset (which does not exist in the MS. 5464), dated at the end of August, 1549. The manuscript is corrected throughout by another hand,—I conclude by his French tutor Belmaine, and at the close of the book is the following very interesting attestation, apparently proceeding from the same quarter:—

"Tout ainsi qu'un bon Paintre peut representer le visaige, regard, contenance et

corpulence d'un Prince: Ainsi par les escritz, parolles et actions d'un Prince, on peut facilement entendre quel esprit est en luy, et aquoy Il est adonné, comme on peut veoir par les Escritz de ce Jeune Roy, lequel composa et escrivit ce livre, n'ayant encores douze ans accomplis, et sans l'ayde de parsonne vivant, excepté des propos qu'il avoit ouys de plusieurs, et la souvenance qu'il avoit des livres qu'il avoit leuz. Car des ce qu'il commenca a escrivre ledict livre et jusques a ce qu'il l'eust achevé, ledict livre a tousjours esté en ma garde jusques a present."

The second Manuscript (from which the text is here printed), is preserved in the University Library at Cambridge. It consists of fifty paper leaves, with gilt edges, measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$.

The English translation was first printed in 1682. It is stated in the preface that the autographon of the treatise had been "found in the library of one of the most eminently learned men of the *last* age," and that it had been "faithfully translated by a person of very great quality in *this;*" who was also the author of some Remarks on Heylin's character of Edward VI. which conclude the book. This volume is now rare; it does not occur in the library of Syon College: but in the Museum there are two copies, one of them belonging to the Grenville Collection. I shall here introduce the prefatory matter: and the "Remarques:" the author of which I have been unable to discover.

The book appears to have been reprinted in 1811, under this title:—

"Declaration against the Pope's Supremacy. Wrote by his Majesty Edward VI. in the year 1549. Republished and dedicated to his Majesty George III. By the Rev. John Duncan, LL.D., F.A.S. 1811."

This is mentioned in Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual, and Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica, but I have been unable to find a copy, either in the British Museum, Syon College, or elsewhere.

Again in the year 1831 the Religious Tract Society reprinted this treatise, in English, in their volume of the "Writings of Edward the Sixth, William Hugh, Queen Catherine Parr, Anne Askew, Lady Jane Gray, Hamilton, and Balneaves." 12mo.

[*Title of the English Translation.*]

K. EDWARD the VI^th^ His Own ARGUMENTS Against the Pope's Supremacy: Wherein several Popish Doctrines and Practices, contrary to God's Word, are animadverted on; and the Marks of Anti-Christ are applied to the Pope of *Rome.*

Translated out of the Original, written with the King's own Hand in *French*, and still preserved.

To which are subjoined some Remarks upon his Life and Reign, in Vindication of his Memory, from Dr. *Heylin*'s severe and unjust Censure.

*London*, Printed by *J. D.* for *Jonathan Robinson*, at the Golden-Lion in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, 1682.

[*Second Title.**]

The Pope's Supremacy Confuted. By King Edward the VI. Translated out of his French Original.

Luke ii. 42. *And when he was twelve years old, they went up to* Jerusalem, *&c.*

Ver. 46. *And it came to pass, that after three days they found him in the Temple, sitting in the midst of the Doctors.*

Ver. 47. *And all that heard him, were astonished at his Understanding, and Answers.*

London: Printed by *J. D.* for *Jonathan Robinson*, at the Golden-Lion in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, 1682.

The Publisher to the Reader.

*As the Heavens are higher than the Earth, so are my Ways higher than your Ways, and my Thoughts than your Thoughts;* Was what God Almighty, by his Prophet Esay, spake to his People Israel: and Soveraign Princes, his Vicegerents here, may, with due allowances, say the same of their *Ways* and *Thoughts*, compared with those of their Subjects.

The Royal Blood, which swells their veins, is frequently impregnated with diviner Spirits, than are communicated to others; of which perhaps a natural account might be given. But I should chuse rather to resolve it into Faith, from the Assurance, that God will exhibit to them *Grace sufficient* for their High Calling. My Grace is sufficient for you.

But some are in an especial manner called forth to extraordinary Work, and these receive more immediate divine Influence, and Assistance: which I think may well be thought of this matchless Prince, whose *Autographon* of the Treatise against the Papacy now published, was found in the French Tongue, in the Library of one of the most eminently Learned Men of the *last* Age, and is here presented as 'twas faithfully translated, by a Person of very great Quality in *this*.

This Pious King was the true *Defender of our Faith*, and under God and his Christ, the *Captain* of our Reformation: And as the ensuing Discourse will demonstrate to the World, what *Principles* he went upon in it, so questionless, it will vindicate his most Glorious Memory, from the Aspersion cast upon it by Dr. Heylyn, who thought it *no Infelicity* to the Church of England, that he was so short liv'd.†

I am sure it may well be said of him, who was so far beyond all ordinary Measures,

Immodicis brevis est ætas, et rara senectus.

Immoderate Men live much in a short space,
And rarely to old Age prolong their Race.

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* This second Title-page is found in the copy in the Grenville Library, but is deficient in the other copy in the British Museum.

† Heylyn's History of the Reformation, Pref. p. 4, "Whose death I cannot reckon for an *Infelicity* to the Church of England, for being *ill-principled* in himself," &c.

By comparing the date of his Dedication to his Uncle with the Day of his Birth, it appears that he was but twelve years old when he wrote this little Tractate; in which there is nothing but what was extraordinary for his Years, yet many things that may satisfy the World they were his Genuine Thoughts, and not the Dictates of a Tutor.

Indeed in several Things, one would pronounce him Inspir'd; he was no older at the writing this, than our blessed Saviour was when he confounded the Jewish Doctors; and I doubt not, but this wonderfull Young Prince will put those of the *Romish Church* to Shame, and confusion of Face.

Luke 2. ver. 40. 'Tis said of our Saviour at those years, that *The Child grew, and waxed strong in Spirit, filled with Wisdom; and the Grace of God was upon him.*

Tho *the Grace of God*, and divine Aid, were constantly with him; yet even *His* Wisdom encreased with his years: *When* he *was a Child*, he *did as a Child*, he *thought as a Child:* And perhaps, 'tis not piacular to say, that in many Things, wherein his Mediatory Office was not concern'd, he was lyable to Mistakes.

Which is to me a means to remove many Objections against Holy Writ. For, admit our Modern Philosophers can demonstrate, that the Ancient Prophets were out, in what they spake of the Moving of the Sun, and the Stability of the Earth, and the like: this were no Argument against their having the Spirit of Prophecy, which was concerned only for the Matter to be delivered, leaving the Manner to be according to Notions then received, without which they could never have been understood in their Similitudes or Allusions.

And this may be the Reason of the Difference in the Stiles of the Sacred Pen-Men, some whereof had many Things δυσνόητα, or *hard to be understood;* the Sacred Spirit working according to the Tempers, or Faculties, which it found.

The Consideration of this might induce one to believe, that it was not without extraordinary Assistance from above, that this Heroick King encountred the Papacy, tho now and then, like young *David* conquering the *Philistine* Giant, it were with Pebble Stones.

## *Remarques upon the Life and Reign of King* Edward *the Sixth, in Vindication of his Memory, from Dr.* Heylin's *severe and unjust censure.*

When I consider what exemplary Vertue and Piety shone forth in the Words, Actions, and Writings of this Illustrious King, some of whose Papers I have been an unworthy Instrument of transmitting to the admiration of Posterity, I cannot but with

Pref. to Hist. of Ref. sup. Indignation repeat the thought of Dr. Heylin's snarling censure, who counted it *no Infelicity*, that he was so soon succeeded by Q. Mary, a bloody Popish Queen, and had

Ibid. the malice to charge him with *being ill principled in himself, and easily inclined to embrace such councils*, as the Doctor look'd upon as pernicious to the Church. Nay, he says ex-

Hist. of Ref. f. 131. presly, that *his Minority was abused to many Acts of Spoil and Rapine*, even to an high

degree of Sacrilege, and having affirmed that this was *only to the raising of some, and to the enriching of others about him, without any manner of improvement to his own Estate;* he, with a sly Insinuation, leaves it to the Reader's Judgment, *whether the King being in the sixteenth year of his Age, were either better studyed in his own Concernments, or seemed to be worse principled in matters which concerned the Church.* Hist. of Ref. f. 132.

Hereby the Doctor wipes away all the Eulogies, which in several places of his Book Truth had drawn from him. Indeed, he cites the Passage out of Josephus, who, speaking of good King Josias, says, "When he grew to be twelve years old, he gave manifest proof of his Piety and Justice; for he drew the People to a conformable course of Life, and to the detestation and abolishing of Idols, that were no Gods, and to the Service of the only true God of their fore-Fathers; and, considering the Actions of his Predecessors, he began to rectify them in that wherein they were deficient, with no less circumspection than if he had been an old Man, and that which he found to be correspondent and advisedly done by them, that he did both maintain and imitate: all which things he did both by reason of his innate Wisdom, as also by the Admonishment and Counsel of his Elders: in following orderly the Laws, not only in matters of Religion, but of Civil Polity." Which as the Doctor acknowledges, "puts the Parallel betwixt the two young Kings beyond all exception." Ibid. f. 38.

But then the forementioned Reflection is big with a monstrous Intimation, as if all the vast hopes which this young King gave, were blasted in their too forward Spring.

And the ground of all this Sacriledge, as I may call it, against his Memory, was taken from some Instructions (which a learned Author excuses, from their being signed as they were brought to him in his sickness), whereby he appointed Visitors to examine, "What Jewels of Gold and Silver, or Silver Crosses, Candlesticks, Censers, Challices, Copes, and other Vestments were then remaining in any of the Cathedral or Parochial Churches, or otherwise had been embezelled or taken away." What was convenient for use, was to be distributed to every Church, Chappel, or Cathedral; of the Surplusage part was to be given to the Poor, and the other part was to be delivered to the King's Treasurer. Now, admit that the young King did not think every thing to be God's, which was given him by superstitious Piety, not believing that God would accept that as his peculiary, which serv'd either for vain Pomp, and Ostentation, or else administred to the Luxury and Pride of the lazy Priests; was not his well manag'd Zeal against Popery, and his full purpose of reforming the Nation from Idolatry and Superstition (and that too crown'd with success, far beyond what could have been expected from such a conspiration of circumstances as then were against it,) enough to atone for this? Dr. Burnet's Hist. of Ref. par. 2, f. 217. Heylin's Hist. f. 95. and 132. Burnet's Hist. f. 217.

The Doctor himself was obliged to own, "That by clear light of Holy Scripture, and the principal Duties of Religion laid open to them, the People were the better able to discern the Errours and Corruptions of the Church of Rome," from which by the Piety of this Prince they were fully freed. And is not the good of Souls, and the Edification of Heylin's Hist. f. 9.

God's Church and People, preservable before the Ornaments of the Altar, and the excessive Riches, or vain Vestments of Church-men?

But the supposed Sacriledge is *Death in the Pot.*

. . . *Manet altà mente repôstum,*
*Judicium* Edwardi spretique *injuria* Spectri.

If you look to the bottom of this clamour about Sacriledge, it is not for robbing God of what is his; for if it were so, Church-men could have no Power of disposing of things once given to the Church, tho with the consent of the Founder, whereas even in the most superstitious Times, some Spiritual Corporations might have alien'd their Church-lands, without consent of the Founders. So that, in short, the Sacriledge lies in clipping the wings, and abridging the Power of Church-men, who were little God-almighties in the Affairs of the Church; in which they would have nothing done without their Consent. But truly I must submit it to better judgments than mine own, whether what is dedicated to Superstitious Uses in the service of the true God, be much more pleasing to him than what is devoted to false Gods: Nay, I have Authority from Dr. Stillingfleet to say, that there may be Idolatry in an unwarranted, or at least *forbidden*, dedication of things to God's Service.

1 Inst. f. 300. b.

Stillingfl. of the Idolatry of the Church of Rome, p. 47.

Wherefore some perhaps would be likely to compare Dr. Heylin's Censures upon King Edward, to the ravings of one of Baal's Priests, when good King Josias defiled the high places where the Priests had burnt Incense.

2 Kings 23. 8.

To be sure Cardan, tho a Papist, yet had so much of a Philosopher in him, that *Mother Church* could not bribe him to defraud so brave an Enemy of his due Praises; but, in a transport of Admiration, he declares, that "Not only England, but the World has reason to lament his being so early snatc'd away." While Dr. Heylin an English Divine, so great is Diana of the Ephesians! seems to rejoice, that Queen Mary secured to the *Church* her Ornaments, and to *Church-men* that Power, which, no doubt, he thought the Spirit of Reformation, working in, and like a Glory adorning this Prince, would be like to reduce to the Primitive Authority of Preaching, and Administring the Sacraments.

Burnet's Hist. f. 3.

That indeed is a Principle which this young King discovers in the papers here set forth, and if I hereby expose his Memory to farther rudenesses, I am perswaded the thinking and disinterested part of Mankind will laugh at such impotent Malice.

P. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

But I shall offer a few Considerations, besides what have been already interspers'd, which may revive the *Protestant Reader's* sense, of the loss our Religion had by this King's immature Death.

The first thing remarkable to this Purpose, was the Ingenuity and Sweetness of his Disposition; which, as a Papist himself confesses, "raised in all good and learned Men, the greatest expectation of him possible;" this without doubt, was in great measure deriv'd from his beautiful Mother. Who has left behind her the Character of being the discreetest, humblest, and fairest of all King Henry the Eight's Wives.

Cardan.

Heylin's Hist. of Ref. f. 7.

Dos est magna Parentum virtus,

says the Poet, and certain it is, that the rich Dowry of Vertue, which his Mother brought with her, descended with advantage on the Son; whose mind was a vast Treasury of Graces, and contained more than the scene of his short Life could give him occasion of exerting; so that if there were any one thing for which the Lives of former Hero's might have been more memorable than his, it proceeded from the want of time to give an Example to all following Kings in every thing praise-worthy. Wherefore Cardan said rightly,

Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum.

But the love of Truth was natural to him; and indeed that Sweetness and Evenness of Temper, which won upon the Hearts of all that approach'd him, gave him an extraordinary Capacity for the finding it out. The Light of Reason, as an elegant Writer has it, is *Lumen tranquillum et amicum:* "This Candle would shine more clearly and equally, if the winds of Passions were not injurious to it." Dr. Burnet's Hist. f. 25 Hayward, p. 7. Culverwell's Light of Nature, p. 66.

But, besides that his Temper of Mind fitted him to attend to the consequences of things, and to judg without disorder or partiality, it was very pious, and he had an inbred Veneration for God's Word, which is sufficient to lead us into all needful Truths; and 'tis not to be question'd but God will reward the esteem of the Sacred Truths there contained, with a proportionate degree of understanding in them.

It has been observed even by his Calumniator, That "in the Days of his Childhood, when being about to take down something, which seemed to be above his reach, one of his Fellows proffered him a bossed-plated-Bible to stand upon, and heighten him, for taking that which he desired: when he perceived it to be a Bible, with holy Indignation, he refused it, and sharply reprehended him that made the proffer." Nay, Dr. Heylin is forced upon this to Remarque, that it was "**A Strong Assurance of that dear Esteem and Veneration, in which he held that Sacred Book in his riper Years.**" Heylin, f 14.

2. The *Probity of his Manners* was so great, that one may well say, his Zeal for Divine Truth was not without true saving Knowledg, nor his Knowledg unoperative: and this "made him very inclinable to love and cherish true Religion." Dr. Burnet, supra, f. 25.

3. His early Diligence and Application of Mind to understand the Principles of his Religion was wonderful. I my self have seen a collection of his, under his own Hand, of the Texts of Scripture relating to the Nature of *Faith* and *Justification*, put together with great Care and Judgment, and translated into the French Tongue, which was done when he was but Eleven Years of Age, the year before he wrote the Treatise now published; it is likewise dedicated to his Uncle with a great deal of Piety and Manly Sense.

4. He Liv'd and Dyed in an utter detestation and abhorrence of Popery; his Sister Mary was a bigotted Papist, and Dr. Heylin takes pains to shew us, that she was obliged by her Interest to be so; to be sure the Emperour engaged so heartily for her having Hist. of Ref. f. 102.

Liberty to keep up her way of Worship, that the Council perswaded the King to consent to it; which he not only opposed with such Reasons as amazed his Bishops, who were for complying with the Emperour; but with so much true Compassion for her Errours, and pious Displeasure that he should be prest to suffer her in her Sin, that the Tears ran down his Cheeks, and made his Bishops weep too, it may be, to see their tardy zeal rebuk'd by the King's.

Heylin, f. 103.

But that which gives the greatest Demonstration of his abhorrence of *Popery*, and true value for the Protestant Religion, was his dying Prayer; which as Dr. Heylin himself tells us, was "not so much aiming at the prolonging of his Life, as the continuance of Religion; not so much at the freeing himself from his Disease, as the preserving the Church from the danger of Popery." Which dying Prayer, as it was taken from his Mouth, was in these Words following:—

Heylin, f. 140.

"Lord God, deliver me out of this wretched and miserable Life, and take me among thy chosen. Howbeit not my Will but thine be done. Lord, I commit my Spirit to thee. O Lord, Thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy Chosen's sake, send me Life and Health, that I may truly serve thee. Oh my Lord God! Bless my People, and save thine Inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen People of England. O Lord God, Defend this Realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true Religion, that I and my People may praise thy Holy Name, for Jesus Christ his sake."

Add to all this, his undaunted Courage, which he discovered as far as his *Opportunities* could give him leave, his great Conduct in the management of publick Affairs, his exact Judgment in all things; and consider the esteem which flowed from all these, and would have facilitated the success of any Undertaking, with Forreign Princes, or amongst his own Subjects, for the advantage of the Protestant Cause: and certainly, it cannot but be thought a *great Infelicity* to the Protestant Religion, that he liv'd not to finish his glorious Designs of setling and confirming the true Religion at home, and encouraging it abroad, till it became the prevailing Interest of Christendom. If any think that this would have been fatal to the Church of England, certainly they put a great Scandal upon it; but God keep that Church from flourishing, to which the length of such a King's Reign would be fatal.

Vid. the character given him by Dr. Burnet. Hist. of Ref. 225, 226.

## A l'encontre de la Primauté du Pape.

[MS. Bibl. Univ. Cantab. Dd. 12, 59.]

Edward Sixiesme de ce nom, par la grace de Dieu roy d'Angleterre, France et Irlande, Defendeur de la foy, et en terre apres Dieu chef de l'Eglise d'Angleterre et Irlande, A son trescher et bien aymé Oncle Edouard Duc de Somerset, Gouverneur de sa personne, et protecteur de ses Royaumes, Pais et subjectz.

Apres avoir considéré (trescher et bien aymé Oncle) combien ceux desplaisent à Dieu, qui despendent tout leur temps en folies et vanitéz de ce monde, comme en passe temps frivoles et jeux des quelz ne vient prouffit et utilité, ny à soymesme, ny au gendre humain, je me suis amusé à faire quelque œuvre, lequel me sera (comme j'espere) proufitable et à vous aussy acceptable. Puis donc, que voions beaucoup de Papistes non seulement nous mauldire, mais appeller et nommer hérétiques, pourtant qu'avons delaissé leur Antichrist avec ses traditions, et ensuyvy la lumiere qui nous est monstrée de Dieu, nous sommes esmeuz de faire quelque œuvre pour nous defendre de leurs contumelies et les mettre sur leur mesme dos. Car ilz nous appellent hérétiques, mais euxmesmes le sont, puis qu'ilz laissent la pure voix de l'évangile, et suyvent leur mesme phantasies; comme il appert de ce que Boniface troiesme de ce nom (quand il estoit faict évesque universel) pensa en soymesme que ceste defection la de laquelle Paul parle en la seconde épistre aux Thessalon. deuxiesme chapitre, fust avenue en soy; Car S. Paul dit, *Aussy, mes freres, nous vous prions par l'advenement de nostre Seigneur, que ne soyez tost esmeuz en vostre entendement, et que ne soyez troubléz, ny par esprit, ny parolle, ny epistre, comme si la journée de Christ estoit pres. Que nul ne vous seduise aucunement, car le jour ne viendra point que prémièrement ne soit venu un departement, et que l'homme de peché*

*ne soit revélé, le filz de perdition, et l'adversaire de Dieu, et s'eslévera sur tout, jusques d'estre assis au temple de Dieu,* etc.

Toutes fois il suivit sa mesme phantasie, et ne se detourna pas de son erreur, lequel il sçavoit estre bien mauvais. Veu, donc, que j'aperçoy par voz faictz que vous avez une grande affection vers la parolle divine et sincere réligion, je vous dédie cest œuvre present, vous priant de le prendre en gré. Dieu vous donne sa grace perpetuelle, et vous monstre sa benignité pour tousjours.

De mon palais de Ouestmester lez Londres, ce pénultime jour d'Aoust, 1549.

## Petit Traité; A l'encontre de la Primaute du Pape.

Nous povons tresbien voir et appercevoir par l'experience du monde que la nature humaine est prompte à tous maux, et embrouillée de tous vices: car quel pais y a il au monde auquel n'y ait quelque vice et abus, et principalement au temps present, veu que maintenant le grand empire d'Antichrist est en vogue? lequel est la source de tout mal: fontaine de toute abomination, et vray filz du diable, pource que quand Dieu eut envoyé son filz unique pour nostre infirmité, acellefin de reconcilier le monde à soy par la mort d'iceluy, le diable changea deslors les institutions de Christ en traditions humaines, et pervertit les escritures à son propos par le pape son ministre. Et pourtant si les astrologues* (lesquelz prouvent que toute chose retournera à son element) disent la verité, le pape descendra en enfer: car il ne pœut estre de Dieu, pourtant que souz
2 Corin. 11. A. pretence de religion et commandement de Dieu il a usurpé à soy-mesme l'authorité de Christ, laquelle chose est veue en tous ses œuvres. Parquoy il m'a semble le mieux en ce livre de condamner premierement la papauté, et apres la doctrine d'iceluy pape.

* *Edward had written in his rough draft* les astronomiers, *which his tutor corrected to* les astrologues.

Toutesfois c'est une chose difficile, pourtant qu'il y a beaucoup qui y contredisent: cenonobstant nous condamnerons la superiorité du pape par les raisons ensuivantes.

## La Premiere Partie.

Premierement la ou les papistes disent que Romme est la mere de toutes eglises, et pourtant que l'evesque de Romme doit estre le supérieur; Je respons qu'il est impossible, entant que la premiere promesse estoit faite au peuple Judaique: et aussy que Romme estoit infidele, quand Jerusalem estoit fidele, car Paul, ecrivant aux Rommains, dit, *Quand les Juifz tomboient, salut venoit entre les Gentilz.* Rom. 11. B. Mais pourtant que les papistes ne povent prouver que Romme est la mere de toutes autres églises, ilz disent que l'evesque de Romme a reçeu son povoir de Pierre, auquel estoit donnée la mesme authorité de Christ, laquelle ledit evesque a maintenant, et taschent de le prouver par ces textes ensuivans, *Tu es Pierre, et dessus ceste pierre j'edifieray mon eglise*, Math. 16. C. dit Christ à Pierre. Et un peu apres, *Je te donray les clefz du ciel;* et aussy ilz alleguent ce lieu ou Pierre dit à Christ, *Je t'ayme, Seigneur:* car ilz disent que Jan, 21. E. celuy qui ayme Christ est le principal, et que Pierre aymoit Christ le mieux de tous, et pourtant qu'il est le principal.

D'avantage ils afferment qu'il estoit commandé à luy seul de paistre les brebis et d'estre le pescheur des hommes; et qu'il parloit le premier, et respondoit à Jesus, *Voicy deux glaives;* lequel lieu les papistes interpretent que Pierre avoit une espée temporelle, et Luc, 22. E. l'autre spirituelle.

Il alleguent aussy aucunes raissons humaines, que comme les mouches à miel ont un roy, ainsi tous les Chrestiens doivent avoir un pape: et que comme au temps passé il y avoit un evesque principal entre les Juifz (comme Moses et Aaron) aussy que maintenant Exod. 4. D. un evesque des evesques est necessaire. Il y a deux grandes menteries en peu de parolles: l'une est, que l'authorité de la supremité

de l'eglise estoit donnée à Pierre; l'autre que Pierre estoit à Romme. Pour le premier, ou ilz disent que ceste authorité luy estoit donnée
Math. 16. c. par ces motz, *Tu es Pierre et sur ceste*, etcę, Je respons que, si vous regardéz la chose precedente, et ensuivante, vous voirrez que Christ ne parloit pas de Pierre entant qu'il estoit homme, mais entant qu'il estoit fidele: car le precedent est que Pierre disoit, *Tu es le filz de Dieu;* par quoy il est evident que Christ ne disoit pas que Pierre estoit le fondement de l'eglise, mais qu'il parloit de la foy de Pierre. L'ensuivant est que Dieu appelloit Pierre, *Satan:* mais l'eglise de Christ n'est pas fondée dessus Satan, et pourtant elle n'est pas fondée dessus Pierre: car si l'eglise estoit fondée dessus
Math. 7. D. Pierre, elle auroit un feible fondement: et tout ainsi qu'une maison laquelle a un fondement débile ne pœut demeurer long temps, mais tombe, ainsy l'eglise ayant si pauvre fondacion que Pierre est, et si debile, ne pourroit demeurer, mais tomberoit tout incontinent. Par lesquelles choses on pœut voir que ce texte, *Tu es Pierre, et dessus ceste pierre j'edifieray mon eglise*, doit estre entendu que sur la foy de Pierre, nompas dessus luy, est l'eglise fondée: pource qu'il estoit un vaisseau fragile et fort debile: car il renioit Christ par
Math. 16. c. trois fois. Le second texte est que les clefz du ciel estoient données
Marc, 8. c. à Pierre. Je respons que les clefz estoient données non seulement à Pierre, mais aussy aux autres apostres: et par cest argument je respons qu'il n'estoit pas le principal: car les autres recevoient la
Galat. 2. B. mesme authorité des clefz, laquelle luy est commise. Pour laquelle chose Paul appelle Pierre la coulomne, nompas le fondement, d'eglise, et son compagnon, nompas son governeur; car quelles sont les clefz du ceil? l'authorité de pardonner les peches? non: mais le preschement de l'evangile de Dieu le pere; ouy, bien de Dieu, nonpas du pape ou diable. Et tout ainsi que quand l'huys est ouvert quiconques veult pœut entrer, ainsy quand Dieu envoyoit son sincere commandement
2 Corin. 2. D. et son évangile ilz ouvroient la vérité, la quelle est la porte du ciel, et donnoient aux hommes à entendre l'ecriture, la quelle s'ilz suivent ils seront sauvéz. Parquoy on pœut entendre que l'evangile

et la vérité de l'ecriture sont les seules portes qui conduisent l'homme au royaume de Dieu. Pour laquelle chose saint Paul dit,* *Quiconque invoquera le nóm le Dieu sera sauvé. Comment invoqueront ilz celuy auquel ilz ne croient pas? Comment croiront ilz en celuy duquel ilz n'ont pas ouy parler? Comment orront ilz sans avoir un prescheur?* Et un peu apres il dit, *Foy vient par ouir, et ouyr de la parolle de Dieu.* Au quatriesme chapitre aux Rommains aussi il dit, *A celuy qui n'œuvre pas, mais croit en celuy qui justifie les meschans, sa foy luy est imputée à justice.*

Rom. 10. c.

Rom. 4. a.

Maintenant nous prouverons que le preschement de l'evangile est la clef du ciel. Au huitiesme chapitre aux Rommains (comme j'ay dessus dit,) Paul affirme que quiconques invoque le nom du Seigneur est sauvé, et que le preschement de l'evangile est l'entrée en l'invocation de Dieu: adonc il s'ensuit que le preschement de l'evangile est l'entrée du salut. D'avantage Paul affirme que foy justifie, et que le preschement de l'évangile fait la foy (laquelle chose j'ay demonstrée icy devant), pourtant il s'ensuit que le vray preschement est l'entrée en justification; car tout ainsy qu'une terre sémée pœut produire fruit pourveu que la semence ne soit semée en terre pleine de chardons, brieres ou pierres: et encore s'elle est semée en telle terre elle fera la terre un peu meilleure, ainsy si le commandement de Dieu est semé à cueur d'honnestes gens ou de ceux qui ont un bon zele à la vérité, il les confermera en toute bonté: mais si aucuns sont obstinéz et opiniatres, ilz ne pevent imputer la faute à l'ecriture, veu qu'elle est en euxmesmes. Pourtant nous nous devons efforcer que l'evangile soit preschée par tout le monde, comme il est escrit, *Tout povoir m'est donné en la terre et au ciel; pourtant allez et preschez à toutes creatures, les baptisans en mon nom.*

Math. 13. a
Marc, 4. a.
Luc, 8. b.

Math. 28. e.
Marc, 16. d.
Luc, 24. g.

Puis donc qu'il est prouvé que les clefz du ciel sont l'authorité de prescher, et que l'authorité de prescher estoit donnée à chacun

* These and the next following texts are in Latin in the King's manuscript.

Math. 16. c. apostre, je ne puis voir comme par ce texte l'authorité estoit donnée à Pierre plus qu'aux autres: car Paul dit qu'il est aussy bon que quelqu'un des autres apostres; laquelle chose s'elle est vraye, Pierre n'estoit pas meilleur que luy; et s'on me demandoit lequel des deux est le meilleur, je dirois que Paul est le meilleur, pourtant qu'il
Galat. 2. A. preschoit le plus de tous. Mais nous devons tenir pour certain que
Actes, 2. A. l'esprit de Dieu tomboit entre tous, et que le mesme esprit de Dieu qui estoit en Pierre estoit aussi en Paul: par laquelle chose on pœut prouver que nul d'eux fust supérieur de l'autre.

Jan, 21. B. Puis les papistes disent que quand Christ estoit resuscité de mort à vie, il demanda qui l'aymoit, et que Pierre respondoit qu'il l'aymoit: et pourtant (comme ilz disent) qu'il est le principal. Mais s'ainsy est, adonc chacun honneste homme doit avoir la suprémité dessus tous autres, pourtant que chacun qui est bon et honneste ayme Dieu: car cela est le point et office de chacun vray chrestien. Or la question n'est pas, si Pierre estoit fidele, honneste, bon, saint ou vray chrestien: mais s'il estoit le principal chef, gouverneur, et roy par dessus tous autres: ou s'il estoit meilleur que les autres apostres et ministres de Jesus Christ: car si le pape vouloit avoir l'authorité de Pierre, laquelle est de prescher, je serois content: mais
Jan, 6. B. il ne fait rien moins que le commandement de Dieu: car Jesus s'enfuioit quand les Juifs taschoient a le faire roy, et empereur: mais le pape par violence ou à tort ou à travers assubjétit à soy toutes
Math. 27. C. nations. Jesus avoit une couronne d'espines, et une robe de pourpre, et estoit moqué de tout chacun; mais le pape a trois couronnes et est honoré des rois, des princes, des empereurs, et de tous
Jan, 13. A. estatz. Jesus lave les piedz de ses apostres: mais les rois baisent
Math. 17. D. les piedz du pape. Jesus paie tribut: mais le pape recoit et ne paie
Math. 5. A. nul tribut. Jesus presche: et le pape se repose en son chasteau de
Luc, 6. B. saint Ange. Jesus remedie aux maladies: mais le pape se resjouit
Jan, 19. C. du sang respandu. Christ porte sa croix: mais le pape est porté.
Luc, 2. A. Christ venoit en paix comme un pauvre homme au monde: mais le pape prend grand plaisir à mettre guerre entre les rois et princes de

la terre. Christ vient dessus un pauvre asne humblement, et plein de pitie: mais le pape vient en toute pompe (combien qu'apres le beau temps vient la pluië). Christ est un agneau: mais le pape est un loup. Christ estoit pauvre: et le pape veult avoir souz son povoir tous les royaumes de Chrestienté. Christ jeta hors du temple les changeurs et ceux qui vendoient: lesquelz le pape reçoit. Jesus ordonne la cene en memoire de soy: et le pape inventoit la messe maistresse de toute abusion. Jesus monte au ciel, et le pape tombe en enfer. Dieu commande que nous n'ayons quelque autre Dieu que luy: mais le pape veult estre honoré comme un grand Dieu. Dieu nous a deffendu de commettre idolatrie: mais le pape est l'autheur de tous ymages. Dieu nous a defendu de jurer en vain: mais le pape a donné congé à tous ceux qui sont ses amis de se perjurer. Dieu nous a commandé d'observer les jours de festes, en priant, lisant, ou estudiant: et le pape passe ce jour la en pompe et jouant, en oysiveté, et en hurlant ou abayant en l'eglise. Dieu a deffendu de tuer quelqu'un: et c'est grand pitie de voir comme le pape persecute les Chrestiens; mais Dieu nous a predit de ceste persecution au vingt et quatriesme chapitre de Mathieu, *Beaucoup de faux prophetes* (dit Christ) *seront en ce temps la. Iniquité sera grande, et charité s'en ira: mais l'evangile sera presché à toute creature: pourtant quand vous verrez l'abomination au saint lieu, predit de Daniel le prophete, adonc ceux qui sont en Jerusalem s'enfuiront aux montaignes.* N'est ce pas ainsi maintenant? ouy, car il y a beaucoup de loups vestus de peaux de brebis: lesquels souz pretence de religion obscurissent la vraie doctrine de Christ, et toute l'abomination estoit quasi au lieu saint, c'est adire au temple de Dieu.

Math. 21. B.
Jan, 1. C.
Jan, 2. B.
Math. 21. B.
Marc, 11. C.
Luc, 22. B.
Marc, 16. D.
Deut. 6. A.
Exod. 20. A.
Math. 4. B.
Baruc, 6. A.
Exod. 20. A.
Math. 12. B.
Math. 24. A.

Or, pour retourner au propos, Dieu a deffendu adultere: mais, pourtant que le pape veult estre obeisant à son pere Satan, il commande que les prestres entretienment beaucoup de concubines et putains, et que jamais ne se joignent à quelqu'une en mariage. Dieu a deffendu de dérober quelque homme, femme ou enfant: mais le pape a esté si vieux larron que maintenant il derobe l'honneur deu

1 Corin. 5. A.

à Dieu, et le transfere à soymesme. Dieu a deffendu de tesmoigner fausement alencontre de quelqu'un: mais le pape dit, Tout flaire bon, mais qu'argent vienne. Dieu a commandé que nous fussions contens de cela qui est nostre; mais le pape veult que chacune maison luy paie tribut: et, pour concluire, il est en toutes choses contraire à Dieu. Mais je ne le puis blamer; car il fait le com-

Ephes. 6. A. mandement de Paul, qui dit, *Filz, soyez obeissans à voz parens*, et ainsi fait il, car le diable nommé yprocrisie est son pere, auquel il se monstre obeissant: ét le diable va comme un lyon rugissant pour

1 Pier. 5. C. decevoir le monde (comme saint Pierre dit), et le pape ne fait il pas ainsy? ouy; car le pape ordonne non seulement injustes et mauvaises loix: mais aussy cherche la mort d'un chacun qui a un bon zele ou amour envers Dieu.

Or, pour venir à la primauté de Pierre, je voudrois bien congnoistre combien de royaumes saint Pierre avoit souz son empire: car il estoit impossible qu'il eust tout souz soy, veu que saint Jaques estoit evesque de Jerusalem, laquelle cité estoit alors Chrestienne. Aussy je ne puis voir comme Pierre seroit le principal: car Paul dit que

1 Corin. 3. D. *les apostres sont tretous nostres;* et que *nous ne sommes à nul sinon à Christ, et que Christ est à Dieu.* Semblablement Pierre ne

1 Pierre, 1. A. s'appelle pas par autre nom que l'apostre de Christ. Par laquelle chose il est manifeste que nous ne sommes pas à Pierre, mais que Pierre est à nous. Davantage, quand Paul venoit en Antioche il

Gal. 2. B. resistoit à Pierre, laquelle chose il n'eust pas fait si Pierre eust esté en telle authorité qu'il ne povoit mentir (comme ils disent). Mais (comme j'ay dessusdit) Paul, voyant la dissimulation de Pierre, luy dit, *Si tu estant Juif fais comme un Gentil, et nompas comme un*

Gal. 2. C. *Juif, pourquoy fais tu observer la maniere des Juifz aux Gentilz, nous qui sommes par nature Juifz et nompas pecheurs des Gentilz? pourtant que nous sçavons que nulle chair sera justifié par les œuvres de la loy; mais que nous sommes justifiéz par la foy en Jesus Christ, auquel nous avons mis tout nostre espoir, acellefin d'estre justifiéz par la foy, et nompas par la loy*, etce.

Voions donc comme il pœut estre que Pierre soit le principal; car si celuy estoit le principal qui aime mieux Christ, il appert que Jan seroit le chef des autres; car Christ luy bailla sa mere en garde; Jan, 19. c. et aussi Jan se couchoit entre les bras de Christ, quand il estoit à Jan, 13. d. souper. Mais à propos je demande s'il y a quelque concile legitime sans que le pape le convoque? Je scay bien que les papistes diront qu'il n'y en a nul. Adonc je demande si le pape devant qu'il soit eleu pœut convoquer un concile? Je scay bien qu'ilz diront qu'il ne pœut. Si donc nul concile n'est legitime sans le pape; et nul qui brigue pour estre pape ne pœut convoquer un concile, adonc le concile qui confermoit le pape d'estre superieur de l'eglise n'est pas legitime; pourtant qu'il n'estoit pas convoqué du pape: pource qu'alors il n'y en avoit point.

Maintenant qu'ilz ont esté repouséz de ceste raison, ils fuyent à un autre, disans que Christ commandoit à Pierre de paistre ses Jan, 21. e. brebis; mais ils commandoit ainsy à tous les autres, disant, *Allez et preschez à toutes nations, les baptisans en mon nom:* mais le pape ne Math. 28. c. fait pas le commandement de Christ; car il ne paist pas le brebis, mais les devore, et mange comme un lyon rugissant qui cherche sa 1 Pier, 5. c. proye pour devorer les petits. Or je voudrois que le pape fist le commandement que Dieu donna à Pierre: car je ne suis pas marry pourtant qu'il a ceste authorité de prescher Christ à tout le monde, mais pourtant qu'il laise la prédication de l'evangile, et usurpe à soymesme l'authorité laquelle de droit appartient à Christ, c'est d'estre le primat de l'eglise. Il est vray que le pape est primat de l'eglise, nompas divine ou catholique, mais diabolique: car il transgresse le commandement donné à Pierre et aux autres apostres en general: pourtant que quand Christ envoyoit ses douze apostres Math. 10. a. pour prescher l'evangile de penitence et le royaume de Dieu, il leur disoit, *Allez vous en, et soyez comme brebis entre les loups:* mais l'evesque de Romme est comme un loup entre les brebis: car il devore et mange toutes les pauvres brebis de Christ; et quand elles se sont cachées de paour quelles ont, adonc il feint la voix d'une

brebis acellefin de les manger. Il se pœut excuser disant que prescher est trop vile office pour luy, et qu'il a des officiers, et ministres, mais qu'il doit ouir chanter les messes. Je respons pour la premiere partie, veu que l'office de prescher n'estoit pas trop vile pour Pierre le quel avoit receu son povoir et authorité de Christ, il me semble que ceux la qui se disent les successeurs de Pierre, ne doivent penser que ceste office est trop vile pour eux.

1 Timo. 3. A. Saint Paul dit à Timothée quel chose un evesque doit estre. *Un evesque* (dit Paul) *doit estre irrépréhensible, le mary d'une seule femme, sobre, sage, biengarny de vertu, chaste, logeant les pauvres, apte à enseigner, nompas yvrongne, malfaiteur, noisif ny desireux des biens d'autruy; mais il doit estre bon gouverneur de sa famille, ayant ses filz souz soy en chasteté.* Maintenant nous ajournerons le pape devant Saint Paul, et verrons s'il est coupable ou non, selon la reigle de Saint Paul. Le premier commandement lequel un evesque doit observer est d'estre irrépréhensible: mais nous avons prouvé que l'evesque de Romme transgresse tous les commandemens de Dieu, pour laquelle chose il est coupable. Le second est qu'il soit le mary d'une femme, en laquelle chose l'evesque de Romme fault beaucoup: car il entretient des putains, et pense que mechante fornication est meilleure que bon et honneste mariage. Le troisiesme est qu'il soit sobre, sage, bien garny de vertus et chaste; desquelles choses l'evesque de Romme n'observe nulles. Le quatriesme est qu'il soit liberal et loge les pauvres: mais l'evesque de Romme est plein de toute avarice. Le cinquiesme est qu'il soit apte à enseigner: mais nostre diable, ou pere diabolique, pense que de maintenir la gloire de Dieu et prescher est trop vile office pour luy, toutesfois son prédécesseur Pierre preschoit l'evangile, ou autrement il pechoit à lencontre de Dieu, en ce qu'il n'observoit pas ce commandement, *Allez et preschez l'evangile à tout le monde;* cenonobstant pour sa mesme commodité il veult emprisonner, tuer, brusler ou pendre celuy qui presche la parolle, et veult luymesme estre le bourreau, s'il n'en povoit trouver quelque autre; parquoy nous voyons qu'il s'ayme

Math. 28. C. Jan, 21. E.

mieux qu'il ne fait Dieu. Que diray plus? il transgresse tout l'ordre de saint Paul. Dites maintenant s'il est coupable ou non. Or nous respondrons à leurs argumens, Que Pierre est le principal. Ilz disent que Pierre estoit commandé de paistre les brebis: Je respons qu'à tous les apostres leur estoit aussy commandé de paistre les brebis en cecy, *Allez preschans*, etc. Mais ce n'est rien autre chose de paistre les brebis sinon de prescher l'évangile. Aussy leur autre argument est de la mesme substance, quand ilz disent que Pierre estoit le pescheur des hommes: car Andry et Jan estoient aussy pescheurs des hommes: et ce n'est rien autre chose d'estre pescheur des hommes qu'estre prescheur de Christ. Or si la predication de nul n'est legitime sans l'authorité de Pierre ou du pape, adonc la predication de saint Paul n'estoit pas legitime, laquelle il n'a pas receu de Pierre. Cenonobstant le pape pense estre un Dieu, disant, Je ne puis mentir: pourtant ce que j'ay dit est vray. Mais acela je respons que, s'il n'est meilleur que Pierre, il pœut mentir: car Pierre renoioit Christ par troys fois: adonc Pierre mentoit trois fois. Aussy Paul le reprouvoit pour sa dissimulation. Mais l'evesque de Romme ment grandement, quand ce ne seroit en autre chose sinon qu'il se dit chef de l'eglise Chrestienne, et avoir les clefz du ceil: car si le pape avoit les clefz du ciel, je demande ceste question, Quand le pape est mort, et nul autre a les clefz, comment entreront les ames au ciel? car personne n'a les clefz s'il n'est pape. Adonc il avient que quand le pape est mort les huis du ciel sont ferméz. Mais c'est une folle chose de dire que le pape a les clefz du ciel et d'enfer: car Christ est nostre seul médiateur, nostre porte, nostre chef, nostre pasteur, nostre redempteur, et souverain maistre: lequel (apres qu'il eut enseigné, fait des miracles, souffert mort et passion pour tous fideles, donne salut à tout chacun qui croit en luy, et par sa mort pense fidelement estre sauvé,) monta au ciel en toute gloire et honneur, et se sied à la dextre de son pere, priant pour nous; lequel aussi demourra la avec son pere et le saint esprit, un en dieté, trois en personnes: plein de toute vertu et

Jan, 21. E.
Math. 28. C
Math. 26. G.
Gal. 2. C
1 Timo. 2. A.
Math. 27. A.
Marc, 18. B.
Luc, 23. B.
Jan, 19. C.
Math. 28. D.
Marc, 16. D.
Luc, 24. E.
Jan, 21. G.
Math. 26. A.
Ephes. 1. C.

Ebre. 4. A. Math. 25. B. exempt de tout vice, estant avec nous en esprit et par tout comme son pere, jusques au temps qu'il viendra juger le monde au jour du jugement: la bonté duquel est invisible: la misericorde duquel est

Psal. 23. A. inénarrable; la gloire duquel est inestimable. Iceluy est nostre gouverneur et maistre: iceluy est nostre berger: iceluy est nostre

Jan, 10. A. redempteur: nous sommes ses subjets et brebis: nous sommes rachetéz par luy, et lavéz de l'eau de baptisme, pour signification que nous sommes ses brebis. Nul autre n'est nostre pasteur, gouverneur, ny pape: car si quelqu'autre estoit nostre chef, nous serions un monstre ayant deux testes. Paul écrivant aux Corinthiens dit que tout est nostre; et que Pierre, Apollo,

1 Corin. 3. D. et tous les autres apostres sont nostres, et nous à Christ, et Christ à Dieu. Parquoy il appert que Pierre n'est pas nostre chef, mais nostre ministre. Pourtant nous devons penser que Dieu est nostre pere spirituel, qui oste par sa passion toutes les peines de mort et d'enfer à tous ceux qui se fient en luy: car à luy nous crions,

Rom. 8. C. *Abba pere*. Donc si le pape veult estre appellé pere spirituel, nous avons trois peres en tout, desquelz l'un est charnel, et deux spirituelz. Mais j'ause dire que si le diable n'est nostre pere spirituel, le pape aussi ne l'est pas: car comme Christ est l'Agneau immaculé, et l'unique filz de Dieu plein de toute vertu, ainsi au contraire le pape est un ord villain loup, et l'unique filz du diable son pere, duquel il a receu toute son authorité et office. Mais je voudrois bien scavoir si le pape est nostre pere spirituel, charnel, ou diabolique. Premierement, charnel il ne le pœut estre, pourtant qu'il professe chasteté, et n'est point marié. Aussy il ne pœut pas estre spirituel, pourtant qu'il est adonné au monde: adonc il s'ensuit qu'il est le pere diabolique.

Psal. 2. B. Or concluons que comme il estoit dit de Christ, *Tu es mon filz, je t'ay engendré aujourd'huy*, Dieu dira ainsy du pape, Tu es mon ennemy, je t'ay destruit aujourd'huy: et que comme Christ estoit

Psal 110. A. de l'ordre de Melchisedech, ainsi le pape est de l'ordre diabolique. Mais comme Chrestienté est spirituellement tresbonne et est bien formée en esprit, ainsi s'il n'y a bon ordre pour la confermer, elle est

destruite; car tout ainsi que le corps d'un homme ne pœut estre sain s'il a deux testes, ou quatre piedz, ainsy ces pais de Chrestienté ne pevent estre bien en ordre s'ilz ont deux qui dominent, et ayent l'empire de tout le monde. Maintenant on me diroit, Donc vous ne vouléz pas qu'il ait des rois, et empereurs: je respons que Dieu qui a Math. 1. B.
envoyé son filz unique en terre icy bas, l'a fait roy de la terre, en Psal. 110. A.
spirituelle et temporelle authorité. Celuy en son empire a mis des rois, lesquelz sont ses lieutenans; mais il n'en a ordonné nul pour son grand evesqũe: car il n'est pas ainsi ordonné en la sainte écriture. Or, si les papistes disent que le pape est son heritier, je voudroye qu'il attendist jusques à ce que Christ mourust, affin d'avoir son royaume: pourtant que les héritiers ont l'heritage apres la mort de leurs prédecesseurs. Maintenant les papistes disent que Exod. 4. C.
comme en la vieille loy il y avoit un arcevesque du peuple Israelite, ainsy maintenant il y doit avoir un chef principal en Chrestienté. Je respons que la prestrise d'Aaron et Moses representoit la primauté nompas du pape, mais de Christ; lequel vint en terre et Math. 1. C.
souffrit mort pour nous autres, car Christ dit de soymesme qu'il est Jan, 4. D.
nostre Messias, et aussi qu'il est le vray pain descendant du ciel; et Jan, 6. D.
qu'il est nostre seul berger: car comme Jan testifie, il disoit, *Certes* Jan, 10. A.
*je vous dy que celuy qui n'entre par moy en l'estable des brebis, mais vient par ailleurs, il est larron:* car *Celuy qui entre par l'huis est* Prover. 22. D.
*le berger: celuy qui garde l'huis luy ouvre, et les brebis ont ouy sa voix, et il appelle ses brebis, et s'en va devant elles, et les brebis le suivent pourtant qu'elles congnoissent sa voix, et autre elles ne suivront.* Donc le pape, qui ne vient pas de par Christ, est un abominable larron: pour laquelle chose toutes vrayes et honnestes brebis doivent s'en partir de luy: car il vient pour les devorer et nompas pour les paistre: pour les englouter, et nompas pour les enseigner.

Maintenant, puis que les papistes sont batus de leur mesme baston (cela est de leur mesme argument) ilz disent qu' apres que les disciples de Christ avoient presché long temps ilz retournoient à Jesus, lequel leur demanda s'ilz avoient eu quelque glaive tout ce

temps la, et qu'ilz disoient, Voicy deux glaives. Or ilz disent que l'un signifie le povoir temporel, et l'autre le spirituel: laquelle raison (comme il sera demonstré icy apres) est sotte et vaine. Car premierement nous devons considerer de quel lieu les apostres
Marc, 6. A. venoient, car ilz avoient esté envoyés pour prescher Christ à toutes
Luc, 9. A. nations, et demonstrer la lumiere à ceux qui estoient en tenebres. Secondement nous devons considerer quel pouvoir Christ avoit en la terre. Il dit que son royaume n'est pas de ce monde: car il y a deux manieres d'authorité, l'une spirituelle et l'autre temporelle. Pour laquelle chose saint Paul en sa primiere epistre aux Corin-
1 Corin. 12. B. thiens dit que comme il y a au corps divers membres pour diverses causes, ainsy il y a en l'eglise de Christ aucuns ministres spirituelz, comme apostres, prophetes, et docteurs: et aucuns temporelz, comme rois, empereurs, gouverneurs, et lieutenans. Or Christ estoit ministre spirituel, comme il dit soy mesme, disant, *Mon royaume n'est pas de ce monde.* Et aussi quand deux freres venoient à luy
Luc, 12. B. le requerantz de diviser leur héritage, il respondoit, *Qui m'a fait juge entre vous?* La troisiesme chose laquelle doit estre considerée, est que Christ parloit en moquerie. La quatriesme, que tous les apostres disoient ensemble, Voicy deux glaives. La cinquiesme chose est que les apostres n'entendoient pas ce que Christ disoit.

Par toutes ces choses cy nous povons facilement entendre ce texte: car apres que les disciples estoient envoyéz pour prescher l'evangile de vérité, ilz retournoient à Jesus, lequel leur disoit, Aviez vous quelque espée tout ce temps? comme en voulant dire, Quand je vous envoiois vous vouliez avoir des bastons avec vous: maintenant que pensez vous, ma grace ne vous a elle pas gardée de tout mal? ou autrement, Aviez vous quelque besoing d'avoir espée? Adonc les disciples (et nompas Pierre seul) lesquelz n'entendoient pas ce que Christ disoit, respondoient qu'ilz avoient deux glaives. Parquoy nous voyons que Christ parloit en moquerie, et que tous les disciples respondoient, et nompas Pierre seul, comme en disant, J'ay deux espées, l'une qui signifie la temporelle authorité: et l'autre qui

signifie la spirituelle jurisdiction. Aussy Christ ne povoit et ne vouloit pas donner la temporelle authorité, pourtant qu'il estoit ministre spirituel. Mais les papistes faillent beaucoup en un argument: car ilz disent que Cephas est un chef, où en vérité Cephas est une pierre. Maintenant (quand ceux cy leurs argumens sont affoibliz) ilz disent qu'il est vraysemblable que Pierre estoit le chef, pourtant qu'il parloit le premier: et au temps dessus dit il respondoit pour tous. Mais il est plus vraysemblable qu'il n'estoit pas le chef des autres, pourtant que Paul se dit n'estre inferieur à nul des apostres: du nombre desquelz estoit Pierre. Or nous ne devons disputer maintenant quelle chose semble estre vraye, mais quelle chose est vraie sans faute. Toutesfois nous verrons s'il est vraysemblable ou non: car Andry parloit aucunefois le premier: et ne doit on douter que chacun d'eux ne parlast aucunesfois le premier: mais il ne s'ensuit pas pourtant que qui parle le premier aucunesfois soit evesque des evesques: car entant qu'il parloit le premier cela signifie qu'il estoit d'une nature pleine de courage: ou autrement qu'il desiroit estre le plus grand: mais Christ dit, *Celuy qui veult estre le plus grand sera le plus petit entre vous.* Ainsy il n'y a point d'orgueilleux tiltre en l'eglise de Christ: car Dieu ayme humilité, et dit que celuy qui reçoit un petit enfant en son nom, le reçoit: et aussy que celuy qui n'est pas semblable à un enfant, ne sera pas apte pour le royaume de Dieu. Mais Pierre soymesme ne s'attribue pas si hault tiltre, que le pape attribue à soymesme: car il dit, *Pierre l'apostre et serviteur de Jesuschrist*, et non plus: mais le pape, que dit il? "Paul tiers de ce nom, par la grace de Dieu tressaint pere et pape, vicaire de Christ, lieutenant de Pierre, Dieu en terre, evesque des evesques, prince des princes, et roy des rois." Voyez icy comme il se dit Dieu, et blaspheme Christ. Voyez comme il est plein de toute magnificence et orgueil. Voyez comme il a un beau tiltre et nom, combien qu'il soit un serpent venimeux: car il se dit tressaint pere la ou il est un abominable larron, et contaminé de tout immundicité. Il se dit pape, lequel mot signifie

2 Corin. 11. E. 12. D.

Math. 18. A. Luc, 1. E. 8. C. Rom. 12. C. Philip. 2. B. Jaques, 4. B. 1 Pier. 5. B. Marc, 9. B.

1 Pier. 1. A. 2 Pier. 1. A.

pere de toutes nations, la ou il les déstruit. Il se dit vicaire de Christ, et lieutenant de saint Pierre, et Dieu en terre, ou il est vicaire de Belzebub, lieutenant de Lucifer, et le diable terreste : car
2 Corin. 11. D. il semble estre bon, mais il est mauvais. Et comme saint Paul dit aux Corinthiens, ce n'est pas merveille si les ministres du diable sont plaisans et triumphans à l'œil, veu que le diable soymesme se transforme en un ange de lumiere ; pourtant vouz povez bien appercevoir les vrais ministres de la parolle d'entre les faulx Antichrists, pource que les vrais apostres cheminent selon l'esprit de Dieu, mais les faulx apostres cheminent selon la chair. Nous verrons donc si le pape est ministre de Dieu, ou du diable. Certainement il est du diable, ce ay je grand paour : car il se dit honneste homme, tressaint evesque, roy des roys : la ou il'est tiran des tirans ; car tous les autres tirans exerçoient leur tirannie dessus les corps des gens, mais ce diable, ce loup, ce tiran, exerce sa tirannie dessus les ames, contreignant les pauvres et simples agneaux de Dieu delaisser leur foy par laquelle
Gal. 2. c. 3. A. ilz sont sauvéz, et suivre ses abominables tradicions et preceptes
Rom. 3. A. diaboliques. Aussy s'ilz ne font ses preceptes, c'est adire adorer des ymages, offrir aux ydoles et diables, il les brule, ou leur fait faire amende honorable,* ou les gehenne et tourmente. Du temps du feu roy mon pere,† quand son nom fut effacé de livres, il estouppa les bouches des Chrestiens avec ses six articles, comme avec six poins.‡ Aussy maintenant en France, devant qu'on brule quelqu'un, on luy couppe la langue un peu auparavant, a celle fin qu'il ne parle. Veu donc que le pape est le ministre de Lucifer, j'ay bon espoir que

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* *The King wrote this passage*, il nous brusle et nous fait porter un fagot. *His master altered it as above. In* 1682 *it was translated*, he burns, wracks, and torments them, or forces them to a costly Recantation.

† Aux jours de mon pere, *in the King's MS.*

‡ siz points *in the King's manuscript, probably for* ses poings, "his fists" *The passage is thus translated in* 1682 : During the Reign of my late Father the King, when the Pope's Name was blotted out of our Books, he stopt the Mouths of Christians with his six Articles, as if he would choak them.

comme Lucifer tomboit hors du ciel en enfer, ainsy que le pape son vicaire tombera hors de ceste gloire de la papauté en grand dérision. Car David dit au Pseaumes, que *Dieu veult estre pervers avec les pervers : et saint avec les saints.* Or le pape a osté l'honneur à Dieu, pourtant j'ai bon espoir que Dieu luy ostera ses honneurs et sa gloire. Aussy Marie mere de Christ a dit que *Dieu a osté la gloire des riches, et l'a donnée aux humbles.* Pourtant (ô pape) garde toy bien, car si tu tombes tu auras une grande cheute. Et tout ainsi qu'un homme qui est monté en une tour, s'il tombe il prendra un grand fault, ainsi vous qui avez monté jusque aux cieux, tomberez jusque en enfer, ainsy que Christ a predit de Tyr et Sidon.

Psal. 18. c.

Luc, 1. e.

Math. 11. d.

Mais pour venir à la primauté du pape, je sçay bien que l'ecriture parle d'un Dieu, d'une foy, d'un baptesme, mais nompas d'un pape. Or si Pierre estoit Dieu en terre, et vicaire de Christ, nous eussions esté baptiséz en son nom ; mais Paul (lequel dit qu'il n'est inferieur à nul des autres apostres), ne veult pas que nous soyons baptiséz en son nom. Et tant seulement ne veult il que nous soyons baptiséz au nom de Pierre, mais aussy ne veult pas qu'on disse, Je suis à Pierre, je suis à Paul, je suis à Apollo.

Ephe. 4. a.
1 Corin. 8. a.
1 Timot. 2. b.
Math. 19. c.
Ephes. 3. a.
2 Corin. 11. e.
2 Corin. 12. d.
1 Corin. 1. b.

Maintenant que les papistes ne pevent prouver par l'ecriture que nous devons avoir un pape, ilz ont recours aux similitudes, disans, Tout ainsy que les bestes de la terre (comme les mouches à miel) ont un roy qui domine sur elles, ainsy tous Chrestiens doivent avoir un roy et pape : alaquelle raison je respondray en trois manieres. Premierement, leur raison n'est pas extraite de la sancte escriture, mais est de leurs mesmes invencions. Secondement, pourtant que toutes les mouches à miel qui sont au monde, ou en Chrestienté, n'ont pas un roy. Tiercement, si toutes les mouches à miel avoient un roy, aussi avons nous, c'estadire Jesus Christ. Mais les papistes diront que si nous voulons condamner la papauté, nous condamnerons leurs peres aussy pour hérétiques. Je leur respons ainsi que Dieu respondoit à Eliah : car quand Eliah disoit au Seigneur qu'il n'y nompas un qui fust juste, mais que tous

Ephes. 1. d.

3 Rois, 9. d.
Rom. 11. a.

estoient injustes et mauvais, Dieu respondit, *Je me suis réservé sept mille hommes qui n'ont point fait obéissance à Baal;* ainsy il ne fault pas douter qu'il n'y ait eu beaucoup Chrestiens au monde, desquelz aucuns parloient à l'encontre de la papauté apertement et autres gardoient leur sçavoir à eux mesmes. Mais les papistes ne veulent pas que nous sachions plus que nos peres. Je sçay bien que nostre religion ne consiste pas en la vielle coustume et l'usance de nos peres, mais en la sainte ecriture et parolle divine, laquelle (si vous pensez que viellesse et coustume fasse la chose bonne,) est
Jan, 1. A. plus vieille que le monde n'est vieil. Car Dieu est la parolle, lequel
Exod. 3. D. est sans commencement, et sera sans fin; et si vous pensez que la vérité doit estre ensuivie, toute vérité consiste en ce livre la. Mais nostre religion ne doit pas estre gouvernée par noz peres: car Ezechiel dit, *Vous ne deviéz pas suivre vos peres, car ilz estoient*
Ezech. 20. E. *mauvais*. Aussy nostre Dieu, sauveur, et redempteur Jesus Christ
Jan, 14. A. a dit, *Je suis la voye, vérité, et vie;* il n'a pas dit, Je suis la vieille coustume.

Les papistes donc disent que combien que Christ n'ordonnast pas le pape, qu'il en a laissé faire à son eglise: adonc je demande comme Pierre estoit esleu evesque universel? Aussy toutes choses necessaires à nostre salut sont écrites en la Bible, comme Paul
2 Tim. 3. C. testifie en son epistre à Timothée, disant, *Tu dois persister aux choses lesquelles te sont commises: pourtant que tu as appris l'ecriture, laquelle te donra salut par la foy en Christ Jesu.*

## La Seconde Partie.

A quelle intention, donc, voulons nous prouver que Pierre n'est pas le chef de l'eglise, prenez le cas qu'il l'ait esté; car cela n'approuve pas que l'evesque de Romme est le chef principal; pourtant que tous les papistes ne pevent pas prouver que Pierre fut jamais à Romme; car par l'escriture ilz ne le pevent prouver, ny par vraye histoire. Parquoy l'evesque de Romme a perdu un de ses grans

tiltres, c'est *Papa, ex jure divino.* Car nulle authorité ne pœut estre *ex jure divino* si elle n'est approuvée par l'ecriture. Bien maintenant nous l'avons en un destroit, puis qu'il est constraint de dire, " Paul pape par les traditions humaines :" car s'il n'est pas evesque par la parolle divine, mais seulement par les tradicions humaines, adonc tous rois, tous princes et autres magistratz pevent abroguer les status et institucions faites par leurs peres, comme nous avons veu par cy devant.

Donc si chacun eust congneu cela, le pape est esté pauvre il y a long temps. Or les papistes disent que l'evesque de Romme estoit constitué par l'eglise primitive ; mais nompas plus que Mahommet : car ilz commençoient tous deux quasi en un mesme temps : mais le pape fut esleu quand toutes mauvaises erreurs estoient grandes en Chrestienté. Toutesfois pour prouver que Pierre estoit à Romme ilz demonstrent les epistres Clementines, lesquelles nous prouverons estre fauses et contrefaites par les papistes : car il est la ecrit que Pierre estoit à Romme en l'an deuxiesme du regne de Claudius, demourant la vint et cinq ans, mais Christ fut crucifié l'an de Tiberius dixhuitiesme, lequel regna cinq ans apres. Caius Caligula regna quatre ans, et Claudius deux, c'est en tout unze ans devant que Pierre fust à Romme. Et l'an du Seigneur dixhuitiesme Paul trouva Pierre en Jerusalem : parquoy nous voyons que leur his- Gal. 2. A.
toire est fause, et nous prouverons qu'il n'est pas vray que Clement ecrivoit les epistres à Jaques : car Jaques estoit mort devant l'evesque Clement. Aussy Pierre estoit evesque des Juifz, nompas Gala. 2. B.
des Gentilz : car saint Paul se glorifie, en beaucoup de places, qu'il Ephe. 3. A.
est l'Apostre des Gentilz. Davantage Paul, ecrivant aux Galathiens, Gal. 1. D.
dit qu'il s'en alloit en Jerusalem acellefin de voir Pierre. Parquoy il est vraysemblable que Pierre pour la plus part du temps demouroit à Jerusalem et aux lieux d'alentour. Mais voyéz icy l'astuce du diable, et le pouvoir de Dieu : car cenonobstant que le diable (acellefin de confirmer son povoir) ait inventé les epistres Clementines (combien qu'elles soient contrefaites par les papistes), toutes

fois je dy que Dieu par sa clemence et bonté envers ses esleuz, a ainsy souffert les epistres estre ecrites, que chacun qui a leu les histoires pœut facilement comprendre et entendre que elles estoient feintes par l'astuce serpentine, et par aucuns obstinéz et abominables papistes. Aussy nous povons voir leur astuce en beaucoup d'autres choses: car quoy que l'ecriture die que les ydoles n'ont point de vie, ilz faisoient que les ymages aucunesfois tournoient leurs yeux, aucunesfois leur teste, aucunesfois leurs mains, et aucunesfois tout leur corps: et ainsy faisoient accroire aux gens que les ymages faites de bois les entendoient, où toute la chose estoit faite à viz, lesquelles (entournant) faisoient tourner les yeux et la teste de l'ymage. Mais comme Daniel avec des cendres ou du sablon prouvoit que l'ydole Bel ne mangeoit pas, mais que les prestrès mangeoint, ainsi par les saintes ecritures et par la confession de plusieurs gens et notoire expérience, il a esté prouvé que tout estoit fait à viz et autres instrumens.

Baruc, 6. a.

L'histoire de l'ydole Bel.

## La tierce partie.

Maintenant, puis que nous voyons non seulement que Pierre n'est pas le principal, mais aussi qu'il n'estoit pas à Romme (veu qu'ilz disent que le pape ne pœut pas mentir), nous verrons si eux mesmes n'ont pas confessé que nul ne doit estre primat de l'eglise; car Gregoire, premier de ce nom, ecrivoit que nul ne devoit estre pape pour ce qu'alors que Gregoire estoit evesque de Romme et Maurice empereur, il y avoit beaucoup d'heresies en Chrestienté: adonc le patriarche et evesque de Constantinoble pretendoit d'estre evesque universel, auquel Maurice favorisoit, mais Gregoire ecrivit que nul ne devoit estre principal de l'eglise.

Maintenant que les papistes sont vaincus, ilz disent que par le consentement des docteurs, et des conciles generaux, on doit avoir un evesque universel qui ait nom de pape, la ou quatre ou cinq cens ans apres Christ il n'y en avoit pas un en tout le monde qui fust ainsi nommé. Et aussy quand il y avoit aucunes contencions pour

la papauté, tous les gens sçavans detestoient l'opinion qu'il fausist avoir un pape : et aucunesfois les evesques de Romme euxmesmes le detestoient. Aussi saint Ciprian, écrivant de l'unité de l'eglise, dit, Il y a un evesque dont chacun evesque tient porcion ; car comme il y a pluisieurs rais au soliel, et la clarté est une, plusieurs branches et un arbre, plusieurs ruysseaux decoulans d'une fontaine, ainsi l'eglise est une, estant illuminée par la clarté du Seigneur qui estend ses rais par tout le monde, et toutesfois la clarté est une, c'est adire Jesus Christ. Pareillement luy mesme estant evesque de Carthage appelle l'evesque de Romme son compaignon. D'avantage saint Jerome evesque de Romme abaisse le stile du primat, disant, S'il est question d'authorité qui sera le primat de l'eglise, combien qu'il y ait des evesques aux villes et nations, il ne s'ensuit pas pourtant qu'il y ait un primat de tout le monde ; car le monde est plus grand qu'une ville. Aussy au concile de Carthage il fut conclu que nul ne seroit appellé premier, ou primat des evesques.

Ciprianus de simplicitate prelatorum.

Cipria. epist. ad. Corn.

Jeron. epist. ad Evag.

Chap. 47.

Que diray plus ? tous consentent en un, jusques à six cens ans apres Christ, que nul ne devoit estre pape. Comment donc est ce que Pierre povoit estre le primat, ou le pape estre son successeur ? car Pierre en son epistre ne commande pas aux ministres de Dieu, mais le prie. Semblablement quand on l'accuse d'avoir communiqué avec les Gentilz, il ne brule pas ses accuseurs comme le pape fait les siens, mais il s'excuse et monstre submission. D'avantage quand il estoit envoyé en Samarie par ses compagnons, il obeit à leur decret.

Augustinus, epist. 78. ad Constan.

August. ad Eulol.

August. 83 ad Avian.

Cipria. epist. 76 ad Mauri.

Pierre, 1. A.

Actes, 11. A

Actes, 8. C.

## La quarte partie.

De cest abominable et diabolique pape l'ecriture nous a assez pleinement demonstré en beaucoup de places, desquelles je demonstreray aucunes maintenant. Premierement au septiesme chapitre de Daniel, il est demonstré que Daniel (le mieux aymé de Balzasar) vit une vision, laquelle estoit telle : *Je vey* (dit Daniel) *en ma vision, et voicy les quatre vens du ciel combatoient en la grand mair ; et*

*quatre bestes sortirent de la terre. La premiere estoit comme une Lionesse, et avoit les esles d'un Aigle, et je voyois jusques à ce que les esles estoient ostées, et le cueur d'un homme luy fut donné. La*
Dani. 7. a. *seconde beste estoit semblable à un Ours, et se mettoit dessus un costé : et on luy dit, Mange beaucoup de chair. La tierce estoit semblable à une Leoparde, et avoit sur son doz quatre esles d'oyseaux : et ladite beste avoit quatre testes. Apres je regardois et voicy la quatriesme beste estoit epouventable, terrible et forte grandement. Elle avoit grans dens de fer, et devoroit toutes choses. Icelle avoit dix cornes : et voicy une petite corne montoit entre elles, et devoroit trois cornes, et avoit deux yeux et une bouche, laquelle parloit blasphemes. Mais je regardois jusque à ce que l'ancien de temps estoit assis. Apres je regardois* (dit Daniel) *le jugement de la corne, et la beste estoit tuée et brulée au feu : sa vie ne duroit qu'un temps, deux temps, et demy temps.* Les quatre vens, et les quatre bestes (comme Melanchton, Œcolampadius, et toutes gens sçavans disent,) signifient les quatre monarchies. La premiere estoit des Assirians, où Nabuchodonosor tint l'empire, auquel (apres avoir esté long temps fait beste) le cueur d'un homme luy fut donné. La seconde beste signifioit l'empire des Persans, laquelle estoit tres cruelle. La tierce signifioit l'empire des Grecz, lequel estoit bientost gaigné. Et les quatre esles et quatre testes signifient les quatre empereurs apres Alexandre en la monarchie des Grecz, car Seleucus fut fait roy de Syrie, Ptolomée d'Egipte, Antigone d'Asie, Cassandre de Grece. La quatriesme beste signifie la terrible monarchie des Rommains, hors de laquelle montoit une petite corne, laquelle est Antichrist.

Antichrist a deux yeux, c'est adire le Pape et Mahommet : car, combien que le Pape ne parle pas à l'encontre Christ (comme Mahommet fait), toutesfois je dy que le Pape est aussi bien ou plus Antichrist que Mahommet. Et comme celuy qui nous flatte est nostre ennemy (jaçoit ce qu'il semble estre nostre amy), ainsi le pape, qui se dit serviteur des serviteurs de Dieu, est ennemy de Christ. Pourtant que sous l'umbre de religion il met en vogue

toute ypocrisie, dissimulation, et ydolatrie, avec toutes autres traditions. Son temps sera un temps, deux temps, et un demy temps: c'est à dire que les jours seront abbrégéz; car le nombre de sept est prins pour un nombre parfait en l'écriture, comme saint Paul dit: *Le juste tombe sept fois en un jour*, c'estàdire beaucoup de fois. Et la moytié de sept sont trois et demy; pourtant le lieu doit estre ainsi entendu, que les jours seront abbrégéz. Saint Paul aussi en deux epistres prophetise du pape. Premierement, ecrivant aux Thessaloniens, il dit, *Aussy, mes freres, nous vous prions par l'avenement de nostre Seigneur, que ne soyez tost esmeus en vostre entendement et que ne soyez troubléz, ny par esprit, ny parolle, ny epistre, comme si la journée de Christ estoit pres. Que nul ne vous seduise aucunement, car le jour ne viendra point que premierement ne soit venu un departement, et que l'homme de peche ne soit revélé, le filz de perdition, et l'aversaire de Dieu, et s'eslevera sus tout jusques à estre assis au temple de Dieu*, etcę. Aussy Saint Paul, ecrivant à Timothée, dit en ceste maniere, *Or l'esprit demonstre notamment qu'aux derniers jours aucuns defaudront de la foy, s'amusans aux doctrines du diable, par l'ypocrisie de plusieurs qui parlent mensonges, defendans mariage, et manger aucunes choses lesquelles Dieu a creées de grace.* Demandez à un chacun si le pape n'a pas deffendu de manger aucunes viandes en aucuns temps, et chacun vous dira que ouy: car la pluspart l'a bien sentu: ou paraventure je ne mentirois pas si je disois que tous quasi l'ont bien sentu. Aussy touchant la prohibition de mariage, demandez aux prestres. Saint Pierre dit, *Nous sçavons qu' aux derniers jours il viendra des moquers*, etcę. Saint Jan en l'Apocalipse dit que sept anges jetterent sept fiolles d'indignation dessus la terre; pourtant il est vraysemblable que la signification est telle. La primiere fiolle estoit la monarchie des Assirians, la ou le peuple d'Israel devint captif souz Nabuchodonosor. La seconde fiolle estoit la monarchie des Persans. La troisiesme fiolle estoit la monarchie des Grecz: laquelle monarchie Alexandre gaigna le premier. La quarte

Marc, 13. c.

2 Thessol. 2. a.

1 Timoth. 4. a.

2 Pierre, 3. a.

Apoc. 16. a.

fiolle estoit la monarchie des Rommains: laquelle l'Apocalipse (à cause de sa grandeur) dit qu'elle estoit jettée sur le soliel. La cinquiesme est le pape nostre Antichrist. La sixiesme fiolle est la royaume de Mahommet. La septiesme fiolle signifie la fin du monde et jour du jugement. Au chapitre ensuivant il demonstre comme le septiesme ange luy demonstra le siege, honneur, et richesses du pape, car il dit qu'il voyoit une femme se seante sur une
Apoca. 17. A. beste pleine de noms de blaspheme, ayant sept testes, et dix cornes. Ceste femme estoit ornée d'or et pourpre, et tenoit une couppe d'or en sa main pleine des abominations de la terre: elle avoit ecrit en son front, *La paillarde de Babilone, mere des abominations.* Les sept testes signifient les sept montaignes sur lesquelles Antichrist demeure: car Romme est edifiée sur sept montaignes. Les dix cornes sont le nombre des rois qui sont à l'encontre de l'Agneau,
Apoc. 18. A. lesquelz l'Agneau battit et vainquit: car il est le roy des rois. Adonc vint l'Ange du Seigneur, disant, *Babilone est tombée au feu:* ainsi j'ay bon espoir que le royaume d'Antichrist sera destruit, car combien que les mauvais ayent prospérité pour un temps, leur regne
Deutero. 18. A. ne sera pas long: mais ceux qui estudient la loy du Seigneur tousjours, leur prosperité sera longue. Saint Paul aussy, ecrivant à
2 Timoth. 3. A. Timothée, dit, *Or, sachez qu'aux derniers temps, les hommes*
2 Pierre, 3. A. *s'aymeront eux mesmes, et seront avaricieux, vanteurs, orgueilleux,*
Isaie, 11. A. *ingratz*, etc. Isaie le prophete dit que Christ battera la terre de la verge de sa bouche, et occira l'homme mauvais par l'esprit sortant de sa bouche. Puis donc que nous voyons que le regne d'Antichrist ne demourra pas pour jamais, il nous fault attendre la destruction de Babilone, et nous contenter de la voulonté du Seigneur.

## Conclusion.

En la premiere partie de nostre livre nous avons déclaré et prouvé comme Pierre n'estoit pas le primat de l'eglise, confutans les raisons papistiques. En la seconde nous avons prouvé qu'ilz ne pevent alleguer quelque vray tesmoignage que Pierre ait esté à Romme. En la troisiesme partie nous avons prouvé par leurs ditz mesmes qu'ilz ne dévroient pas avoir la primauté. En la quatriesme partie nous avons demonstré les prophesies parlantes de l'Antichrist. Puis donc que le pape est le vray filz du diable, homme mauvais, un Antichrist, et tiran abominable, prions le Seigneur qu'il preserve ceux qui ont veu la lumiere, en la lumiere: et qu'il monstre à ceux qui sont en tenebres la vraye, sincere, et pure lumiere: acellefin que tout le monde en ceste vie glorifie Dieu, et en l'autre monde soit participant du royaume eternal par Jesus Christ nostre Seigneur; auquel avec le Pere et le Saint Esprit soit gloire,
honneur, empire, et louange
pour tousjamais.
Amen.

FINIS.

# VERSES ON THE EUCHARIST.

[Foxe's Actes and Monuments, edit. 1596, fol. 1936.]

This is the only poetical composition attributed to King Edward that is known to be extant. It is neither better, nor worse, than the generality of the religious poetry of the time, which is usually written in this prosaic ballad style. From the term "pamphlet" used in Foxe's supplementary note, it would appear to have been circulated in print during the King's lifetime.

The Instruction of King Edward the sixt, given to Sir Anthony Seyntleger, Knight of his privie chamber, being of a corrupt judgement of the Eucharist. Upon this saying of an auncient Doctor of the Catholicke Church : *Dicimus Eucharistiam Panem vocari in scripturis, Panis in quo gratiæ actæ sunt, &c.*

In Eucharist then there is bread,
Whereto I do consent :
Then with bread is our bodyes fed ;
But farther what is ment ?
I say that Christ in flesh and bloud
Is there continually :
Unto our soule a speciall food,
Taking it spiritually.
And this transubstantiation I
Beleeve as I have read :
That Christ sacramentally
Is there in forme of bread.
S. Austen sayth the Word doth come
Unto the element :
And there is made, he sayth in somme,
A perfect sacrament.

The element then doth remaine,
Or els must needes ensue:
S. Austen's words be nothing plaine,
Nor cannot be found true.
For if the Word, as he doth say,
Come to the element:
Then is not the element away,
But bides there verament.
Yet who so eateth that lively food,
And hath a perfect faith:
Receiveth Christes flesh and bloud,
For Christ himselfe so saith.
Not with our teeth his flesh to teare.
Nor take bloud for our drink:
Too great absurditie it were
So grossely for to thinke.
For we must eate him spiritually,
If we be spirituall:
And who so eates him carnally,
Thereby shall have a fall.
For he is now a spirituall meate,
And spiritually we must
That spirituall meate spiritually eate,
And leave our carnall lust.
Thus by the spirit I spiritually
Beleeve, say what men list:
None other Transubstantiation I
Beleeve of the Eucharist,
But that there is both bread and wine,
Which we see with our eye:
Yet Christ is there by power divine,
To those that spiritually
Do eate that bread and drinke that cup,

Esteeming it but light:
As Judas did, which eate that sop,
Not judging it aright.
For I was taught not long agone,
I should leane to the spirit:
And let the carnall flesh alone,
For it did not profite.
God save him that teaching me taught,
For I thereby did winne:
To put me from that carnall thought
That I before was in.
For I beleeve Christ corporally
In heaven doth keepe his place:
And yet Christ sacramentally
Is heere with us by grace.
So that, in this high mysterie,
We must eate spirituall meate,
To keepe his death in memory,
Least we should it forget.
This do I say, this have I sayd,
This saying say will I:
This saying though I once denaid,
I will no more to dye.

FINIS.

¶ This young Prince became a perfect schoole-maister unto old erroneous men, so as no Divine could amende him, and therefore this piece is worthy of perpetuall memory to his immortall fame and glory.

¶ When Queene Mary came to her raigne, a friend of Maister Sentleger's charged him with this his Pamphlet. Well, quoth he, content your selfe, I perceive that a man may have too much of God's blessing. And euen heere Peter began to deny Christ, such is men's frailtie.

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